

AGE OF SPIRITUALITY

Late Antique and Early Christian Art,
Third to Seventh Century



Edited by KURT WEITZMANN

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Early Christian Art,
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Catalogue of the exhibition at
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
November 19, 1977,
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Edited by KURT WEITZMANN

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CONTENTS

<i>Foreword</i>	THOMAS P. F. HOVING	ix
<i>Preface</i>	PHILIPPE DE MONTEBELLO	xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	KURT WEITZMANN	xiii
<i>Honorary Committee</i>		xv
<i>Lenders to the Exhibition</i>		xvi
<i>Introduction</i>	KURT WEITZMANN	xix
<i>Introduction to the Architecture</i>	ALFRED FRAZER	xxvii
<i>Color Plates</i>		xxxii

I. THE IMPERIAL REALM

Portraiture	JAMES D. BRECKENRIDGE	2
Imperial portraits		8
Imperial medallions		36
Consuls		46
Other officials		54
Scenic Representations	RICHARD BRILLIANT	60
Ceremonies and processions		66
Warfare		79
The hunt		83
The arena and the circus		92
Architecture	ALFRED FRAZER	109

II. THE CLASSICAL REALM

Mythology	RICHARD BRILLIANT	126
Greek gods		132
Popular heroes		158
Mythological themes		168
Personifications		173
Gods of the mystery cults		182

II. THE CLASSICAL REALM (*continued*)

Science and Poetry	KURT WEITZMANN	199
Sciences		205
Didactic treatises		214
Epos		216
Drama		240
Romances		245
Bucolics		247
Poet and muses		255
Architecture	ALFRED FRAZER	263

III. THE SECULAR REALM

Representations of Daily Life	KURT WEITZMANN	270
Portraiture	JAMES D. BRECKENRIDGE	286
Objects from Daily Life	MARVIN C. ROSS	297
Jewelry		302
Other objects of daily use		329
Architecture	ALFRED FRAZER	350

IV. THE JEWISH REALM

Representational Art	BEZALEL NARKISS	366
Architecture	BEZALEL NARKISS	390

V. THE CHRISTIAN REALM

Abbreviated Representations	ERICH DINKLER	396
Early monuments		404
Old Testament		420
Old and New Testament		427
New Testament		436
Narrative Representations	HERBERT L. KESSLER	449
Old Testament		457
Old and New Testament		486
New Testament and apocrypha		490

V. THE CHRISTIAN REALM (*continued*)

Iconic Representations	MARGARET E. FRAZER	513
Apse Themes	MARGARET E. FRAZER	556
Holy Sites Representations	MARGARET E. FRAZER	564
Altar Implements and Liturgical Objects	VICTOR H. ELBERN	592
The Hamah treasure		599
Altar implements		606
Other cult objects		620
Reliquaries		630
Church furniture		637
Architecture	ALFRED FRAZER	640
<i>Contributors to the Catalogue</i>		670
<i>Appendix: Chronology of Emperors and Events</i>		672
<i>Glossary</i>		674
<i>Bibliography</i>		682
<i>Index</i>		724

FOREWORD

One of the most deeply gratifying exhibitions undertaken at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in its history was the *Age of Spirituality*. Seldom during those one hundred seven years has The Metropolitan Museum of Art been able to gather such a stunning array of works of art of such high quality, painstakingly chosen by Kurt Weitzmann and Margaret Frazer. Although the gratitude on the part of the Museum to the two principal organizers of the Age of Spirituality is profound, the exhibition could never have come into being without the exceptional generosity and sense of scholarly cooperation on the part of the lenders. The dimensions of the loans are virtually without parallel—one hundred fifteen institutions here and abroad participated; sixteen nations of Europe became enthusiastic partners in the unique enterprise. There was not only interest in lending works of art of superior nature to the exhibition, but an attitude that can only be described as constant zeal, from all those involved. For that reason, The Metropolitan Museum of Art wishes to record very special gratitude to the distinguished lenders to a landmark undertaking of beauty, excitement, and scholarship.

THOMAS P. F. HOVING

PREFACE

The *Age of Spirituality* was an exceptionally important event, a didactic exhibition of the highest quality. The critical acclaim it won was based on the combination of the beauty of a relatively unfamiliar art with the intellectual revelation of an extraordinary era. As in no other large exhibition of its period, its magnificent objects were arranged to speak to the social, political, and religious ambience in which they were produced. Regal and private patrons came to life through portraits, ceremonial and personal objects, and architecture, and images from the syncretistic religions of the Late Antique world and classical literature were preserved in many luxurious and everyday objects. Jewish art revealed its contribution to Roman society and Christian imagery. And, at the climax of the exhibition were the monuments of Early Christian art, which drew on all these precedents and culminated in churches of astonishingly varied design and lavish decoration. They constituted the traditional and innovative aspects of an art that for centuries formed the basis for artistic expression in Europe.

The exhibition owes its existence to the joining of three major forces—the lenders, the organizers, and the sponsors—whom it is my pleasure to recognize and thank. Among the large number of public and private lenders, it is difficult to single out particular collections since all contributed so generously of their treasures. Some major institutions lent as many as twenty-five precious objects, while smaller church treasuries contributed a single masterpiece. To them all, The Metropolitan Museum of Art extends its most grateful appreciation. A number of government and ecclesiastical officials who do not appear on the list of lenders must be mentioned here for their helpful cooperation: Mario Pedini, Minister for Fine Arts, Vittorio Cordero di Montezemolo, Minister of External Affairs, Alessandro Cortese de Bosis, Consul General, and Marco Miele, Cultural Attaché, at the Italian Consulate in New York, Mario Mirabella Roberti, Professor of the University of Trieste, and Peter Arndt, Cultural Attaché at the Embassy of the United States of America in Italy, for their assistance in securing the loans from Italy; Terence Cardinal Cooke and Monsignor Eugene Clarke of the Catholic Archdiocese of New York for the loans from the Vatican; Hubert Landais and Irene Bizot of the Musées Nationaux de France and Georges le Rider, Administrateur Général of the Bibliothèque Nationale, for their help with the loans from France; Stephan Waetzoldt, Director General of the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, Abraham Eitan, Director of Antiquities in Israel, Bogomil Velichkov, Second Secretary of the Bulgarian Embassy in Washington, and Tihomir Kondev, Director of the Yugoslav Press and Cultural Office in New York for their aid with their countries' loans; and Kajleb Kaak, Cultural Attaché of the Tunisian Embassy in Washington, who arranged for us to select five mosaics

from an exhibition traveling in America under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution. Robin Lynn and Eileen Rose of the Smithsonian were also most helpful.

The success and innovative concept of the *Age of Spirituality* lie primarily with Kurt Weitzmann, Professor Emeritus of Princeton University and Consultative Curator to this Museum, who developed the exhibition with careful thought, wide experience, and exceptional knowledge. He found a most enthusiastic and helpful supporter in Thomas Hoving. Professor Weitzmann also acted as editor of this large and scholarly catalogue, inviting an impressive assembly of scholars to contribute. I thank him sincerely for his hard work and its glorious results. Margaret Frazer, Curator, Department of Medieval Art, Professor Weitzmann's chief collaborator at the Museum, Stephen Zwirn, Research Assistant, and Jack L. Schrader, Curator of the Cloisters, similarly contributed extensively to the exhibition's formulation and organization. Alfred Frazer, of Columbia University, assumed the task of choosing the architecture to be displayed, supervised its cataloguing, and located photographs and models, often a difficult and time-consuming task. Karl Katz provided valuable assistance in negotiations for loans. Sandra Morgan, Kristin Kelly, Wendy Stein, Linda Lovell, and Robin Sand were helpful, particularly in the final months of the exhibition's preparation. Lynda Gillman, Professor Weitzmann's assistant, Caroline Howard, Barbara Boehm, Nancy Little, and Jacolyn Mott gave valuable administrative and secretarial assistance. Sarah McClain, Lucy Adams, Zdenka Munzer, and Joan Pachner devoted voluntarily many hours of essential work. Darma Beck, Elizabeth Childs, Johannes Gaertner, and Johanna Zacharias provided necessary translations. Margaret Nolan and Patricia Bailey of the Slide Library helped build an extensive photo and slide collection for the exhibition. In the Medieval Department, Carmen Gómez-Moreno, Curator-in-Charge, with Charles Little and Katharine Brown, provided perceptive advice and help with the installation. Vincent Juliano was as ever irreplaceable for his patient and careful work with the objects.

The exhibition's installation that suited so well on one hand the grandiose scale of the late Roman world and on the other the preciousness of its most delicate arts, was designed by Herbert Schmidt, Manager of Design, and Jeff Serwatien. Stuart Silver, Design Director, Samuel Shayer, and Marlene Adlerblum also contributed imaginative and valuable work. The mounting of the objects by the Conservation Departments was ably directed by Tony Frantz, Conservator in Charge, Hermes Knauer, Nabuko Kajitani, and Steven Weintraub. Franz Schmidt expertly controlled the construction, and Nancy Staub ensured the ordered coordination of the work.

I extend to them my warmest congratulations and gratitude.

Finally, very generous grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Robert Wood Johnson Jr. Charitable Trust, and the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities, who, under the Arts and Artifacts Indemnity Act, granted indemnity to the exhibition, made this exhibition possible. I thank these sponsors, who had the vision to appreciate the artistic and educational importance of this exhibition.

PHILIPPE DE MONTEBELLO

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For making possible the exhibition *Age of Spirituality* and its comprehensive catalogue, my wholehearted thanks go first of all to Thomas P. F. Hoving, who had the courage to suggest a large exhibition in an area little known to the general public, to entrust its layout and catalogue to an academic person rather than to a museum expert, and to give both projects his fullest support. When, during the course of the exhibition's preparation, the Director's responsibilities gradually fell upon the shoulders of Philippe de Montebello, he too gave his full attention to the enterprise, and I wish to extend to him also my sincere thanks.

The layout of the exhibition, grouping the monuments ideologically rather than by media, determined the layout of the catalogue and the choice of its collaborators. For each major section I invited an experienced scholar to suggest additional objects to be exhibited, to write a short essay and some of the entries, and to select his own collaborators and supervise their entries. Since emphasis was placed on broad understanding of the object, its relation to others, and its general significance, it seemed natural to rely on scholars from academic institutions as well as from the museum world. Quite a few of the thirty-nine authors were recruited from the ranks of younger scholars, who often were able to complement their entries with original research. Much of this research, which could not be accommodated in the limited entries, will be published as a series of studies on individual objects or groups of objects in the exhibition in a special, triple issue of the journal *Gesta*.

Since a list of the collaborators is given elsewhere in the catalogue, I feel relieved from the obligation of naming each one individually, but I do wish to express my sincere gratitude to every one for his or her devotion to the cause. I should, however, like to make particular mention of Alfred Frazer. When it was decided to include architecture in the exhibition, I asked him to take full responsibility for this material. He agreed, and performed the task with great skill and dedication.

I also wish to single out for special appreciation Marvin C. Ross, an old friend, who died before the opening of the exhibition, and for whose essay and entries I must bear final responsibility.

Special thanks go also to those who, in addition to writing essays and entries, have contributed in various ways to the exhibition and to the catalogue. Margaret Frazer has been my chief and most devoted collaborator in every way. I could always rely on her cheerful cooperation when the pressures were great. Upon her fell the responsibility for most of the negotiation and correspondence with the lending institutions and private collectors; she was also instrumental in assembling most of the photographs and supplying information on the objects. When extra help was needed, both of us could rely on Stephen Zwirn, who,

among his many special tasks, prepared the glossary. For the manuscript editing of the complex catalogue, I am greatly indebted to Lauren Shakely of the Museum's editorial staff, who dealt with an unusually large number of contributors, and attended to a myriad of details with patience and conscientiousness. Joan Ohrstrom and Jean Crocker mastered the complex bibliography, and Henry Morgan handled the final phases of production. Last but not least, my assistant Lynda Gillman sustained and helped me in the arduous task of putting the often unwieldy manuscript into shape.

It is my hope that this catalogue, on which so much energy has been expended, will not only serve as a record of the exhibition, but will be a handbook of the art of the period for years to come.

KURT WEITZMANN

EDITOR'S NOTE: Where copies or photomontages were exhibited in the show rather than the actual objects, an asterisk appears before the catalogue number. Double asterisks indicate that an object intended for the exhibition did not finally appear. Measurements are listed with height first, then, where applicable, with width, width by depth, or diameter. Diptychs are shown in the way preferred by the lenders. In the few cases where an entry is illustrated with a detail rather than with the entire object, it is noted in the caption. Foreign and technical words listed in the glossary have not been italicized in the text. Bibliographies for essays and entries employ short references. Complete references may be found in the bibliography at the back of the catalogue.

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Sens, Trésor de la Cathédrale
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Vatican City, Monumenti, Musei, e Gallerie Ponti-
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The Late Roman Empire
A.D. 300-700



The Empire at the Death of Justinian, 565

The Empire at the Death of Theodosius, 395

INTRODUCTION

The transition from the dying classical to the rising and finally triumphant Christian culture was a complex process, extending over several centuries, in which the two coexisted and competed with each other. Christianity owed much of its ultimate success to the fact that it outgrew its Jewish heritage and adopted many elements from the very classical culture it had set out to dethrone. By the second century such writers as Justin Martyr and Athenagoras of Athens made determined efforts to harmonize classical philosophy with the Gospel message. Almost a century passed before the Christians overcame their lingering aversion, rooted in their Jewish past, to the representational arts—though the Jews themselves had at times overcome this inhibition—and began to use the formal vocabulary of classical art to propagate the message of the new religion. In the end the Greek Church fathers not only reversed the iconoclastic attitude of the first generations of Christians, but elevated the representational arts to the highest level, that of Scripture itself: “The image is a memorial, just what words are to a listening ear,” said John of Damascus.

The classical and Christian cultures coexisted from the third to the seventh century, but at the end of this period classical art, as far as subject matter was concerned, had run its course and Christian imagery had triumphed with a burst of exuberant productivity. In these decisive centuries a variety of ideologies, each developing its own imagery, unfolded against a historical background which still maintained, despite many encroachments against it, far-reaching political, economic, and cultural coherence. The supernational Roman Empire, even after its division into two halves, was held together by a concept of world domination, often transcending its actual power. It was still safe for merchants to travel from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, and the widely flung network of roads on which legion-

naires and Christian missionaries traveled with ease was still intact. These were the preconditions for an artistic production that spread over the entire Mediterranean world and was, like Greek and Latin, understood equally well in the East and the West.

One of the most crucial turning points in history was Constantine’s victory over Maxentius at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312, leading to the Tolerance Edict of Milan in 313, an event that marked the birth of monumental Christian art. The first great basilicas in Rome, Jerusalem, and elsewhere were sponsored by Constantine and his immediate successors. This, in turn, led to a flourishing age of frescoes and mosaics to cover church walls, with individual hieratic compositions or series of biblical stories for the edification of the devout—literate and illiterate alike. The next momentous event was Constantine’s transfer of the capital, in 324–330, from Rome to Constantinople, which, not invaded until the Crusaders’ occupation in 1204, soon outranked Rome as the arbiter in all matters concerning the arts.

The rapid Christianization of culture and art among Constantine’s successors led, in the second half of the fourth century, to a counterreaction by the emperor Julian the Apostate in the Greek East and by such senatorial families as the Nicomachi and Symmachi, in the Latin West, all of whom reopened the pagan temples. In the arts this movement was accompanied by the revival of a pure classical style (nos. 165, 166) as a reaction against the more abstract trends seen, for example, in the Arch of Constantine (no. 58). This revival spread also into Christian art in a movement often termed the Theodosian renaissance (nos. 64, 399) after the first emperor of that name, under whose rule the division of the Roman Empire into East and West took place in 395.

In the sixth century, under Justinian I, the empire was once more and for the last time—though only briefly—restored to its previous grandeur. In this

ruler the arts found one of their greatest patrons. With the erection of Hagia Sophia (no. 592), he set the highest standards for church architecture and all the decorative arts that went into this unique building. Much criticized has been Justinian's closing, in 529, of the celebrated philosophical schools of Athens, where as late as the fourth and fifth centuries some Cappadocian Church fathers studied philosophy and rhetoric. But this action did not mean that classical culture was suppressed entirely: in the sixth and even the seventh century, silverwork with subjects from classical mythology in an elegant classical style (nos. 141, 202) was produced. Yet, when Heraclius I failed to conquer Persia, in 639, the expansionist policies of the Byzantine Empire collapsed, and with it was eclipsed a flourishing period of the arts. The onslaught of rising Islam marked the end of an era.

While first Rome and then Constantinople had been made leading centers in the arts by imperial governments, they were not the only ones. The great metropolises of Alexandria and Antioch continued to play major roles, not only because they remained wealthy commercial centers, but because, along with Rome, they assumed great ecclesiastical power as patriarchates. Only later were added Constantinople (in 381) and Jerusalem (in 451). All five patriarchates were creative centers of Christian art.

Against this historical background the battle of ideologies took place. When Christianity began to spread, it profited from the disaffection of large sections of the population for the state-supported Olympian religion. Yet, with the Edict of Milan, the pagan cults were not abruptly abandoned. While it is true that major temples were no longer erected or cult statues created, many temples were still standing, ready to be reopened at the time of Julian's revolt. On the other hand, it is a reflection of the change in cultural climate that the Olympian Zeus by Phidias, having been brought to Constantinople in Late Antique times, was not displayed in a temple but, more like a collector's item, in a palace. During the fourth century, while in the great cities the strengthened Christian Church had begun to suppress overt pagan worship, pagan cults survived somewhat longer in more remote rural districts, especially the Egyptian and Syrian provinces. Where representations of pagan gods and heroes did survive in

Constantinople as late as the sixth and seventh centuries, as evidenced by silver plates (nos. 139, 141, 202), they surely were no longer objects of veneration but art objects owned by a humanistically oriented intelligentsia.

Even before Christianity had become a power, skeptics of the Olympian pantheon had found spiritual satisfaction and consolation in the teachings of the major philosophical schools—the Platonic, the Stoic, the Epicurean, and the Peripatetic. Their artistic aspirations were satisfied chiefly by statues and paintings of the founders of these schools, representations that later became the models for the extremely popular portraits of the four evangelists (no. 443).

The masses were attracted by the mystery religions, whose popularity derived from their promise of salvation of the soul, resurrection, and a better life in the other world. It was mainly this eschatological aspect that made these cults strong competitors with Christianity. Especially popular was the cult of Orpheus, who soothed the wild passions even of animals with his music (fig. 22; nos. 161, 162), and who was at times associated with Christ himself (nos. 464–466). Having originated in Thrace, birthplace of Orpheus, the cult spread through the whole empire as evidenced by floor mosaics (fig. 22). All other mystery cults originated in the East: from Egypt came the popular cult of Isis (nos. 169, 170), whose imagery and ritual provided certain features for Christianity (fig. 69). From Persia came the powerful cult of Mithras (nos. 173–175), which, shortly before the time of Constantine, had aspired—and almost succeeded—to become the official state religion; from Asia Minor came the cult of Cybele, the Magna Mater (no. 164).

Christianity, having established itself as a temporal power, soon developed a well-organized bureaucracy, became a state within the state, and adopted ceremonial pomp from the imperial court. This trend was strongly reflected in the arts. In the third century, simple representations illustrated Bible stories, both narratively and symbolically (nos. 360–369), but, in the fourth century, the paraphernalia of imperial power was introduced into the pictorial language. Christ no longer sat like a teacher on a chair, but like an emperor on a jewel-studded throne. The infusion in some scenes of liturgical or dogmatic overtones led

to the creation of hieratic compositions in which the borrowings from imperial iconography are only too obvious. With an unsurpassed richness of images, the Christian Church had fully realized the extraordinary power of pictorial language for asserting its authority.

Yet Christianity was not the first to invent biblical art. It was after all the offspring of Judaism, from which it adopted the Old Testament and many of its moral precepts. But what has become clear only fairly recently is that at a certain period, as documented by the third-century synagogue at Dura Europos on the Euphrates (no. 341), the Jews possessed an apparently well established representational art, by no means primitive. The coexistence and mutual tolerance of a variety of religious establishments within the same community can nowhere be better demonstrated than in Dura. Of its many places of worship, no fewer than five are decorated with second- and third-century frescoes: a temple of Zeus Theos, a temple of Bel, a Mithraeum, a synagogue, and a Christian baptistery (no. 360). Had not the city been destroyed by the Persians in 256, this coexistence would surely have continued. There is reason to believe that similar conditions prevailed in other parts of the Roman Empire.

But no matter how different the tenets of the various religions, the formal vocabulary by which artists expressed themselves pictorially was the same everywhere. The conquests of Alexander had brought about a standardization of the artistic language that originated in Hellenistic Greece and spread throughout the Near East, and, under the Roman emperors, throughout the whole of the Latin West as well. It was an anthropocentric art in which the human figure could be represented in every possible pose and emotion. This Greco-Roman style is felt even at the periphery of the empire, as, for example, in Dura, though here it is mixed with Oriental, mainly Parthian elements. This curious mixture is the same in the wall paintings of all religious buildings at Dura. In other words, no single religion, including Christianity, developed its own style commensurate with its special ideology, but they all accepted the same locally established pictorial conventions. Over the centuries, it is true, one can notice a gradual change from the realism of bodily forms to the abstraction of more spiritual forms, but no single religion can claim

to have instigated this trend. The inclination toward more spiritualized form and content was inherent in all creations of our period. Art, like the Greek *Koine*, was understood in all centers of the Mediterranean world.

The layout of the exhibition was designed to present an intermingling of media, which, while forfeiting certain insights into workshop connections, permits a better understanding of the dependencies of one medium upon another. To bring order to the heterogeneous material, we have divided it into five realms, starting, for several reasons, with the imperial. In those turbulent centuries the monarchy was the most stable institution, rooted in the Golden Age of Augustus and continuing, at least in Constantinople, through the entire Middle Ages. Of course, the emperor's adoption of Christianity brought changes that were reflected in the visual arts. Christian symbols like the Chi Rho were added to or replaced the traditional insignia, so that in official state monuments it was clear that the emperor had achieved his victories in the name of Christ (nos. 28, 68). The emperor's portrait was publicly displayed as before, at first still in the form of a statue in the round (no. 23; fig. 7), but eventually the most striking depiction would be in two-dimensional media, especially mosaics (nos. 65, 66). Imperial art increasingly stressed the ceremonial—whether processions, acts of warfare, the hunt, or various kinds of performances in the circus—thereby using pictorial language to its fullest advantage as propaganda. Moreover, in his consciousness of being Christian, the emperor at times identified himself with renowned biblical figures. Heraclius appears, in disguise, as David in the Cyprus plates (nos. 425–433), and as Job with his family in a miniature (no. 29). Since the best artists worked for the court, representations of emperors, empresses, consuls, and other officials are among those of the highest quality and are rendered in the greatest variety of media: bronze (no. 10), porphyry (nos. 5, 7), marble (nos. 9, 15), silver (no. 64), ivory (no. 28), glyptics (no. 4), and gold (nos. 30–44). Because the percentage of dated and datable portraits is relatively high among these imperial monuments, they provide a sound basis for the study of stylistic development.

The second realm, the classical, demonstrates the

selective survival of the Olympian gods and heroes for several centuries after the firm establishment of the Christian Church. Zeus had lost his major position, though he survived—mainly in Egypt—because of his identification with Sarapis, the god of the lower world (no. 171). Although Dionysos and his revelry must have been repulsive to the Christians, the vine, the kantharos, and vintage scenes became important Christian symbols. Aphrodite, the goddess of universal love, likewise enjoyed great popularity (nos. 288, 310), as did Asklepios, the patron of physicians (no. 133), and Apollo, especially in his role as leader of the muses (no. 243). As personifications of inspiration, the muses transcended the bonds of paganism and became acceptable in Christian imagery. Among the heroes, Heracles (nos. 136–140, 205, 206) and Achilles (nos. 207–213) emerged as favorites because they were venerated as symbols of Virtue and Fortitude, having strong appeal for pagans and Christians alike. There were other mythological representations ideologically unobjectionable to the Christians: scenes of happy bucolic life, for example, introduced into the decoration of Christian catacombs, sarcophagi, and elsewhere, to suggest the paradisiac life after death (nos. 224–237). Personifications of all kinds—cities, river gods or nymphs, seasons, months (nos. 153–160), and many others—when they appear isolated, often cannot be ascribed with certainty either to a pagan or a Christian milieu.

When worship of the pagan gods was finally abandoned, their rich imagery retreated into media, mainly books, where, as collector's items, they could satisfy the curiosity of the Christian intellectual. Through illustrated epic poems of Homer and Vergil (nos. 193, 194, 203, 204), dramas of Euripides and Menander (nos. 216, 219, 221), mythological handbooks, and the like, a wealth of mythological imagery was passed on to the Early Christians. In some cases, as with the comedies of Terence (fig. 27), classical imagery survived into the Middle Ages. The copying of miniatures helped to establish a fixed iconography. Cycles from the life of Achilles, whether in marble, silver, bronze, or terracotta (nos. 207–210), can be traced to a common source, possibly an illustrated Achilles poem.

Knowledge of classical sciences was also handed down through the medium of the book. In late

antiquity encyclopedic compendia were composed and copied on a scale unknown in classical Greece. It is typical that scientific treatises, whether technical, like a surveyor's handbook (no. 188), medical, like a handbook on midwifery (no. 187), zoological, or botanical, like the Dioscurides herbal (nos. 179–181), were frequently illustrated as lavishly and artfully as literary texts. These pictures exerted a wide influence on other media, such as textiles (nos. 182, 183) and floor mosaics (no. 184).

As powerful as is the pictorial language serving the propagation of ideologies, not all art is tied to ideology. The secular realm includes art produced for consumers in every walk of life. A sculptured or painted portrait, even when radiating spiritual power, does not necessarily reveal the religious affiliations of the person who commissioned it. Garments and jewelry are the same for all, unless enriched with specific symbols. The preciousness or decorative splendor of an object more often than not depends on the owner's purchasing power. Also, in representations of daily life, where a patron of the arts often had himself portrayed in his natural environment, the main distinctions are sociological. The feudal class imitated the style of the court, although the hunt of a rich landowner (fig. 32) may be less lavishly depicted. Members of the professional middle class liked to have themselves portrayed at their occupations: a merchant storing, shipping, or selling his produce (no. 260), an architect erecting a building (no. 253), or a physician with his medical instruments (no. 256). Yet representations of daily life played a relatively minor role in comparison with the rich imagery stimulated by ideologies.

The inclusion of a Jewish realm in the exhibition was motivated primarily by the discovery in 1932 of the synagogue of Dura, whose walls are covered with elaborate frescoes depicting a rich repertory of narrative scenes from various books of the Old Testament—Pentateuch, Kings, and Prophets, among others (no. 341). The importance of this find is twofold: it proves that the Jews were the first to represent biblical stories on a vast scale and that Christian Bible illustrations depended on such Jewish antecedents.

Our basic concepts of the origin of Christian art must be reexamined. In its initial stage, Christian art,

our fifth realm, was content to express its beliefs by such symbols as the cross, the fish, the dove, the anchor, the palm leaf, and others. But, when Christianity, in about the third century, began to utilize the representational arts for didactic purposes, it made the fullest use of them, developing a repertory unmatched in richness and variety by any other ancient culture. The Holy Scripture was central to Christian life, and artists embarked on its illustration with extensive picture cycles. The method itself was not new: extensive picture cycles had been developed centuries before, for the illustration of the great classics, such as Homer and Euripides, and, as we now know, fully developed Old Testament illustration existed in Jewish art. In addition to the narrative, however, there existed a second mode, whereby the content of a single scene was abbreviated, often just enough to preserve its recognizability. This mode, mostly applied to funerary art—catacomb paintings and sarcophagi—has often been termed “symbolic,” though this is not quite correct, since complete scenes can also have symbolic connotation. In many cases, the two modes—the narrative and the abbreviated—are mixed. The much-debated historical problem is whether the abbreviated scene results from a reduction of the narrative or the narrative from an expansion of the abbreviated.

Biblical imagery is deeply rooted in classical art, from the point of view not only of style, but, to a considerable extent, of content. Wherever possible the Christian artist adapted a classical figure or, if he could, a whole scene with few changes or none at all. The figure of Christ is a most striking example: as a lamb carrier the form is taken from a bucolic context (nos. 462, 463) and the idea from a representation of Philanthropy; as a teacher he is surrounded by disciples as are philosophers (fig. 71); as a divine being he may be associated with Helios (no. 467) or Orpheus (nos. 464–466); and, seated on a jewel-studded throne, he poses like an emperor. Many scenes from the Old and New Testaments are based on parallels from classical mythology: the Creation of Adam on man’s creation by Prometheus (no. 411 and fig. 62); Jonah under the gourd (nos. 361, 367) on the sleeping Endymion; Samson on Heracles, and so forth.

In the fourth century, a more hieratic art began to unfold, as can still be seen in frescoes and mosaics,

while very little remains today of one of the central media for the hieratic style, the icon (nos. 473, 478, 488). The icon had a great influence upon other media, and one may speak of an “iconic” art, where compositions are enriched by liturgical and dogmatic elements. A focal point of creativity was the apse, since here the artist often tried to summarize in one complex composition eschatological, liturgical, and dogmatic, as well as topographical or historical elements, such as title saints and donor figures (no. 505).

The increasingly ritualistic character of Christian art was greatly enhanced by the transformation of implements of the liturgy into elaborate and precious works of art. The position occupied in the pagan temple by the cult statue was taken by the altar, on which the chief implements are displayed: the *vasa sacra*, like the chalice and the paten, the Gospel book with its jewel- and pearl-studded covers, and somewhat later, the reliquaries (nos. 531–541). On objects like these Christian artists lavished their greatest skills. Nothing could be less correct than to label them, as has so often been done, “objects of decorative art.”

In considering the media, it is most important to realize that some lost their predominant positions while others rose to preeminence. During these centuries, monumental sculpture was dying out, and although there existed, at least in the third century, a few statues in the Christian realm, like the Cleveland Jonah figures (nos. 365–368), the odium of their association with pagan idols brought this branch of art, which had played such a leading role in classical antiquity, to a halt. What survived longest were the statues of emperors and empresses (nos. 20, 23). Relief sculpture was less objectionable and flourished through the fourth and fifth centuries in imperial art, in the triumphal columns and other state monuments (nos. 58, 68), as well as in Christian art, especially on sarcophagi (nos. 361, 374–376). Classical art had already displayed a number of mythological subjects on sarcophagi, but Christian sculptors strove to squeeze as many biblical scenes as possible onto the available surface, often resorting to dividing the surface into two registers (figs. 55, 56; no. 386).

As a two-dimensional art, fresco painting was more willingly adopted by the Christians; the vast interior

surfaces of the basilicas of Old St. Peter's and St. Paul's were a welcome outlet for frescoes, which covered the walls with extensive Old and New Testament cycles for the edification of the faithful (nos. 439, 440). The system most often adopted—lining up consecutive scenes as framed panels—suggests the influence of illustrated Bibles. Mosaics competed in splendor with frescoes. While in the classical period the mosaic predominantly served to cover floors, it was now given an important position and used on the walls, like the fresco, to depict biblical stories (nos. 420, 588, 593). Mosaics were often used for apse compositions (fig. 73; no. 505), when the rest of the church interior was executed in fresco, suggesting that mosaicists were among the leading artists of their time.

The most spectacular climb of any medium was that of miniature painting. No great artistic skill was lavished on the illustrations of papyrus rolls (nos. 205, 222), as valuable as they were in the invention of extensive storytelling cycles. After the introduction of the durable parchment codex as the principal form for books by the fourth century, miniature painting achieved the highest artistic quality. The most luxurious manuscripts were written in gold and silver on purple—and even on gold-stained—parchment (nos. 410, 442, 443). The Bible, and especially the Gospel book on the altar, became focal points for the development of an enormously rich imagery.

One medium that competed with the book for a central position in the Christian rite was panel painting in the form of icons. In spite of some startling recent finds at Mt. Sinai (nos. 473, 478, 488), the icon is still most elusive because of large-scale destruction of holy images during the iconoclastic controversy (725–843). Yet the fact that they could threaten the very foundations of the empire highlights their importance. Icons focus on the images of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, and the great feasts, whose representations are often overlaid with liturgical and dogmatic overtones.

Precious metals, especially gold and silver, held positions of importance in all ancient cultures. The role played by gold is difficult to judge because so much of it was melted down. Yet in the fifth and sixth centuries large gold medallions were important

in the dissemination of imperial propaganda (nos. 30–44). All the more astonishing is the vast amount of silver that has been preserved. While in classical antiquity silver mainly served as handsome and often very elegant table service, in the fourth to seventh century it was often used solely for display. This is the period of huge, impressive silver plates like those that show the emperor in majesty giving gifts (no. 64); or depict deities of the Isis or Cybele cults (nos. 168, 164); or illustrate the life of Achilles in either one monumental or several small narrative scenes (nos. 197, 208). A cycle of David scenes is even distributed over a whole set of plates (nos. 425–433). The huge hoards of Late Antique and Early Christian silver found in all provinces of the Roman Empire are proof that luxurious silver objects were widely distributed, apparently owned by wealthy landholders and army generals as well as by churches, whose acquisitions of implements like precious chalices and patens in silver (nos. 542–548) had high priority.

Never before had ivory been so predominant as in the fifth and sixth centuries. The contrast between its previous utilitarian use, chiefly for furniture appliqué, and its new importance is particularly striking. Imperial and consular diptychs (nos. 28, 45–51) suddenly became a means for the manifestation of state authority. The Christians not only imitated the imperial diptychs (nos. 457–461), but used ivory for pyxides (fig. 86; nos. 447, 449), elaborate reliquary caskets (figs. 83, 87), and other liturgical objects. The rich repertory of Old and New Testament scenes displayed on them proves anew that the Christians took every opportunity to spread knowledge of the biblical stories.

Gem carving reached its greatest perfection in the Hellenistic and Augustan ages, but cameos of great beauty were still carved in the fourth century, like the sardonyx with a battle scene (no. 71). Christian artists also strove for a high level of competence in this imperial craft, as can be seen in a bloodstone with the Adoration of the Magi (no. 393). After the sixth century, the art of gem carving went into eclipse.

Other media, like bronze and terracotta, were used chiefly for ordinary household utensils and are to some extent transformations of ambitious silverwork into cheaper materials. For some implements used in

the Christian service, like lamps or censers (nos. 560, 561, 563, 564), bronze casters copied the figurative decoration of models in silver. Whereas the imitation of silver plates in bronze (no. 210) is rare, it is more popular in terracotta. A large repertory of terracotta plates (nos. 98, 140, 175, 434–435) preserves many representations lost in silver.

Another medium, at least some examples of which are more than just tableware, is glass. Traditionally emphasizing graceful shapes, texture, and color, glassworkers in the fourth and fifth centuries favored two special types for the rich display of figurative art simultaneously in the pagan and the Christian realms: cut glass, with its sharp-edged, straight lines (nos. 89, 378), and gold glass, with its more fluent design of golden figures, usually on a blue or clear greenish ground (nos. 79, 212, 377). These glasses leave the impression that special effort was made to bring significant subjects to the close attention of the beholder, even when he was drinking from a bowl. The high aspiration of glass manufacturing is represented by the use of the medium for a chalice (no. 545).

The last of the major media, and perhaps the most unlikely one to transcend the limitations of mere ornamental art, is textile. Good fortune has preserved in the dry sands of Egypt an enormous number of textiles from these centuries. Among the figurative textiles are many with Dionysian subjects, representing the god either alone, with Ariadne, or as part of a thiasos (nos. 120, 121, 123). Textiles teach us much about the popularity of the Dionysos cult in late antiquity. Among a variety of mythological subjects (nos. 112, 119, 142), bucolic figures and scenes appear frequently and even serially (nos. 227–230). Within the Christian realm the Joseph story enjoyed particular popularity (nos. 412, 413), surely because of its association with Egypt. The highest purpose is achieved when a textile is turned into a holy image, like the Cleveland hanging of the Virgin enthroned (no. 477).

In every medium discussed, pagan and Christian subjects occur side by side. In some cases it can be proved and in others it is highly likely that the same workshops produced art objects for any customer, regardless of his religious affiliation. When Christians started to bury their dead in sarcophagi, they

obviously depended on sculptors trained for different purposes. This explains, for example, the identity of style of the Constantinian reliefs in the Arch of Constantine with that of many sarcophagi (fig. 54). The similarity of style in such luxury manuscripts as the Vergilius Vaticanus (no. 203) and the Quedlinburg Itala (no. 424) can hardly be explained other than by the assumption of the same scriptorium in Rome. In the fifth century, several workshops specialized in the production of gold-glass drinking bowls depicting scenes from the life of Achilles (no. 212), charioteers (no. 95), Old and New Testament scenes (nos. 382, 396), or Jewish symbols (nos. 347, 348). Other mass-producing workshops were based in fourth-century Tunisia, manufacturing terracotta bowls with imperial (no. 98), mythological (no. 140), Christian (no. 384, 402), perhaps even Jewish subjects (no. 435), and other bowls that appealed to adherents of the Orpheus or Mithras cults (nos. 162, 175). In Palestine, glass flasks with appropriate symbols (nos. 354–356) were apparently sold at holy sites venerated by either Christians or Jews. The frescoes at Dura, a small city on the Euphrates, show enough homogeneity in style to confirm that the various religious groups commissioned the painters without asking about their religious affiliations.

The atmosphere of tolerance implied by the workshop practices becomes even more noticeable where members of one family, belonging to different religions, had depicted side by side in their common burial chambers subjects from different religious repertories. Three remarkable cases have come to light within the last decades: a burial chamber under St. Peter's, which has a mosaic with Helios on a quadriga at the apex of its ceiling (no. 467) and a Jonah scene on its walls; the catacomb in the Via Latina, where a variety of subjects from ancient mythology (no. 219), including some labors of Heracles, fill certain chambers, while others show a great number of Old Testament (nos. 419, 423) and a few New Testament scenes; and a tomb chamber in Alexandria where a scene of daily life with oxen turning a water wheel (no. 250) is placed alongside a herm set in a sacred grove, a lamb carrier who may well be the Good Shepherd, and Jonah under the gourd vine. The clearest example, however, of the intermingling of pagan and Christian culture is the Projecta casket

(no. 310), a bridal casket upon which a noble Christian lady had herself represented next to the toilette of Aphrodite.

With the ecumenical style prevailing throughout the Roman Empire, which toward the end of the seventh century was broken up by the barbarian invasions in the West and the rise of Islam in the East, there nevertheless existed considerable variations as the result of geography and time. The Greco-Roman style, predominant in imperial Rome, was not only shared by Constantinople, but here preserved, more strongly than in any other part of the empire, into the sixth and seventh centuries, nurtured by the imperial court and humanistic intellectuals. In the meantime, the great metropolitan cities Alexandria and Antioch, still deeply rooted in the classical tradition in the third and fourth centuries, began to succumb to the native styles of their hinterlands, Coptic Egypt and Palmyrene Syria. In the West, outside the imperial residences of Rome, Milan, and Ravenna, and especially outside Italy, in the provinces of Gaul, Spain, Britain, and the Germanic territories, the classical heritage weakened rapidly and was infiltrated by what is called "Migration of Nations" art. Yet this turning away from the classical tradition was not a linear development. Imperial commissions in the provinces, such as Jerusalem, where they abounded, artistic revivals, and several other factors produced objects in which the classical heritage was often much better preserved than in other works of art produced contemporaneously in the same regions.

Seen from a wider perspective, the general trend of stylistic development was from naturalism to abstraction, from sculptural to two-dimensional arts for the sake of dematerialization and spiritualization, and from spatial settings to geometric order. In art historical writing this process has been evaluated differently and even in opposing terms. Of pivotal significance in this debate is the Arch of Constantine (no. 58). Renaissance critics, like Ghiberti and Vasari, who judged artistic standards by their adherence to good classical models and closeness to nature, saw in the arch reliefs a thorough disintegration of classical forms, marking the beginning of the "Dark Ages" that would be overcome only by the art of the

Italian Renaissance. This theory, still adhered to by the nineteenth-century scholar Jakob Burckhardt and even by so late a critic as Bernard Berenson in the twentieth, was first seriously challenged by Alois Riegl. Riegl analyzed abstract forms in Late Antique works of art in positive terms, no doubt having been inspired by the expressionism of the beginning of our century. The breakdown theory promulgated by Renaissance and later critics is too narrowly centered on the Arch of Constantine; in this emperor's time there also existed alongside the "expressionistic" style a more classical one (fig. 34). The proponents of the theory of decline also overlooked the various classical revival movements that took place between the fourth and seventh centuries.

The abstract style of the Arch of Constantine, which continued without interruption in the subsequent centuries side by side with the classical style, was not solely the result of the impact of barbarian invasions or the influences of folklore. It was encouraged by the desire to achieve a higher degree of spirituality than could be attained by naturalistic expression. Abstraction was not employed in works of art of lower quality alone. A great artist could use it to achieve the greatest refinement and sophistication. Naturalistic-classical and abstract modes of expression could be applied simultaneously, and even within the same work of art. This can best be demonstrated by the apse mosaic of St. Catherine's Monastery at Mt. Sinai, a dedication of Justinian (fig. 73), which depicts the Transfiguration of Christ. Christ's face is rendered in abstract lines, his body flat and dematerialized, while the faces of Moses, Elijah, and the three apostles Peter, John, and James are expressive and emotional, and their bodies quite corporeal and lively. The highly sensitive artist has employed the abstract form for the divinity and more naturalistic forms for human figures. Clearly, the artist considered neither of the two modes superior to the other; they are used for different purposes. These two modes are the foundations on which the art of the Middle Ages built its great variety of styles, in which at times the naturalistic-classical and at times the abstract elements prevailed.

KURT WEITZMANN

INTRODUCTION TO THE ARCHITECTURE

Roman architecture is almost universally acknowledged today as the most compelling and enduring physical expression of the empire. It grew in power and sophistication of planning and technology and in richness of decor with the political expansion of the state, reaching a plateau of grandeur early in the second century. In the third century the prolonged political and economic crisis that almost dissolved the empire brought to a close the age of Roman architecture. The architectural tradition, however, did not end so abruptly. Not even the ardent chronicler of late Roman "decline" Edward Gibbon could have denied that in sheer number of buildings and in their size and adroitness of construction, the architecture created after the termination of the empire's crisis rivals that of the Golden Age. Official architecture, like Roman law, was one of the state's primary expressions of stewardship and instruments of unification. As long as the state survived, it would perforce continue to erect, in Gibbon's words, "works of national honour and benefit." Although in the Age of Enlightenment Christianity could be designated as the empire's chief agent of enfeeblement, we see today that, at least in the realm of architecture, the triumph of the Church provided the Roman builders with challenging new problems, just when all of the old ones appeared to have been solved.

The late Roman architects were surrounded by works erected by their predecessors. The magnitude of achievement is conveyed by the historian Ammianus Marcellinus' description of Constantius II's first visit to the old capital at Rome in 357, when

he thought whatever he saw first towered over the rest. There was the temple of the Tarpeian Jove (Capitoline Temple), . . . excelling as divine things do human: . . . the baths, built like whole provinces; the enormous bulk of the Amphitheatre (the Colosseum) in its framework of Travertine stone, to whose highest points the human eye can scarcely reach; the Pantheon, almost a

domed district of the city, vaulted over in lofty beauty; the great columns with their spiral staircases, bearing the likenesses of former emperors (the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius). There was the Temple of Rome (the Temple of Venus and Roma), the Forum of Peace, the Theatre of Pompey, the Odeum, the Stadium of Domitian, . . . but when he came into the Forum of Trajan, a construction in my view unique under the whole canopy of heaven, . . . then he stood still in amazement, turning his attention upon the vast complex around him, which is far beyond any description, and not again to be rivalled by mortal men. (Ammianus Marcellinus *History* 14. 10. 14–15 [Dudley, 1967, p. 30])

The Syrian Church historian Evagrius, writing over two centuries later, used the same *topos* of wonderment— clichés were much admired in late antiquity— but he applied it not to a masterpiece from an inimitable past but to a new building, the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople: ". . . a great and incomparable work of a kind that none like it was ever remembered . . . which excelling in beauty, far surpasses power of description." Ammianus looks back to a past never to be equaled, Evagrius confronts an unprecedented present. The attitudes of the two historians define the poles between which patron and architect aligned themselves in late antiquity, the desire to continue the forms of the past and the need for change.

From the past, Late Antique architects found much that was admirable and serviceable. A vast repertory of building types evolved by the second century, only a fraction of which appear in Ammianus' catalogue. In fact, almost every social institution had received a distinct architectural expression. Thus, the two imperial baths erected by Diocletian and Constantine in Rome in the first quarter of the fourth century differed only in detail from those of Trajan of the early second century. The Scholastikia Baths in Ephesus (no. 336) derive from another tradition

of small, less formal baths that can be traced as far back as the late Republic in Pompeii. The aqueduct that the emperor Valens brought to Constantinople was based on the raised aqueducts known in Rome since Republican times. Constantine's hippodrome in the new capital (no. 101) was an enlargement of a third-century predecessor, which was in turn a miniature of the Circus Maximus in Rome. The city houses, represented here by examples from Ephesus and Stobi (nos. 337, 339), were survivals or reinterpretations of the Hellenistic peristyle house, which spread over wide areas of the Mediterranean world in the Roman period. Even the Christian basilica, as represented by its first known example, the Lateran basilica (fig. 89), begun around 314, shared characteristics with the civil basilicas of Pompeii built in the late second century B.C.

The structural techniques that had made possible the most impressive achievements of the high imperial past were not forgotten during the long depression in building construction caused by the crisis of the third century. It is true that the cut-stone masonry, admired by Ammianus in the Colosseum, had long fallen out of favor in Italy, but it survived in Syria, as the buildings at Qal'at Sim'an (no. 590) superbly demonstrate, and it made occasional but impressive reappearances as far west as Diocletian's palace at Split (no. 104) and in Theodoric's mausoleum at Ravenna (no. 109). The specifically Roman discovery of rubble concrete, with either brick or brick and small stone facing, which had earlier produced the Pantheon and the vast imperial baths, lived on in such impressive works as the groin-vaulted Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine (no. 103) and the domed Sta. Costanza (no. 108). A parallel tradition of brick vaulting in Asia Minor formed the basis for the construction of the domes of the Galerian Rotunda at Thessalonike (no. 107) and at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (no. 592). Technology in timber construction had likewise not declined. Basilicas especially were timber-roofed, the unique Maxentian basilica being the rule-proving exception. In the second century, the timber-roofed Basilica Ulpia in Trajan's Forum reached a span of 82 feet. Old St. Peter's (no. 581), in the early fourth century, and St. Paul's (fig. 91), in the late fourth, had timber-roofed naves only 10 feet less in span.

Late Roman architecture's links with the high

imperial past occurred not only in planning and construction, but in the third member of the Vitruvian triad—beauty. As early as the Republican period, but especially in the high imperial period after the mid-first century, Roman architects had delighted their patrons with the creation of impressive spaces—quadrilaterals, polygons, and cylinders whose walls frequently expanded into niches. Concrete construction not only inspired new shapes, but a new style of vault that rose integrally from the walls without the sharp break caused by a flat ceiling. Spaces were thus endowed with a strongly unified, sculptural character, as in Nero's Golden House, Domitian's palace, and in many Hadrianic buildings. The sculptural quality is also found in many late Roman buildings: S. Lorenzo at Milan (no. 584), the Baptistry of the Orthodox at Ravenna (no. 588), and, with a dynamically new twist, at Hagia Sophia (no. 592).

Earlier Roman builders delighted in disposing their differently shaped spaces sequentially along axes to form complex spatial chains. Moving along such paths *predetermined by the architect, through diversely illuminated open and closed spaces*, drawn on by distant vistas, the beholder was treated to a sense of exhilaration. Both the Pantheon and Trajan's Forum offer splendid high imperial examples of this aesthetic quality. Yet the basic artistic structure of the Forum is the same as that of Old St. Peter's (no. 581). Entrance to both was restricted to a monumental gate at one end of a long axis; each leads into a porticoed court—in the former, the Forum proper, and, in the latter, the atrium; in the center of the Forum stood an equestrian statue of the emperor and in St. Peter's atrium, a large fountain for ablutions occupied the center; a large, five-aisled basilica rose behind each court, that of the Forum forming a cross axis; the transept hall behind the nave of St. Peter's formed the corresponding cross-axis; and at the terminus of the long axis of each rose monuments to victory over the graves of Trajan and St. Peter in the form of the Column of Trajan and the tropaion of Peter. S. Lorenzo at Milan (no. 584), the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem (no. 582), and Abu Mena in Egypt (no. 591) are but a few Late Antique examples outside Rome that document the continued vigor of this axial-spatial aesthetic.

The interior of the Pantheon gives no evidence of

its sophisticated concrete structure; up to the springing of the dome its structural facts of life are concealed behind a marble sheathing, which appears as two superposed classical orders. Not even the free-standing columns of the order have a structural function. This kind of benign schizophrenia had a long history in Roman architecture; a structure of continuous walls or arcades was disguised internally, and often externally, beneath an appliqué of classical orders. The Roman admiration of classical Greek culture was such that the appearance, even non-structurally, of the orders in a building endowed it with a high social and cultural status. This appreciation of the symbolic power of the order was continued in the late Roman period, but in a reduced and significantly modified form. It is found in the wall decoration of the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine (no. 103) and in the Galerian Rotunda at Thessalonike (no. 107), where only the attachment holes for the encrustation attest to the original design. But Renaissance drawings of Sta. Costanza, a seaside loggia at Ostia (no. 340), and the extant nave walls of Sta. Maria Maggiore (fig. 94) demonstrate the continuing tradition of a kind of architectural wallpaper based on the column and entablature. Close examination reveals inconsistencies in design and detail that would not have occurred in similar compositions of an earlier age. For example, at Sta. Costanza the regular grid of the orders and panels is broken by the undisguised intrusion of the arcades in the lowest zone, as though the panels had been cut for a different building, having a horizontal entablature over the columns; at the Ostian loggia the paneled central zone is surmounted by a continuous frieze of life-size lions different from it in scansion as well as in scale; and at Sta. Maria Maggiore the classically disciplined, plastic membering of columns, pilasters, entablatures, and tabernacles of the lateral walls finds no congruent extension in the flat design of the triumphal arch they abut. In each case the classical quality of concinnity is absent. The anomalies suggest that the elements of continuity were less important in late Roman architecture than those of change. Paradoxically, the views of both Ammianus Marcellinus and Evagrius may have been correct.

The principal innovations in planning are found in the evolution of buildings for the Christian cult, the only major element in late Roman life not previously

accorded serious architectural attention. The fourth century saw considerable experimentation to meet new needs in adapting and changing forms well known to architect and patron alike. The principal demands of the newly legitimate Christian Church were for monuments to Christian faith and triumph, erected over sacred sites in the Holy Land and at the tombs or memorials of martyrdom throughout the Mediterranean world, and for halls for the celebration of the Eucharist and the sacrament of baptism. By the end of the fourth century, the Church required monasteries, as well. Solutions for holy sites structures could be dramatically different, as, for example, at the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem (no. 582) and at the tomb of St. Peter in Rome (no. 581). Many structures enshrining the sites of sacred events—like the Holy Sepulcher—or memorializing martyrs (martyria) were centralized in plan—circular, octagonal, square, or cruciform. At least the polygonal and circular forms may have been adopted from those of contemporary imperial mausolea in the form of rotundas, which began to flower in the early years of the fourth century, as witnessed by the mausoleum of Diocletian at Split (no. 104), the Galerian Rotunda (no. 107), which was almost surely a mausoleum, and later in the rotunda of Constantina, Sta. Costanza (no. 108). The adoption of the form for Christian purposes, therefore, represents a natural transference of its imperial connotations to those of the divine and the holy. Not all centralized Christian structures were over sacred sites and martyrs' shrines. The great octagonal church built by Constantine at Antioch, known from literary sources, was probably the city's cathedral. And although the tetraconch at Abu Mena (no. 591) stood above the tomb of St. Menas, S. Lorenzo at Milan (no. 584), the earliest known church of this form, has no known connections with a martyr cult, but rather may have been functionally related to the two smaller vaulted halls attached to it, which, in turn, may have been mausolea of members of the imperial family. Otherwise, the many other Early Christian tetraconchs seem to have been cathedrals or normal churches. This attractive spatial form has no known precedents in earlier Roman architecture, although it continues the spirit of spatial inventiveness characteristic of much Hadrianic building. If not all centralized buildings were memorial churches, not all churches

destined simply for the Sunday Mass were basilicas. Even among early basilicas there is little uniformity. They may be large five-aisled structures; far more frequently they were three-aisled; but even simple undivided halls with a terminal apse are documented. By the fifth century, the three-aisled basilica had come to prevail over most of the Christian world, although Hagios Demetrios at Thessalonike shows the five-aisled version was not extinct (fig. 92). Nor among three-aisled churches was there a canonical version; each region of the empire had its own distinctive type conditioned by local liturgical practices, structural techniques, and artistic preferences.

Baptisteries either adjoined early cathedral churches or stood close to them. There was great diversity in form and size in early solutions: square or rectangular rooms, with or without apses, cruciform halls, quatrefoils, circular halls with and without ambulatories, and octagons—all occur with various combinations of ancillary rooms. Of all the baptistery forms, none is architecturally more interesting than the octagon. Examples were scattered throughout the empire, but the greatest concentration occurs in northern Italy and contiguous regions of France and Yugoslavia in the late fourth and the fifth centuries. The Baptistery of the Orthodox at Ravenna (no. 588) is the best-preserved example. For good reason, its forms and articulation are reminiscent of such late Roman imperial mausolea as Sta. Costanza (no. 108). The entire category of octagonal baptisteries reflects this source, as the act of baptism represents the extinguishing of a life of sin and a rebirth in Christ. It therefore adopts the form of a funerary building of the highest class; simultaneously it is linked to centralized martyria, of which the Rotunda of the Anastasis (the Resurrection), at the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem (no. 582), is the archetype.

The Baptistery of the Orthodox (no. 588) is not only of interest from the planning viewpoint, but also from the structural. Its 3 feet thick brick walls would appear insufficient to support a hemispherical pendentive dome 31 feet 6 inches in diameter. This was only possible because the dome is constructed of small, interlocking terracotta tubes called *tubi fittili*, laid in diminishing concentric circles and set in quick-setting cement. The result was an extremely

lightweight vault requiring minimal support. Although the technique appeared earlier in North Africa, its application in monumental buildings occurred only in late antiquity and only in central and northern Italy. Tubular vaulting is but one of several efforts by late Roman architects to achieve lightweight equivalents to the massive concrete domes of their high imperial predecessors. Large empty terracotta jars (amphoras) were set in a concrete matrix to reduce the dead weight of the vault. This technique, represented in the grandstands of the Maxentian Circus at Rome (no. 100), was widely applied in the old capital in the fourth century and in northern Italy; its appearance in the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna inspired the great English neoclassicist Sir John Soane to adopt the technique for his fireproof vaults in the Bank of England. Late Antique lightweight vaulting appears also in the East, where, at Constantinople and other cities of the Aegean littoral, an earlier provincial technique of thin brick vaults was refined to perfection. Ubiquitous in Constantinople, such vaults appear in its renowned underground cisterns, in the bastions of its ramparts (no. 335), and in the vaults of Hagia Sophia (no. 592). The entire structural system of Hagia Sophia strove to cover the maximum enclosed area with the lightest possible vaults and with minimum encumbrance at floor level of supporting piers and walls. The most complex structure ever erected in the Roman world, notwithstanding the collapse and reconstruction of the dome twenty years after completion, Hagia Sophia is the most eloquent testimony to the constructive vision of late Roman architects and the dogged faith of their patrons. Evagrius was correct when he stated, "none like it was ever remembered."

Hagia Sophia's balancing act, by which vast areas of bearing wall—the main supporting element in high imperial architecture—were eliminated, was in part to permit the maximum number of windows for the illumination of the interior. The church is not unique in the abundance of its fenestration, for, if a primary concern of earlier Roman architects had been with the modeling of interior space, that of the late Roman architect was with its brilliant illumination. For the first time since Minoan days, the window again became an important element of design in Mediter-

anean architecture, a position it has never since relinquished. The rise of the window's prominence may have been influenced by the Roman experience in northwestern Europe, where, for example, at the Aula Palatina at Trier (no. 102) two tiers of round-arched windows generously illuminate the interior even on gray days. Yet a similar pattern of fenestration is found in the contemporary Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine at Rome (no. 103). Among Christian buildings, Sta. Sabina at Rome (no. 586), S. Vitale at Ravenna (no. 593), the Church of the Virgin Acheiropoietos at Thessalonike (no. 587), and even an example in the hot climate of Syria, at Qal'at Sim'an (no. 590), demonstrate the quest for brilliant illumination was as strong in sacred as in secular structures. The aesthetic effect created by the influx of light was much admired by Late Antique authors, who extolled the age's shining halls and glistening ceilings. Even after nightfall, churches were aglow with the artificial light of a myriad lamps and candelabra in bronze and precious metals (nos. 541, 557–559). Sunlight and lamplight fell on brightly colored, reflective surfaces; the trend toward marble revetment, previously noted, increased in late antiquity and was accompanied by an increasing use of mosaic decoration on walls and vaults. These forms of decoration are more effective on flat than on modeled walls, and, perhaps for this reason, niches and projecting half columns and even pilasters, so common in earlier Roman architecture, are less prominent in late antiquity.

So large was the empire and so vast was its largely state-controlled commerce in building materials that,

even in the high imperial period, such architectural members as column shafts were serially produced at quarries and stockpiled there or transported to yards in large cities for eventual incorporation in buildings unforeseen at the time of their manufacture. Such readymade materials abound in late Roman building: for example, the shafts of the columns of Diocletian's mausoleum at Split (no. 104) and those of S. Vitale at Ravenna (no. 593). In the West, column shafts, capitals, and lengths of entablature sometimes were taken from earlier structures and incorporated in new buildings, often in juxtapositions that are disturbing to the modern eye, as at Old St. Peter's (no. 581). If the classical order survived, the Great Church offers clear evidence that its old internal logic was no longer grasped or appreciated by many people. In the East, particularly around the Aegean Sea—so long the home of master carvers—an understanding of the sense and beauty of the old orders remained alive and provided a stimulus for the creation of a number of beautiful new capital forms (nos. 246–249) based on the adaption of older forms.

From Trier to Syria and from Constantinople to the rim of North Africa, the number of large and complex structures erected in the years between the accession of Diocletian and the death of Justinian testify to the continued vitality of Roman architecture. It came to an end, not through an exhaustion of ideas and a decay of structural means, but through social and political dislocations and economic prostration—the natural enemies of architectural production at any time.

ALFRED FRAZER

COLOR PLATES

PLATE I: *Statuette of Aelia Flacilla,*
no. 20



PLATE II: *Cameo with rider in battle (Belgrade cameo), no. 71*











PLATE VI: *Dido and Aeneas take shelter in a cave, miniature 15 (fol. 106) of the Vergilius Vaticanus: Aeneid, no. 204*

PREVIOUS PAGES:

PLATE IV: *Tapestry with Nereids in Nilotic setting, no. 150*

PLATE V: *Textile with fishes, no. 182*

PLATE VII: *Mosaic of poet and actor, no. 239*





OPPOSITE PAGE :

PLATE VIII: *Obverse of pectoral, no. 296,
with Annunciation*



PLATE IX: *Top, necklace with Aphrodite, no. 288; bottom, the Projecta casket, no. 310*





PLATE X: *The Rubens vase, no. 313*

NEXT PAGES :

PLATE XII: *Marble sculpture of Jonah cast up, no. 366*

PLATE XIII: *Scenes from the Ashburnham Pentateuch, no. 422. Top left: Rebecca overhearing Isaac send Esau to hunt for game; at the right: Isaac feeling Jacob's hand and neck, which are wrapped in goat skin; at the bottom right: Jacob's dream*

PLATE XI: *Bottom of a cup with Torah ark and temple implements, no. 347*









Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΤΕΡ ΗΜΩΝ Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΤΕΡ ΗΜΩΝ Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΤΕΡ ΗΜΩΝ





PREVIOUS PAGES:

PLATE XIV: *Icon of the Virgin enthroned, no. 477*

PLATE XV: *The Antioch chalice, no. 542*



PLATE XVI: *The Riha paten, no. 547*

I

THE IMPERIAL REALM

Portraiture

With the exception of medical illustration, portraiture is surely the most subject-linked of all forms of visual expression. It requires a model, either in memory or actuality, and it will always be judged, to some extent, by its success in conveying something specific about that model to its viewer—despite Thomas Eakins' consolation to a dissatisfied sitter: "After all, in a hundred years who'll know the difference?"

The successful portrait is also a work of art: it shares the stylistic qualities of art of its time and place and hence usually can be placed with some accuracy—something not always true of medical illustration. A portrait from fifteenth-century Flanders will not be mistaken for one from the same country a century later. This is not because of superficial attributes of costume or setting; there is a deeper way in which all art shares the general stylistic and interpretative qualities of its ambience. Although the people around us on the street seem to differ widely in appearance, the "look" of men and women at a particular place and time shares similar stylistic imperatives.

We are now, for example, aware of what is called a "1920s look," recognizable not only in photographs of people from that decade but in its painting, its graphic arts and design, and even its architecture. A period and its "look" may not necessarily be unified; at no time was this likely true, certainly not in our own century. Consider the 1950s: the same decade that began with the "Zoot Suit" and ended with a "Leather Look" was also the heyday of the "Man in the Brooks Brother Suit." Each was an instantly recognizable representative of a distinct socioeconomic class. One mode was almost certainly a reaction to the other—but it was impossible to know which to which.

If we can accept such premises, it will be easier to see the relevance of Late Antique portraiture to the development of Christian art. However different

the subject matter—for there were no actual likenesses of the founders of the Church, Christ or the apostles—portraiture itself did reflect its own time with accuracy, not only in the mechanical aspects of artistic style but in contemporary concepts of nature, human and otherwise.

Because they are based on specific individuals, portraits hold at least the possibility of identification and, hence, precise dating. This is especially important in a period like the Late Antique, whose chronology is so obscure and whose stylistic development is so convoluted. Imperial portraiture is the most useful in this respect, since multiple images of the same model were made and since coin types can usually supply basic data on the likeness. Still, as will be demonstrated, precision is not invariably possible even with these.

The earliest imperial portraits here, of Trebonianus Gallus (no. 1) and of Gallienus (no. 2), present the artistic alternatives available to the artist—and to his client—at the middle of the third century. The Roman Empire was torn apart by internal conflict, while its borders were being ravaged by foreign invasion. The senate and the army promoted rival candidates for supreme power—none of whom proved equal to the task—and contrasting imagery developed to portray the candidates of the opposing factions.

Military chieftains like Trebonianus were shown grizzled and grim, with close-cropped skulls and scowling brows. Senatorial candidates, the group to which Gallienus belonged by inheritance, were depicted as more genial, longer of hair and beard, more dignified in expression, perhaps more complacent because of a longer historical perspective. While antecedents of the military image can be traced to the death-mask-like memorials of the worthies of the Roman Republic, the stylistic background of the other mode is made explicit by Gallienus in his later

portraiture, where his heaven-fixed gaze emulates that of Alexander the Great, who had sought thus to dramatize the divine inspiration of his own mission.

Comparison of Gallienus' earlier and later portraiture, in sculpture or coinage, shows a shift of imagery that marks the true beginning of late antiquity (fig. 1); the later portraits, like no. 2, transform the actual appearance of the emperor, so that he comes to be shown not in his physical but, somehow, his spiritual self. This change in attitude toward what art should represent—to what is reality—is explicit not only in these portraits but in the words of the greatest philosopher of the day, one whose lectures Gallienus is supposed to have attended: Plotinus the

Neoplatonist, who had refused to have his own portrait taken, since it would show only the mundane, not the "true" spiritual and intellectual reality which was what really mattered about himself as a person.

This new attitude toward reality and truth underlies Christian as well as late pagan representation; yet it would be a mistake to assume that it permitted artists to ignore physical reality. In a portrait, the starting point was always the individual subject.

The stylistic legacy of the third century, then, was a determination of the possible range of modes of representation, from the military—compact, geometric forms, hard, tight surfaces with linear details worked by incising—to the senatorial—open forms with soft and contrasting textured surfaces, developed by plastic modeling. Both styles had their roots in classical precedent, but the former tended toward a less classical expression, while the more Hellenizing senatorial mode was more frequently used to exemplify the periods of retrospection when the glories of imperial Rome were evoked to inspire contemporary effort and emulation.

Certainly both modes were in practice during the period of the Tetrarchy at the close of the century (figs. 2, 3). On the evidence of the coins, the two seem to have followed geographic preferences, with the "hard" style mostly current in the Oriental provinces, from Egypt to Syria and over to the Balkans, and the "soft" style based in Greece and the Latin West.

It was at this time that the "hard," anticlassical style, the most distinctive style of the Tetrarchy, was pushed to its ultimate point of compaction at the hands of Egyptian sculptors working the most intractable stones (nos. 3, 5). This reduction of form soon reached a stage that eliminated all traces of historic sources, whether in Roman Republican or dynastic Egyptian precedent; it also stressed basic shapes so strongly that differences between models can become difficult to descry (nos. 5, 7). Nevertheless, it is clear that there were real differences between the transmitted likenesses of the different Tetrarchs, and, although these may often have been felt to be less significant than the identities that unified the rulers within their system, in most major works we may distinguish members of the group from one another.

Constantine the Great came to power within the

FIG. 1 *Marble head of Gallienus.*

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz



Tetrarchal system and used its means of propaganda, such as its imperial imagery, as instruments in his rise to supreme rule. He early abandoned the "hard" style, however, and turned to the alternative tradition of classical evocation, which more explicitly alluded to specific styles of the imperial past. At the capture of Rome, his desire to exploit such associations was demonstrated on the triumphal arch quickly erected to commemorate the event (no. 58). Incorporated into its decoration were not only contemporary, "hard" style reliefs of episodes of the conquest of Italy, but also reliefs made originally for monuments honoring Trajan, Hadrian (fig. 9) and Marcus Aurelius. While this reuse of "spoils" is usually attributed to the haste with which the arch was erected and to the shortage of competent sculp-

tors in devastated Rome, it has recently been recognized that a positive selection controlled the choice of borrowed images: these were the "good" emperors with whom Constantine hoped to be associated.

His own portraiture at the time of his arch shows rounded forms executed in a restrained, Trajanic classicism, while his coins were imitating Trajanic types and style. In a subsequent phase (no. 9) the head was elongated and the temples widened to form a wedge shape, a form that had Augustan precedents. In his final stage of self-glorification, after his vicennalia, Constantine's portraits become more oval (no. 11), with reminiscences of Antonine style and, beyond that, of the apotheosized Alexander. Through all of these transformations, remarkably, the unique traits of Constantine's appearance persist.



FIG. 2 *Marble head of Diocletian.*

Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek

FIG. 3 *Marble head of Maximianus Hercules.*

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum



One other feature emerges in the art of this time: the creation of portraits—and other works of art, for that matter—of greatly increased size. This had been a heritage of Rome from Hellenistic taste and seems to have been particularly popular with emperors of authoritarian bent—the most famous colossus had been that of Nero, while Gallienus is reported to have left unfinished a colossal portrait of himself as Helios, for example. Still there seems no real precedent for the quantity of overscaled—that is, over life-size—works produced for the Constantinian dynasty. Not only are there the fragments of the thirty-foot seated statue of Constantine from his basilica (no. 11) but also a comparably huge bronze head now in the Museo dei Conservatori, Rome. Reports of other enormous images come from other places in his empire; yet these all are merely the most exceptional works, rising over an army of lesser colossi only once or twice life-size. This taste must be marked as one of the distinctive traits of the Constantinian period, one which its founder passed on to his heirs—particularly Constantius II—along with the Antonine-derived Hellenism of his later imagery.

A reaction to this extravagance seems to have set in soon after Constantine's death (no. 15), and, after the passing of Constantius II, the counterdirection became dominant. The new style is related in only the slightest degree to the old "military" tradition (in the incised eyebrows of Gratian, no. 18, for example), but it does form as direct as possible an antithesis to Constantinian expressionism. Its forms are compact, spherical, and delicately modeled, with strongly contrasting textures; in many cases they seem slightly under true life-size. (By contrast, even on a work of tiny size like a gem, images of Constantius II such as no. 17 appear positively gross in scale.)

Such compact, crystalline, delicate forms, apparently typical of the Valentinian period, are replaced in the next generation by a style of ovoid heads, inorganic bodies, and richly ornamented surfaces, using or suggesting the most precious materials (no. 20). Theodosian art is complex in its references, as with its revival of female coiffures popular in the early Constantinian period, which were emulations of Antonine fashions; the Theodosians seem to begin

where the Constantinians left off. In its later phase, delicacy of form and softness of textures predominated in Theodosian sculpture, giving rise to the term the "subtle" style.

The Theodosian dynasty, under which the Roman Empire was permanently divided into two entities, was also the last dynasty to offer a coherent body of portraiture with a sense of a dynastic style, even a mode (cf. the Theodosius obelisk [no. 99]). With the rapid overthrow of usurper after usurper hastening the collapse of the Western Empire and threatening the survival of the Eastern, imperial imagery offers only random clues to the course of events. When stability returned in the East, conditions had changed so much that traditional imperial portraiture is no longer a useful index to stylistic developments.

Instead, from the beginning of the fifth through the middle of the sixth century, a series of images appears in a new artistic form: the ivory consular diptychs. Here were commemorated the successive consuls who administered the capital cities, East and West. The series begins just after 400 and does not immediately find its pattern: the earliest known,

FIG. 4 *Ivory diptych of Honorius.*

Aosta, Cathedral Treasury



made for Probus in 406 (fig. 4), portrays not the consul but his emperor, Honorius. All later examples either show the consul himself or give him at least equal emphasis. Apparently, it is an accident of preservation that has left us datable consular diptychs from before 500 only from Rome, but after that date only from Constantinople. It has been suggested that at least some of the Constantinopolitan diptychs were made in quantity for later inscription and use—a hypothesis that, if true, would frustrate their employment in tracing stylistic and iconographic developments.

Nonetheless, the diptychs do supply useful hints, as when we compare the increasingly blocky heads of fifth-century consuls like Boethius (fig. 5) with the most likely contemporary portraits in sculpture: the emperor, probably Marcian, in Barletta (no. 23), and the head of Eutropios from Ephesus (no. 55). These show comparable rectangular forms, uniform

FIG. 5 *Ivory diptych of consul Boethius.*

Brescia, Museo Romano



FIG. 6 *Porphyry head of Justinian.*

Venice, S. Marco

surface textures, incised linear details, and strong expressionist emphases; the Barletta colossus also recalls the Constantinian gigantism of a century earlier. At the same time, the group shows the possible range of regional variation within a generally standardized period style.

A different sort of clue is offered by the small medallion portraits of imperial overseers placed on Constantinopolitan consular diptychs in the early sixth century (no. 48). These supply our best evidence for the attribution of a number of distinctive full-scale imperial portraits to the same period. Several of these sculptures (e.g., no. 24), as well as two ivory panels (e.g., no. 25) are best identified with the empress Ariadne, while comparable male portraits—in bad condition—with equally spherical forms, polished surfaces, and drilled eyes, are probably of her consort, Anastasius (no. 88).

This spherical, polished style of the early sixth century ushers in a new series of classicizing episodes in Byzantine portraiture, in which forms soften and lengthen, and textures blend into uniform smoothness. The supremely elegant head of Theodora in Milan (no. 27) makes clear the debt of this period to Theodosian precedent, while pictures of Justinian (no. 28) imitate, even surpass, earlier imperial images of victory. Our evidence for the imperial portraiture of Justinian's reign is fragmentary to say the least, but it seems to show an evolution from earlier classicism—probably initiated under Justin I—toward increasing drama and expressionism, exemplified by

the scowling porphyry head preserved on the balcony of S. Marco in Venice (fig. 6).

In spite of continuing imperial awareness of the importance of imperial portraiture (no. 27), other evidence in the arts shows that this iconography was becoming much less significant in relation to the growing body of religious imagery. The sixth century appears to be the last in which imperial portraiture was made in any quantity for purely secular political purposes. From this time forward, the focus of Byzantine imperial art is on the art of the Church; that of the rulers serves only to honor and exalt the religious empire (no. 29).

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BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1913; Delbrueck, 1933; L'Orange, 1933; Felletti Maj, 1958; L'Orange, 1965; Breckenridge, 1969; von Sydow, 1969; Calza, 1972; Severin, 1972; Poulsen, 1974; Sande, 1975.

1 Statue of Trebonianus Gallus

Rome, 251–253

Bronze

241 × 56 cm. ($94\frac{15}{16} \times 22\frac{1}{16}$ in.); head: 25 × 20 cm.
($9\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers
Fund, 1905, 05.30



The statue has been recomposed from many pieces and the surface of both head and body has been covered with gesso and paint. It was restored in Florence before 1848, and later in the nineteenth century by Penelli of Paris; it was taken apart and reconstructed again by André in Paris before 1905. Both modern and ancient repairs are visible. The following appear to be modern: drapery over left shoulder and left arm; upper section of upper right arm with part of shoulder; right hand; a piece of upper back, the genitals, and both feet including support below left heel. Head appears ancient but is smaller in scale than the colossal torso. Although the head appears on the statue in a drawing reproduced in 1852 (Koehne), it is possible they did not originate together.

The head can be securely identified as a portrait of the emperor Caius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus through comparison with his coin portraits (Delbrueck, 1940, p. 93, pl. 11). Characteristic is the short, squarish face with pointed chin and hook nose. The short hair is cut squarely across the forehead, and the full, clipped beard begins high over the cheekbones. The high, furrowed brow, which gives the portrait its intense expression, can also be found in some of the coin portraits. Among other sculptures in the round considered to be portraits of Trebonianus Gallus, the bronze head in Florence (Felletti Maj, 1958, no. 261) is closest to this one, though the Florence portrait lacks the power of expression seen here. Both portraits recall earlier Roman realism in their emphasis on harsh linear surface detail. The brow is distorted and the face largely asymmetrical. The hair and beard are rendered by short chisel strokes that convey movement by swirling patterns. The abrupt glance to the left catches an impression of momentary energy.

The head dominates the nude statue, which is in the classical pose of a Greek god or hero. The right arm is raised in the traditional Roman gesture of the orator addressing citizens or troops.

The statue was reportedly found in pieces with its pedestal in a hall, perhaps of a military camp, in the vicinity of S. Giovanni in Laterano, by Count Nicolas Nikivitch Demidov in the early nineteenth century. In 1828 it passed to his son, and in 1848 Count A. de Montferrand took it to St. Petersburg, where it remained until it was sold to Rollin and Feuarent in Paris. It was bought by the Museum in 1905.

A. M. McC.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Koehne, 1852, pp. 2–9, no. 1, pls. I–II; Felletti Maj, 1958, no. 260; J. and J. C. Balty, 1966, pp. 542–545, pl. v, fig. 2.

2 Head of Gallienus

Rome, about 262

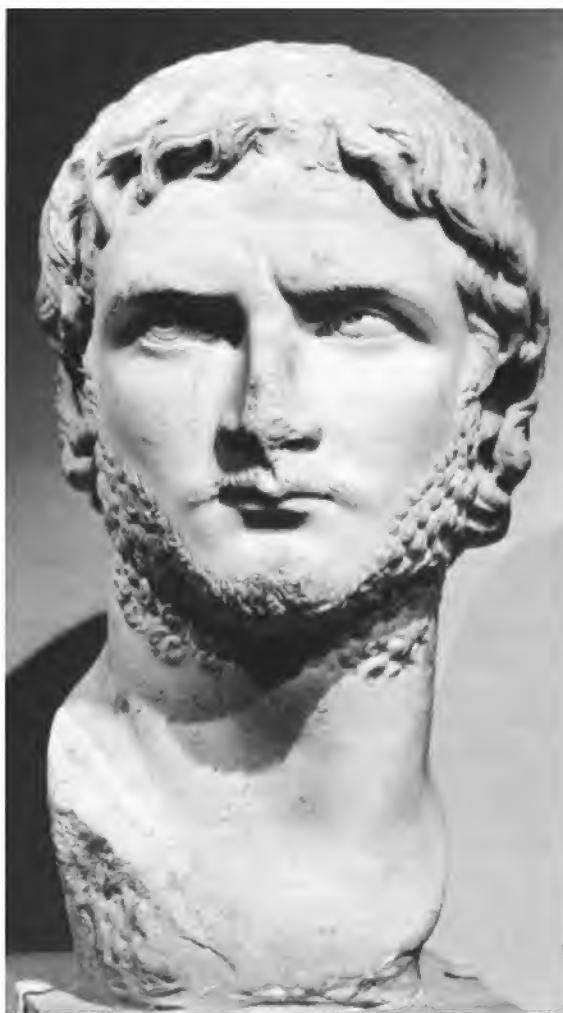
Greek marble

38 cm. (14 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 644

This fine portrait of the emperor Publius Egnatius Gallienus must have been inserted into a draped bust or statue, for remains of a drapery fold can be seen over the right shoulder. The point of the nose and ends of the frontal curls are missing, as well as a small section at the right edge of the bust piece. The surface is damaged in places, but the ancient polish can still be observed on the cheeks and around the eyes.

The likeness may be closely compared to that portrayed on a medallion struck in Rome in 262, the year of the emperor's decennalia (Delbrueck, 1940, pl. 16, fig. 62) and on medallions issued in 267 (Delbrueck, 1940, pl. 17, fig. 76). In both medallions and sculpture appear the idiosyncratic features of the emperor: the square head, pursed mouth with protruding upper lip, small eyes framed by wide brows, low cheek bones, and full chin. These medallion portraits also show in profile the same scattered, pointed locks over the forehead and the short, elegantly curled beard which clings around the upper neck. An intensity of expression is conveyed through the staring eyes, which here are directed slightly upward. It is a widely held, and probably correct, hypothesis that the medallion artists and sculptors were working from a common sculptural prototype. The overall plastic rendering is reminiscent of



classical portraiture, and thus the term "renaissance" is commonly applied to Gallienic art. The classicizing tradition, however, is only one in a complex of layers of stylistic traditions, and the total impact of this head is actually strongly anticlassical. The compact, massive shape dominates and not even the ears are allowed to protrude from the controlling abstract form. The individual features are not organically related as in classical portraiture but are isolated by the broad flattened planes of the face. Moreover, the uneasy tension conveyed by the upward stare and the asymmetrical contortion of the brows reflect a new spiritual consciousness, an emphasis also found in the contemporary Neoplatonic philosophy of Plotinus, who we know from ancient accounts enjoyed the patronage of Gallienus and his empress Salonina.

Gallienus may also have intended further symbolic meaning. L'Orange (1947, pp. 86–90) first noted the reference to Alexander the Great on a medallion of Gallienus of 260 (Delbrueck, 1940, pl. 15, fig. 45). The Museo Nazionale head appears to be a later variant of this portrait type, also represented by portraits in Lagos (Felletti Maj, 1958, no. 294), Brussels (Fittschen, 1969, p. 219, fig. 36) and the Museo Torlonia, Rome (Felletti Maj, 1958, no. 295). Through this portrait type Gallienus presented himself to the Roman people as a Savior-King in the Hellenistic tradition, deliberately allowing his own features, particularly the upward gaze and peculiar hairstyle, to be adopted to those of his model, Alexander, in his deified form. The controlling political theme behind this allusion as well as the others used in his varied portraiture was the promise of a new Golden Age (Hadzi, 1956).

Found in the House of the Vestals in the Roman Forum.

A. M. MCC.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hadzi, 1956, pp. 46–48, 86–87, 185–190; Felletti Maj, 1958, no. 293; MacCoull, 1967–1968, p. 72, no. 4, pl. 22, fig. 4; Helbig, 1969, III, no. 2315 (H. von Heintze).

3 Head of Diocletian (?)

Egypt (?), about 302–305

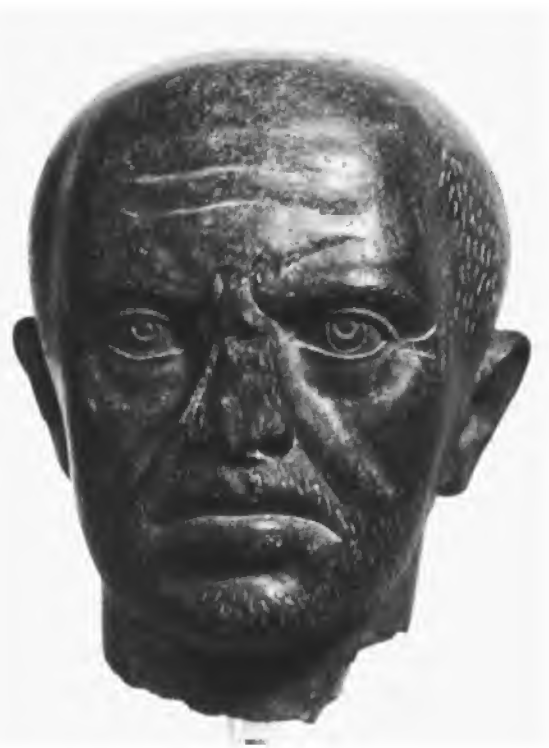
Black basalt

20.3 × 16.2 × 17.3 cm. (8 × 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{11}{16}$ in.)

Worcester, Massachusetts, Worcester Art Museum,

Alexander H. Bullock Fund, 1974.297

The head, broken off at the neck, faces front and gazes fixedly forward. The upper part of the nose and the rim of the right earlobe are missing; a small central section of the back of the head is damaged. Although there is some discoloration, the surface is in excellent condition. The powerful portrait, with its dominating block form, portrays an older man with high domed forehead, contorted brows, large eyes, wide nostrils, sagging cheeks, and turned-down mouth. The closely cropped beard and mustache are indicated by short random strokes of the chisel. The hair is rendered in a similar fashion along the slightly raised sides of the temples and around the back of the head. The top



of the head and the forehead have been left unchiseled, but a slightly raised band around the top of the forehead indicates that hair was intended.

This close-cut hairstyle is characteristic of the age of the Tetrarchs, distinguished by the enlarged staring eyes, whose irises are outlined and pupils drilled in three-quarter moon shapes. The brows are pulled into an asymmetrical pattern accented by two vertical furrows; the broad forehead is articulated by three horizontal lines. The surfaces below the eyes and cheeks are sensitively modeled to suggest the soft, fleshy forms of age. Further realistic details of age, seen in profile, are the sagging contour below the chin and rounded roll of flesh at the base of the skull. The head conveys the impression of frozen tension and cruelty, particularly through the brows and mouth.

A number of specific similarities can be found between this head and some of the images of Diocletian on coins and usually accepted portraits in the round. For example, the portrait on a gold medallion in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, from the mint at Alexandria, probably struck shortly after his abdication in 305 (Boston, 1972, fig. 81); the portrait of Diocletian in a medallion

relief on his Mausoleum at Split (Calza, 1972, no. 11); and one of the pair of porphyry statues of the first four Tetrarchs in the Museo Pio Cristiano, Vatican City (Calza, 1972, no. 9), all share the distinctive downward curve of the mouth, cubic proportions, and sagging cheeks.

The main difference between the Worcester portrait and the above images is the appearance of hair across the forehead. Since the temples and upper forehead, however, are slightly raised in the usual hair convention of the time and the sides chiseled, the man portrayed was not bald. This hair treatment resembles that of a portrait from the Villa Doria Pamphilj, which has been identified as Diocletian (L'Orange, 1929).

Diocletian made a trip to Egypt in 302, celebrated the twentieth anniversary of his reign in Rome in 303, and abdicated in 305. Any of these events would have been appropriate for the special honoring of the emperor by this fine portrait. It seems unlikely that we have a post-abdication portrait of Diocletian or one of a private individual in basalt.

A. M. McC.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Teitz, 1975.

4 Cameo gem with busts of Maximianus Herculeus and Maxentius

Rome, about 306–310

Chalcedony or sardonyx, in gold setting

Gem: 3.5 × 4.3 cm. ($1\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{11}{16}$ in.); setting: 4 × 4.5 cm. ($1\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Washington, D. C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 47.14

Two male busts are carved in dark stone against an opaque white background. The man on the left of the cameo is frontal, with head turned right, bearded and mustached; his chlamys is fastened at his left shoulder—apparently an arbitrary choice of the gem cutter—with a round brooch. The man on the right appears younger—beardless and without mustache; he is slightly behind his senior and slightly lower. Whereas the older man's hair and beard are in short curls, his hair is in

wavy strands. Pupils and irises of both men are incised.

The gold setting consists of a frame with two grooved loops at the top for suspension; three beads (beryl, emerald, and green glass) hang from wires attached by rings to the bottom. At back the stone occupies the full height of the frame, but at bottom front a horizontal strip, about $\frac{3}{16}$ inch deep, has been cut away for insertion of a gold plaque with the roughly incised inscription DIOCL(etianus) MAXIM(ianus) AVG(ustus). The gold of the plaque has the same appearance as that of the frame, and the edge of the cameo does not seem recently cut; the epigraphy of the inscription is antique, though careless. The plaque was apparently inserted in ancient times, but probably not when the gem was made (Richter, 1971).

The subjects are usually identified in accord with the inscription (e.g., Richter [1], 1956) as with Diocletian and Maximian. Recent objections have been based on the fact that the inscription is incorrect: it should read AVGG (Niemeyer, 1968; von Sydow, 1969). Richter (1971) was aware of the blunder, but considered it unimportant. Poulsen (1974) further insisted that the images do not correspond with other accepted portraits of these Tetrarchs, including their coin types. His alternative, that we have Claudius II Gothicus and his brother Quintillus (A.D. 268–270), is not convincing, however, any more than is Calza's (1972)



suggestion that the men are Caracalla and Geta (A.D. 211–212).

There is, in fact, no reason to reject the gem as a product of the Tetrarchy in terms of its style of execution, its use of materials, or its expressivity. If the authority of the inscription is rejected, the two rulers so represented are most likely to be a senior-junior pair, as in the porphyry group in Venice (Calza, 1972, no. 28). The older man resembles a togate figure in Syracuse (Calza, 1972, no. 39), already identified by Niemeyer with Maximianus Hercules; in this case, the younger man should be his son Maxentius, whose extremely broad face is distinctive (cf. Calza, 1972, no. 107). Maxentius invited his father to break his retirement and join his own revolt in 306; in view of Maxentius' early assumption of a beard on his coins (Calza, 1972, pls. LXIV–LXV; only fig. 211 is beardless), the cameo was probably executed about this time.

Said to have been found at Rennes, France, in the heart of Maximian's domains.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Richter (1), 1956, no. 11; Niemeyer, 1968, p. 88; von Sydow, 1969, p. 145 n. 64; Richter, 1971, no. 594; Calza, 1972, nos. 24, 38; Poulsen, 1974, pp. 31–32.

**5 Bust of Galerius

Egypt, early 4th century
 Porphyry
 40 cm. (15 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.); face: 17 cm. (6 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum, 7257

The bust has lost foot and base but is otherwise in almost perfect condition. The emperor wears the chlamys fastened at his right shoulder; head turned slightly right, he glares fixedly ahead. Surfaces of hair, mustache, and beard are raised slightly from flesh surfaces and textured with uniform chisel strokes; the face is drawn into a grimace with arched brows, straight nose, and downturned mouth. The forehead is delineated by two horizontal ridges above two vertical ones, leaving four raised "islands" of flesh above the brows. The eyes are strongly geometricized, and sharp creases arc from corners of nose to corners of mouth. The costume is treated in broad, smooth



areas contrasted with sections of closely spaced folds across the shoulder and at the fall of the cloak.

Various scholars have claimed the bust represents either an Egyptian provincial sculpture, anticipating Coptic art, or the imperial art of the Tetrarchy, or neither imperial nor Egyptian but a style of southwest Asia related to that of Sassanian Persia, or variations of all these. However, porphyry, the hardest stone known to antiquity, was found only in Egypt and was worked only by Egyptian craftsmen (Delbrueck, 1932). No doubt the bust is one of a considerable number of porphyry sculptures produced in Egypt for the Tetrarchy (cf. no. 7). While many of these are larger, none is finer and none is in better state of preservation. The reduced scale seems to focus the dynamics of the figure. While the summary treatment was dictated by the hardness of the stone—which must be worked by abrasion, not cutting—the mode of portrayal is found in other sculpture and on coin portraits of the Tetrarchs minted all over the East. The style—as divorced from the technique—of this bust is no more confined to Egypt than to the Sassanian marches.

Identification of the subject has also been dis-

puted. Most scholars had called him Licinius (e.g. Delbrueck, 1932), though others suggested Maximinus Daia, the nephew of Galerius (Volbach, Salles, and Duthuit, 1931), and Diocletian himself (Poulsen, 1974). Discovery in 1957 of a sure image of Galerius in a clipeus on the "Little Arch" at Thessalonike (Calza, 1972, no. 53) has persuaded most experts that this is the correct identity of the present bust, whose profile also corresponds best with those on Galerius' coins (Calza, 1972, pl. xxxvii, figs. 103–104): his short straight nose and scowling brow are unique in the First Tetrarchy. All representations compare closely with Lactantius' description of Galerius as a fierce and terrifying giant of a man (*De mortibus persecutorum* 9.3).

Found at Athribis (Wannina), Lower Egypt.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, Salles, and Duthuit, 1931, p. 36; Delbrueck, 1932, pp. 92–95; von Sydow, 1969, pp. 140–147; Calza, 1972, no. 55 (as Galerius), nos. 102, 122; Poulsen, 1974, pp. 36–37, 187.

only by the emperors. The model for this head is clearly Trajan, but many traits indicate that it was made almost two centuries later: above all, the large geometric form on which the features are applied as specific details. The general character of execution and form fits the Tetrarchy, particularly its later phase; and the corona civica seems to have enjoyed favor exactly at this time (fig. 3). The coiffure represents a clear reaction against the cropped hair of the first Tetrarchs and prefigures the conformation of imperial hairstyles for a century to come; the clean-shaven chin and jaws are also more representative of the Second than the First Tetrarchy.

Of the Tetrarchs, the one with the specific features portrayed here, in particular the broad brow and the mordant, sneering mouth, was Galerius, who in his last years is said to have become grossly fat, even dropsical (see Lactantius, admittedly a biased observer [*De mortibus persecutorum* 9.3]). That Thessalonike was Galerius' headquarters in the Balkans makes this identification still more probable. Comparison with the key to Galerius' portraiture, the tiny bust on the so-called Little Arch from Galerius' mausoleum

**6 Head of Galerius

Greece, about 310

Marble

35 × 25.8 × 31.4 cm. (13 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Athens, Museum of P. and A. Kanellopoulos

This head of a middle-aged emperor is turned slightly to his left; the eyes have lost filling of colored matter and have suffered some damage, especially to left eyelid; other losses are to nose, both ears, and in small chipping of various areas of surface; but overall the piece is in a good state of preservation. Abrasion has eliminated the relief on central jewel, presumably a cameo, of oak-leaf crown fastened behind the head by a summarily carved ribbon knot. The hair is brushed forward over the brow in uniform locks, with ears fully revealed. The face is fleshy, creased by nasolabial folds, with downcurved mouth and traces of a double chin.

The crown is clearly the corona civica, the highest honor the state could bestow on a Roman citizen, but reserved since Claudius' reign for use



at Thessalonike (Calza, 1972, no. 53), and even with the stylistically contrasting porphyry bust (no. 5), confirms the identification and shows at its clearest the range possible within Tetrarchal art from "hard" to "soft" styles.

A source in the imagery of Trajan for the early coin types of Constantine, during his campaign of conquest in the West, has already been demonstrated by M. R. Alföldi (1963, pp. 57–69), but Dontas (1975) has now shown that Galerius, too, was still more devoted to the model of Trajan, the soldier-emperor, than to that of Augustus. It seems indicative that a retrospective interest in Trajanic portraiture extended to other courts than that of Constantine at this critical moment, around 310, when the established art styles of the Tetrarchy were being dissolved under new pressures—just as was the institution of the Tetrarchy itself.

The head is said by the owner to have been found in Thessalonike.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dontas, 1975.

7 Head of Constantius I Chlorus

Egypt, about 305–306

Porphyry

43 cm. (16 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

London, The Trustees of the British Museum,

1974.12–13.1

This head is broken off irregularly at the neck; a large chip has broken off the upper left top of the head, another off the back of the head; other chips from left eyebrow, front of nose, upper lip and chin, and right ear; apparently willful chiseling of both eyeballs has erased all trace of pupils. Head was apparently turned slightly to its left; it is abnormally shallow from front to back, and modeled with great simplicity in brownish purple porphyry quarried at the Mons Porphyrites in Egypt's Eastern Desert.

The frontal view displays an oval contour, typical, according to L'Orange (1933, pp. 60–61), of the Second Tetrarchy in contrast to the rectangular stereometry of the First (cf. Diocletian, no. 3). The caplike hair and beard are indicated by short,

parallel strokes of the chisel; the eyes are enlarged and staring, their gaze emphasized by the linear organization of the circular lids and arched brows. The right eye is slightly lower than the left, and in other ways the face avoids exact symmetry. The nose gives evidence, despite its damage, of having been hooked.

In scale, the work must be imperial; by style, it is Tetrarchal. Among the rulers of the two Tetrarchies, the only ones with hooked noses, as Haynes (1976) notes, are Constantine the Great and his father Constantius Chlorus. While the son's likeness is fairly well established (cf. nos. 9–11), that of Constantius is more difficult to define (cf. Calza, 1972, nos. 65–79), but tall, narrow heads like this one are common to many images said to portray these men.

This portrait bears a strong resemblance in full face to a marble one in Leiden (cf. von Sydow, 1969, pp. 117–119, 140–141), which in turn is quite similar to a porphyry head found in the Antioch excavations, already identified by



Brinkerhoff (1970, pp. 19–28) with Constantius Chlorus. The Antioch head has a somewhat less oval outline and may be earlier than the others; these probably portray Constantius during his brief tenure as Augustus in the Second Tetrarchy.

While an Egyptian origin is assured by the type of stone used, the find-site of the head is unknown. It was in a private collection in Switzerland for some years before its acquisition by the British Museum.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Haynes, 1976.

8 Bowl with dedication to Licinius I

Naissus (Niš, Yugoslavia), 317

Silver

3.8 cm., diam. 16.5 cm. (1½, 6½ in.)

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of the Edward J. and Mary S. Holmes Fund, 1970.568

This cast and hammered silver bowl is perfectly preserved. A circular inscription punched within circular guidelines reads LICINI AVGVSTE SEMPER VINCAS, followed by the hallmark of Naissus; in the center, within a wreath, SIC X SIC XX. Together the inscriptions have been translated by Vermeule (1971), "Oh Licinius the Emperor, may you always be victorious! As the vows were for ten years, so may they be for twenty!"

Emperors of this period held elaborate celebrations on anniversaries of their accession, particularly at the five- and ten-year intervals. At such times, vows were made for the well-being of the members of the imperial house; one set of vows was acknowledged as having been fulfilled, another undertaken for the next period. The normal coin legend in this case would read VOT X MVLT XX, or a variation of this; the version used on these bowls only occurs otherwise on a few medallions celebrating such events (no. 38).

The date of Licinius' decennalia was 11 November 317. The manufacture of such mementos as these bowls at Constantine's birthplace might be taken as a special sign of courtesy to a co-emperor at this brief moment of peace.

The close similarity of the design of the bowls with numismatic types has led to the assumption



that workers from the traveling imperial mint were responsible for such work as well as for coins. Since coins honoring Licinius' decennalia, with closely similar designs, were issued as early as 315–316, the bowls may have been made earlier.

This is one of four, possibly five, similar bowls found on the site of ancient Naissus in 1901. Two are now in the National Museum at Belgrade, and another in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Noll [1], 1974, no. A23). This bowl was in the Kofler-Truniger collection, Lucerne, until purchase in 1970 by the Museum of Fine Arts through the Edward J. and Mary S. Holmes Fund.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vermeule, 1971, pp. 404–405; Boston, 1976, no. 121.

9 Head of Constantine I

Rome, about 325

Marble

95.2 cm. (37½ in.); face: 51 cm. (20¼ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Mrs. F. F. Thompson, 1926, 26.229

The nose, mouth, chin, and parts of the ears are restorations, drastically altering the likeness.

Nevertheless, there can be little doubt of the identification; about the time this head was made, Constantine's official imagery was apparently beautified under the influence of portraiture of earlier imperial dynasties.

The face is wide at the brows, which are framed by locks of hair combed forward at top and sides; behind these locks, the back and top of the head are summarily worked, indicating that the sculpture was intended to be seen frontally. The head

was made to be inserted in a bust or, more probably, a full-length statue, which would have been some 10 feet tall. The shape of the visage, the coiffure, even the close-shaven face—reintroduced by Constantine after the stubble beards of the Tetrarchy—are all aspects of the effort to evoke the memories of the great rulers of the empire. The particular emphasis on the emulation of Trajan in art and coinage, pointed out by M. R. Alföldi (1963), clearly determined the form of the portrait in the present image. The long face, the heroic scale, and the upward-gazing eyes conform with innovations in the numismatic portraiture that coincide with the beginning of Constantine's sole reign, after the defeat and death of Licinius in 324–325. The subject appears slightly younger than he does in the provincial bronze portrait from Niš (no. 10), which is probably slightly later in date.

In the Giustiniani collection at Rome by the seventeenth century, the head was installed in the nineteenth century in the courtyard of the Palazzo Giustiniani as Inv. 332, identified as Nero.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. R. Alföldi, 1963, pp. 57–69; Harrison, 1967, p. 92; von Sydow, 1969, pp. 26–27; Calza, 1972, no. 134, and pp. 221–222.

10 Head of Constantine I

Balkan provinces, about 325–330
Bronze
24 cm. (9 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.)
Belgrade, National Museum

The head is in a perfect state of preservation, with traces of gilding on the ears and eyes; pupils and irises are modeled in gold. The outline of the neck terminal suggests the head was intended for a statue in armor. The head is frontal, with projecting ears, hair combed forward under a diadem which has a double row of widely spaced pearls and a central jewel. The eyes stare ahead, not upward, under arched brows, and the mouth is straight and thin. The hair is unworked above the diadem.

The oblong shape of the head resembles the later portraits of Constantine, such as the colossal





marble in Rome (no. 11), more than the early- or middle-period works such as no. 9, where the face is wedge-shaped, widest at the brows, on a Julio-Claudian model. Other than head shape, this bronze and no. 9 are quite similar, particularly in the symmetrical, patterned locks of hair framing the forehead.

The diadem appears on coins in 324 (M. R. Alföldi, 1963, p. 93), and the coin portrait types confirm a date in the later 320s. The execution of the head has a provincial flavor, evident in the summary treatment of the surfaces and in the low arch of hair under the diadem, quite unlike any other portrayal of Constantine's forehead.

Discovered in 1900 at Naissus (Niš, Yugoslavia), the birthplace of Constantine, together with some of his coins, and fragments of bronze chariot ornaments.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: von Sydow, 1969, pp. 23, 35; Calza, 1972, no. 141.

*11 Colossal head of Constantine I

Rome, about 325–326

Marble

260 cm. (8 ft. 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.); face: 135 cm. (4 ft. 5 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.)

Rome, Musei Capitolini, 1692

Front parts of the head and neck of a fragmentary colossus, other fragments of which can be assembled into the following parts of a human body: right arm and hand, grasping a (missing) staff; right leg from knee downward, including foot; left leg below knee, and left foot. Parts of the chest and a shoulder remain behind the apse on the site. The position of the left foot, with heel raised, confirms that these are parts of a seated figure of an emperor (a metal crown was attached to the brow); marble was used to portray the exposed flesh area, while other parts were executed in colored materials, probably stone, which have been lost. The original statue was over 30 feet high, six times life size.

No modern scholar has challenged the identification of this figure as Constantine the Great, but the date of the work is much in dispute. Its discovery inside, not just close to, the Roman basilica begun by Maxentius and completed by

Constantine after Maxentius' death, has recently been confirmed by Buddensieg (1962), and has encouraged a number of scholars (Kähler, 1952; M. R. Alföldi, 1963) to link this portrait with the immediate period of Constantine's capture of Rome, 311–315. Yet the form and style of the portrait (despite von Sydow, 1969) conform rather to the new coin types introduced at the vicennalia and to likenesses of the mid-320s, such as nos. 9, 10, as Delbrueck (1933) maintained, and not to the heads introduced on the Arch of Constantine (no. 58).

Furthermore, as Calza (1972) has pointed out, while the Calendar of 354 tells us that Constantine completed the basilica, we have no evidence of *when* it was completed; a dedication at the time of the vicennalia would be fully in accord with the archaeological evidence.



Harrison (1967), who supports dating the head to the 320s, has argued that the head and hand are in different marble and different technique from the other fragments, possibly as the result of reuse of a second-century colossus in the basilica—just as Trajanic, Hadrianic, and Antonine reliefs were incorporated into Constantine's arch by recutting of the imperial heads (fig. 9). Such a hypothesis does not affect the attribution or date of this portrait head.

Found in the ruins of the west apse of the "Basilica Nova" at the Roman Forum in 1486 and conveyed to the Capitol between April and September of that year.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1933, pp. 121–130; Kähler, 1952; Buddensieg, 1962; M. R. Alföldi, 1963, p. 63; Harrison, 1967, pp. 92–94; von Sydow, 1969, pp. 25–27; Calza, 1972, no. 142.

12 Equestrian statuette of Constantine I

North Italy, 320–325 or later

Bronze

11.2 × 9.7 cm. ($4\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{13}{16}$ in.)

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung, VI 119

Although the surface is abraded, the statuette is intact. It depicts an emperor, wearing a crown with solar rays, astride a horse, which advances with its left front leg; its tail touches its left rear leg. The emperor wears a togalike garment; the horse has saddle and bridle. The ruler represented must have lived in the period when the cult of Sol Invictus was significant in imperial propaganda, the half century before 325: the last examples of the "radiate crown" appear on gold medallions struck by Constantine and his sons in Nicomedia and Antioch in 326, after the death of Licinius (cf. Bruun, 1966, p. 42).

Constantine had continued to stress this solar cult and its imagery on his coinage throughout the period of his struggle with Licinius, long after the Edict of Milan had raised Christianity to legal equality with other religions. The statuette presumably reproduces an equestrian statue of Constantine from those years of conflict, before the



fall of Licinius and the adoption of Christianity as the favored religion of the court (Noll, 1956–1958). The statuette is probably the product of the locality in which it was found, although the rough workmanship and simplified forms also recall the bronze weights that preserved the tradition of Constantine's image for centuries at the level of craft (no. 13). Just as the attributes shown on the weights continue to include pagan symbols long after the triumph of Christianity, the presence of solar symbolism here is no guarantee that the work was made before the official abandonment of that cult. In any event, "these bronze statuettes doubtless reflect the great esteem in which the emperor was held during his lifetime and long after his death, and, considering his popularity, it was natural for replicas of his likeness to have had broad popular appeal" (Ross [1], 1959).

Found in the nineteenth century on the site of ancient Altinum (Altino), northeast of Padua.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Noll, 1956–1958; Ross (1), 1959, p. 183; Noll (1), 1974, no. A9.



13 Weight in the form of a statuette of Constantine I

Gaul (?), 5th–6th century

Bronze

12.5 cm. ($4\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Princeton, The Art Museum, Princeton University,
55–3257

A figure of an emperor is seated, wearing a diadem surmounted by a loop for suspension as a steelyard weight (see no. 328); mantle draped over left shoulder, across lap, and covering legs. Globe in right hand with stump of broken cross; left hand rests on shield with projecting boss, christogram above right, and hatched hornlike form below, with ends terminating in goat heads.

This weight is one of a group from the late empire that portray the glories of Constantine the Great. The combination of attributes places the prototype at the crossroads of his life. He appears in the guise of Jupiter, but bears the Christian symbols of the globus cruciger and the christogram, as signs that the pagan era had been replaced by another one. The pagan aspects of the imagery are still evident on a bronze medallion struck at Rome in 326 (Bruun, 1966, no. 279), while the diadem first occurs in the imperial regalia in the mid-320s, as the radiate crown disappears (cf. no. 12).

The original model may go back a decade earlier (A. Alföldi, 1959): the emblem on the shield is the badge of the unit of Constantine's army called the cornuti, "the horned ones" (he-goats). This was a contingent of savage Teutonic warriors recruited on the Rhine frontier for the campaign that captured Italy in 311. Reliefs on the Arch of Constantine (no. 58) show them in battle first at the siege of Verona and then at the Milvian Bridge, where they were a key to Constantine's victory. While the shield must reproduce that of this corps, it also reflects the report of Lactantius that Constantine, after his famous dream, ordered the initials of Christ painted on the shields of all his soldiers (*De mortibus persecutorum* 44).

The cross-topped globe appears on coins only after 400, yet this seated figure strongly resembles the statues of Tiberius and Septimius Severus depicted on either side of Constantine in one of the reliefs on his arch (no. 58) and a statue of the enthroned Constantine shown in another panel (no. 58). If, on the other hand, its model was the colossal statue (no. 11) placed in the Basilica of Maxentius/Constantine (Calkins, 1968), the date is a decade or so later than the arch. In any case, various accretions suggest that the model was modified perhaps a century later.

This is one of five weights of the same type in various museums (Ross [1], 1959, p. 180). All reproduce the same basic model, but vary in the shield design and in that only two have traces of the cross surmounting the globe. While the recorded provenance of most of these is Eastern, the ultimate model was not necessarily a statue in the Eastern Empire (cf. Deichmann, 1960); in addition to this weight, the one in Dumbarton Oaks is also assigned a Western origin (Ross, 1962, no. 70).

Said to have been found in Gaul (Calkins, 1968);

collections J. Gréau (sale, Paris, 9 June 1885, no. 319); Dr. Fr. Kieslinger, Vienna; Piero Tozzi, New York.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Alföldi, 1959; Ross (1), 1959; Deichmann, 1960, p. 273; Ross, 1962, I, no. 70; Calkins, 1968, no. 101; Calza, 1972, nos. 155, 243; Boston, 1976, no. 135.

14 Head of the empress Fausta (?)

Rome (?), about 320–326

Marble

27.5 cm. (10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, William E. Nickerson Fund, 62.662

Damage has been done to the nose, chin, right cheek, and upper and rear parts of the rolled hair. The face is wide with regular, handsome features, small mouth with rather full lips. The incised pupils and irises indicate that the direction of the gaze is slightly to the right. Generalized modeling creates a sense of blandness here, but the broadly modulated flesh surfaces seem characteristic of the 320s.

Notable is the coiffure, which shows tight ringlets over the forehead but long tresses swept back over the ears, gathered into a plait, and brought forward over the top of the head: this is the Scheitelzopf introduced by empresses around the middle of the third century (cf. no. 363), and still worn by the empresses of the First Tetrarchy (Calza, 1972, no. 23). A plait like that of the Boston head seems characteristic of the younger ladies of the Tetrarchal family, including Helena, mother of Constantine (Calza, 1972, pl. II, fig. 158), and Fausta, his empress (Calza, 1972, pl. LXXXVIII, fig. 311). Helena (who apparently died in 329) may have been the last empress for a generation or two to wear the Scheitelzopf.

Although this head has been identified with Helena by Vermeule ([1], 1964) partly on the basis of the coiffure, it does not belong with the group of likenesses convincingly identified by Calza (1972, nos. 80–86) as this empress. On the other hand, there seems little reason to date the head to the turn of the century (as von Sydow, 1969, does); its style is in conformity with what we know of imperial portraiture of the early 320s.

The profile resembles that shown on the coins of Fausta more closely than those of any other of the ladies of the Tetrarchal or early Constantinian courts: in addition to the hairdo, we see the same regular features, the almost straight nose, the small mouth, and the distinctive eyebrow curving gently upward, then steeply downward at the bridge of the nose (Calza, 1972, pl. LXXXVI, figs. 301–304, pl. LXXXVIII, figs. 311, 312). Fausta's beauty was often mentioned in contemporary panegyrics and even recalled by Julian the Apostate (*Oratio* 1. 9).

Married to Constantine in 307, Fausta gave him three sons and two daughters; since the first of them, Constantine II, was born in 316, she probably married very young, but the age of this head does not seem too mature to fit her chronology. All coins bearing her image give the title Augusta (conferred in 324), but on none of them—unlike Helena—does she wear the diadem (Bruun, 1966, p. 45); hence, the absence of a diadem on this portrait cannot be used to date the work to before her elevation.

Acquired in Rome.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vermeule (1), 1964, pp. 339–340; von Sydow, 1969, p. 7 n. 19, p. 161; Boston, 1976, no. 117; Comstock and Vermeule, 1976, no. 380.



15 Head of Constans

Eastern Empire, about 337–340

Marble

26 cm. (10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1967, 67.107

Though the head has sustained numerous minor losses, including tip of nose, and parts of lips, ears, and diadem, it is largely intact. In some areas traces of red color are preserved, as at corners of mouth and on diadem. The head was made for insertion in a statue, perhaps mantled. The back and top of the head are very summarily worked. A young emperor is portrayed, looking out with straightforward, calm gaze under arched, lightly carved eyebrows. The pupils and irises are incised; the hair is combed forward from under diadem with double row of pearls; locks of hair are distinguished by delicate striations. The modeling is soft and naturalistic.

The coiffure and diadem—of the type inaugurated by Constantine in about 325—place the subject within Constantine's family, while the particular features and introspective gaze seem closest to the likeness of his youngest son, Constans (Delbrueck, 1933). While most of Constans' portraits are fuller of face (e.g., Louvre [Calza, 1972, no. 234]), the essential traits of this portrait are similar and distinctive within the group; the subject here is younger, perhaps shown at about the time of his accession in 337, when he was at most seventeen years old.

The style is characteristic of the last phase of Constantinian classicism, when models were no longer being sought in the stern Augustan-Trajanic tradition, but in the more subtly modeled, emotional style of the Antonines. The lower part of the face shows this subtlety, particularly in the undulations of the mouth; there is a similar treatment of surfaces on a head, probably of the youthful Constantius II, acquired in Aleppo and now in the University Museum, Philadelphia (Calza, 1972, no. 210). If we contrast the flesh areas on these heads with the firm surfaces of the Louvre head of Constans, found in Rome, we have probably distinguished a stylistic difference which is geographic, not temporal, in its basis.

Formerly in a private collection in Istanbul.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1933, pp. 154–155, pls. 58–59; Calza, 1972, no. 233; Boston, 1976, no. 119.

**16 Plate with portrait of Constantius II

Panticapeum (Kertch, Crimea), 343

Silver

Diam. 24.3 cm. (9 $\frac{9}{16}$ in.); depth 2.4 cm. ($\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum, 14 744

Round plate engraved with circular bands of floral and geometric ornament and inscription, surrounding medallion with profile portrait bust; traces of niello and gilding in all zones. Generally good condition, but one plugged repair in upper left field; rivets of modern hanging device penetrate at top (for reverse side, see Delbrueck, 1933, p. 145, fig. 43). Back inscribed with modern weight, and punched letters EVC (Matzulevitch, 1929, p. 107, n. 1).

Outer band has strigil ornament; next inner zone contains inscription: D(omini) · N(ostri) · CONSTANTI · AVGVSTI (ivy leaf) · VOTIS (ivy leaf) · XX (ivy leaf): "To our lord Constantius Augustus, vows for twenty [more] years of reign." The next inner band has a vine rinceau, while the inner medallion shows a young man in right profile, wearing the chlamys fastened over a tunic with a three-jeweled fibula at his right shoulder; his laurel crown is fastened behind, where long hair falls at nape of neck.

The date indicated by the inscription would be that of the vicennalia of Constantius II, which began in A.D. 343 on the nineteenth anniversary of his nomination—at the age of seven—to the rank of Caesar after the defeat of Licinius in 324 (cf. no. 8). The portrait, while generalized and roughly executed, fits well enough with the routine coin types issued in his name in the 340s (cf. Calza, 1972, pl. civ).

This plate is one of three found late in the last century in graves in the fourth- to fifth-century necropolis of Panticapeum in the Crimea, near the modern Kertch. One of the others is almost identical, surely the product of the same workshop (Calza, 1972, no. 219), while the third represents

No. 15, head of Constans





the adventus of the emperor on horseback (Calza, 1972, no. 220). All three are representative of imperial largitiones: the widespread practice in late antiquity of lavish gifts to dependents, allies, and neighbors in commemoration of special occasions, such as anniversaries. Most modern scholars agree with Matzulevitch's (1929) thesis that all three of these plates were made locally in the Crimea.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Matzulevitch, 1929, pp. 95–108; Delbrueck, 1933, pp. 144–151; Calza, 1972, no. 218.

17 Gem with bust of Constantius II

Constantinople (?), about 350–360

Amethyst

3.71 × 2.77 × 1.48 cm. ($1\frac{7}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{16} \times \frac{9}{16}$ in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Antikenabteilung, Misc. 30931

Profile bust of the emperor facing left, his breast bare, hair brushed forward under a diadem with a double row of pearls and central jewel; hair in long curls at the nape of the neck. The face is mature and full-fleshed, the nose hooked, the mouth small and pursed, with a distinctive puff of flesh at corner, the eye enlarged under a strong

brow. This is one of several gems portraying the same member of the Constantinian house (Calza, 1972, nos. 214–216), all identifiable by comparison with coin profiles as Constantius II. Given the apparent age of its subject, the gem would have been made during his period as sole Augustus, 350–361.

There is a further resemblance to the profile on another, larger amethyst, in the British Museum (Calza, 1972, no. 144), which has a different conformation of the cheek and mouth and a diadem more familiar from the Theodosian period (Richter, 1971, pp. 123–124). This is in turn similar, as are the other gems of this group, to the powerful colossal bronze head in the Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome (Calza, 1972, no. 143). While all of these works were long identified with Constantius II (see L'Orange, 1933; Delbrueck, 1933), recently M. R. Alföldi (1963) and Calza (1972, pp. 231–234) have distinguished the bronze head and the London gem from the others as former images of Constantine the Great that served as prototypes for the portraiture of the son. While all of these works exemplify a



stylistic outgrowth of late Constantinian classicism, it would seem that the bronze and the gems cited have more in common with one another than any of them have with the securely established portraiture of the latter years of Constantine's reign. They belong not to him but to his successors.

Acquired by the Berlin Antiquarium in 1924 (Delbrueck, 1933; Richter [1971] erroneously gives 1927) from the private collection of a Dr. Lederer of Berlin (Zwierlein-Diehl, 1969).

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1933, p. 153, pl. 74, 3; M. R. Alföldi, 1963, fig. 300 (erroneously placed in London, 230); Zwierlein-Diehl, 1969, no. 545, p. 194; Richter, 1971, no. 606, p. 124; Calza, 1972, no. 213, pp. 306–307.

18 Head of Gratian

Constantinople, about 370–375

Marble

14 × 10.2 × 12.8 cm. (5½ × 4 × 5 in.)

Geneva, George Ortiz Collection

The head is in an extremely fine state of preservation: minor abrasions include chip off the left side of the nose; the left rim of the hair over the brow bears a chip. Some breaks have occurred in rims of both ears; there are some chisel scratches on the back of the head, which is roughly worked. The fold of the tunic around the back of the neck suggests that the head was to be mounted in a bust or statue. Skin surfaces are highly polished, but the hair left rough and strongly contrasted in texture; eyebrows are scratched into supraorbital ridges, to provide light-refracting surfaces similar to those of the hair.

The use of sharply contrasted textures, including gemlike surfaces, is characteristic of the new classicizing style of the later fourth century; the compact spherical shape and reduced scale also conform to the same post-Constantinian phase. Reduced scale, like the colossal, is rare, if not unknown, in private portraits of the time; hence, as the owner perceptively suggests, the subject should be sought among the younger members of the Valentinian or Theodosian families.

The head portrays a young boy with upturned nose, a smile slightly twisting upward to his left,



his gaze slightly to the right. Among the numerous juniors of these interlocked families, the owner finds only one who has coin types that show the same distinctive snub-nosed profile: Gratian (cf. Delbrueck, 1933, pl. 14). The likeness seems to share its general conformation with that of the battered head in Trier also of Gratian, which is dated about 380 (Delbrueck, 1933, pls. 90–91). This more youthful head in Geneva would depict the same person at an earlier age; Gratian was given imperial rank in 369, at the age of ten, and was raised to Augustus in 375; he died in 383.

Said to have been found in Istanbul.

J. D. B.

Unpublished.

19 Bust of Valentinian II

Constantinople, about 388

Bronze

11 × 8 cm. (4⅓ × 3⅛ in.)

Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, 108.1912.66



The bust is encircled by a laurel wreath whose lower part is broken off in front. There are chisel marks on right brow, cheek, neck, and shoulder, but otherwise the bust is well preserved, with traces of gilding. No solder or rivet holes, so most likely its use would have been as a finial of a military standard or similar emblem.

The subject is a youthful emperor, wearing diadem with double row of large pearls and central jewel; chlamys fastened at right shoulder with large rectangular fibula. The eyes have deeply cut pupils but no indication of iris; the hair frames the brow under the diadem in regular, striated locks, with longer locks in front of ears. The head is long and narrow, shoulders are sloping, and upper torso is rounded, almost hemispherical: this inorganic, elegant physical form is typical of the depiction of the human figure in the Theodosian period.

In fact the entire bust strongly resembles those of the imperial figures on the silver Missorium of Theodosius in Madrid, dated to about 388 (no. 64), especially that of Valentinian II, younger brother

of Gratian, who died in 392. Coins confirm this identification (Delbrueck, 1933, pl. 14). Delbrueck noted that Theodosius conducted a campaign against his rival Maximus in Pannonia in 388—a likely occasion for the loss of a standard in that province.

Found in Pannonia (Hungary); in the Horváth collection, Pécs, until 1912.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1933, pp. 198–199, pl. 93.

20 Statuette of Aelia Flacilla

Color plate I

Constantinople, about 380–390

Marble

78 cm. (30¾ in.)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 13

The half-life-size statuette of an empress is diademed and stands with right leg slightly advanced. Her left hand holds a diptych to the side; her lower right arm was forward but is now missing. The head has been broken off and replaced, slightly shortening the neck; drapery at throat and shoulder is roughly treated, presumably because covered by necklace. Ornaments (of glass?) probably decorated clavi of dalmatic on line of left leg; missing right foot may have been of red stone. Front of statuette is highly polished, but simply worked on rear. The fine-grained white marble was thought by Delbrueck (1933) to be Parian.

The costume consists of a tunic, covered by the long dalmatic, with a palla over all, wound across the body leaving right arm free. All fabrics are light and fine, giving intricate folds and wrinkles across the body. By contrast, the head is treated formally and broadly, with simplified surfaces and strongly delineated features, such as the deep-set, large eyes under heavy brows, the straight, almost flat nose, and the small mouth.

The headdress is again the Scheitelzopf of the Tetrarchy—which misled Delbrueck (1933) into identifying the subject as Helena—now revived at the end of the fourth century in a variant form: the hairdress does not surmount a fringe of ringlets or waves but a carefully combed roll that



carries the diadem with double row of large jewels and a central jewel which was probably also added separately, but is now lost. This type of diadem developed out of the Constantinian form in the second half of the fourth century.

Given the far more elegant execution of the sculpture, the treatment of the hair is remarkably close to that of the Budapest bronze bustlet of Valentinian II (no. 19), which would be closely contemporary; the eye is delineated identically as well. As Calza (1972) remarks, the head also holds intriguing anticipations of the geometry and textures of the Barletta colossus (no. 23); but this is a forecast of things to come, not a sign of close filiation.

The profile conforms to the coin types of Aelia Flacilla, empress of Theodosius the Great. While details like the diptych she holds suggest that the statuette commemorates her inauguration as Augusta in 379, there is no reason the portrait could not have been made later, even posthumously after her death in 386.

Found in Cyprus, the statuette was given to the French state by its owner in 1846.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1933, pp. 163–165, pl. 62; Calza, 1972, no. 88.

21 Head of the youthful Honorius

Constantinople, 393–394

Marble

10.1 cm. (4 in.); face from hair to chin: 7.5 cm. (3 in.)

Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Dr. W. R.

Valentiner, 37.157

The head is approximately half life-size; it is of fine-grained marble, broken at top of neck with fracture angling upward to nape of neck. The original surface was evidently matte. The head has a number of chips: across right eyebrow; over left eyebrow extending up into hairline; in left upper eyelid; in upper edge of headband above left eye; and in nose. Small cracks run from bridge of nose to inner corner of right eye; from central hole in headband to inner corner of right eye; and between holes on right side of head. In addition, small, irregular incised lines mark the



crown of the head, apparently not part of the original design. Five small holes are drilled in upper edge of headband; three retain small amounts of lead solder, indicating a metal addition to the crown, either a wreath (Vermeule [2], 1964, pp. 104–105) or, more probably, a central jewel and sun rays (Delbrueck, 1951).

The slightly asymmetrical compression of the left side of the face suggested to Delbrueck (1951) that this was one of a group, with Theodosius I as central figure and his elder son, Arcadius, in the place of honor on his left; such a group would have been made before Theodosius' death in January 395, and most probably during 394, when Arcadius and Honorius shared the consulship. The physiognomy—particularly the nose—as well as the delicate form and style place the subject within the Theodosian house in any case, and the best resemblance is with Honorius; the same person is shown a few years older on the Rothschild cameo in Paris, generally assumed to have been made for Honorius' marriage in 398 (Delbrueck, 1933, pl. 105).

The head was acquired in New York City in 1937 by W. R. Valentiner, who donated it to the Detroit Institute of Arts.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1951; Vermeule (2), 1964, pp. 104–105; Waltham, 1968, no. 17, and pl. ix; Boston, 1976, no. 188.

22 Head of Theodosius II

Constantinople (?), about 430–440

Marble

About 25 cm. (9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.); face: 18 cm. (7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités
Grecques et Romaines, MA 1036

The marble head was affixed to a disparate neck and bust; it is broken off under chin. The lower half of nose is restored, and ears and upper lip are chipped; many smaller damages. Irises and diadem were drilled for color inserts, now lost. The flesh is highly polished, but hair, beard, and diadem have matte surfaces. Hair and beard are plastic, worked in detail only at edges of the flesh areas; hair is scarcely worked above the diadem and on rear, suggesting that the portrait was designed for display in a niche. Though the total loss of the original neck makes it impossible to be certain, the head appears to be inclined slightly to its right. Within the context of its style, the



execution is extremely skillful, with subtle calculation of the arches and ovals that form the countenance.

The diadem is set high on the coiffure, with an elaborate central jewel, which has traces of lead (solder ?) in one cell. The skull is high, round, and wide-browed, and the lower face long and half oval; bold eyebrows arch over large almond eyes. The nose is thin (so far as restoration allows judgment), mouth small with slightly protruding lip, all conforming generally to the physiognomy of members of the Theodosian House.

Although the name of the usurper Eugenius has been associated with the head, largely because of the beard, the wave in the hair over the brow is a style introduced only in the fifth century; the early middle age of the subject confirms the stylistic character and makes the subject's probable identification Theodosius II, the son and heir of Arcadius as emperor in the East; his coin images do not contradict the possibility. Delbrueck (1933) suggested the work might have been occasioned by the marriage of Theodosius' daughter, Licinia Eudoxia, in 437 to Valentinian III.

The head is part of the *ancien fonds* of the Louvre and may have been in the Royal Collection as early as the middle of the seventeenth century.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1933, pp. 217–219; von Heintze, 1961, no. 46.

*23 Colossal statue of Marcian

Constantinople, 450–457

Bronze

Original about 5.1 m. (16 ft. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.); extant portion,

3.6 m. (11 ft. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.); face: 46 cm. (18 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Barletta, outside the Church of S. Sepolcro

Restored are: both legs from bottom of tunic; right arm, including elbow; left arm from edge of mantle. Missing are: top of head above diadem, and fibula at right shoulder (which may have been jeweled). The lost-wax casting is extraordinarily thin ($\frac{3}{8}$ – $\frac{3}{4}$ inch) for the scale of the figure, which may account for some of these losses and for the worn spots on certain surfaces. According to

Delbrueck (1933, p. 219), traces of gilding on flesh surfaces are identifiable, although von Heintze (1967) denies this; Delbrueck (1933) also mentions silver in whites of eyes, niello in pupils, and tin eyelashes. The emperor, who is at, or past, middle age, wears the jeweled diadem, two tunics under a cuirass, and a mantle over all; his right hand once held a lance or standard, while his left supported a much larger globe. The full figure is approximately three times life-size.

The face is asymmetrically fixed in something like a grimace, with complicated eyebrows framing the determined stare. A light beard is indicated by chisel marks, while the hair falls in a roll from



under the diadem, the strands carefully delineated. The coiffure resembles that of the Theodosian rulers (cf. no. 21), except for the strong omega line over the brow, found only in fifth-century portraits like that of Theodosius II (no. 22). Because of similarities to coiffures of portraits identified with Aelia Flacilla (no. 20), on the one hand, and Theodora (no. 27), on the other, the colossus has been identified with emperors from Valentinian I to Heraclius, and has even been called Carolingian; but the closest resemblance is clearly to the head of Eutropios from Ephesus (no. 55), which has the same crystalline surfaces and etched linear details and the same hourglass outline of large, encompassing curves. Although one is a man of combat and the other appears spiritual, they are products of the same stylistic configuration.

The most likely identification, then, is with Marcian, since the other emperors of equally mature years from the fifth century have identifiable, dissimilar portrait types. Also, as Delbrueck pointed out (1933, p. 224), the base of Marcian's column in Constantinople still bears a figure of Victory in relief with drapery details not unlike those of the Barletta statue, while the scale of the colossus is appropriate to placement on the column itself.

The statue was washed up in the harbor of Barletta in 1309, presumably from an Adriatic shipwreck.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1933, pp. 219–226; von Heintze, 1967, no. 331; Severin, 1972, no. 21, and pp. 106–115; Sande, 1975, pp. 75–76.

24 Head of Ariadne

Constantinople (?), about 500

Marble

25.7 × 22.8 × 23 cm. ($10\frac{1}{8} \times 9 \times 9\frac{1}{16}$ in.); face:

15.8 × 15.7 cm. ($6\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{16}$ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Sculptures,
R.F. 1525

The nose is restored, as is a small area under the chin; there are scratches on chin, numerous damages to pearls of crown and upper front of bonnet, and other lesser abrasions. The subject is



a woman of mature years, full-faced and plump, with drilled-out irises in frontal stare. Snood covers hair and all but lobes of ears; it is ridged on the sides and bound by a crown composed of double rows of pearls (horizontal diadem, lateral and longitudinal hoops across top).

The use of a veil or cap to cover the hair began in the Theodosian period, but the covering became less diaphanous only about a century later. The stiff bonnet used here becomes part of the official coiffure with the empress Ariadne, the probable subject of this portrait. Two closely similar heads are in Rome, in the Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori and in the Lateran collection. Identification of the portraits with Ariadne is strengthened by representations on various ivory diptychs (no. 25).

Since all three of these heads were found in Rome (Delbrueck, 1913), it has often been assumed that they were made there; the subjects have even been identified as the Ostrogothic queens Amalasuntha and Matasuntha (Fuchs, 1943). Paucity of other evidence for the state of the arts in Rome about 500 makes this difficult to sustain, since the heads closely resemble ivories surely made in Constantinople at that time. They are also close to two imperial male portraits with the same spherical

heads and drilled eyes (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 775b, and Rome, Museo dell'Arte Medioevo, 1, found on the Palatine).

As Sande (1975) stated, it seems certain that the basic models for both these portrait types were created in Constantinople. The remarkable number of extant portraits of Ariadne can undoubtedly be explained by her position as the sole heiress of the imperial office, which she conferred on her consorts, Zeno and then Anastasius. At the same time, there was no emperor at all in the West.

The head was in the bequest of Isaac de Camondo, supposedly found in Rome.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1913, pp. 319–324; Fuchs, 1943, pp. 127–136; Sande, 1975, pp. 67–81.

25 Diptych leaf with Ariadne

Constantinople, about 500–520

Ivory

26.5 × 12.7 cm. (10 $\frac{7}{16}$ × 5 in.)

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung, X39

This was the middle section of a five-part imperial diptych panel (cf. no. 28). The lower left-hand corner is restored. Traces of ancient color remain, including purple luster in the background, and black to mark the pupils of the eyes.

The empress appears similar to the one depicted in an ivory panel in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (Volbach, 1976, no. 51), although in the Vienna plaque she is perhaps a little older and seated. She holds the globus cruciger in her left hand, while her right is held with palm forward at elbow height. A diadem covers her snooded hair, as on the marble head no. 24, with the addition of earrings, pendulia, and necklace. She is dressed in tunic, dalmatic, and chlamys, and jeweled shoes. The chlamys is of embroidered fabric with jeweled border and a tablion which shows an emperor's bust. Although abrasion has erased details, Delbrueck (1929) has suggested that the emperor's helmet resembled that of Roma on the Clementinus diptych of 513 (no. 48). She sits on a bolster on a highbacked throne, her feet perched on a footstool. The baldachin is rendered

architecturally and ornamented with eagles at the front corners.

The identification with Ariadne has been generally accepted, aside from Fuchs' (1943) attempt to identify the group of portraits to which this belongs with ladies of the Ostrogothic court. The execution is, however, characteristic of Constantinopolitan work of the early sixth century, the style emphasizing rounded, almost globular shapes, evident on diptychs from those of Areobindus in 506 to Anastasius' in 517 (no. 88). This spherical geometry is shared by depictions of the same empress on some six other ivories and three sculpted heads (cf. no. 24).



While the relatively flatter and longer face, which distinguishes this portrait from the others, may be a mark of old age, the triangular eyes with slanting supraorbital ridges differ in a more fundamental way. We seem closer to the forms of the bronze head from Niš (no. 26), best identified with Euphemia, wife of Justin I; this suggests this diptych might have been executed very late in Ariadne's life—perhaps even posthumously.

Reproduced in the eighteenth century and identified as being "in Museo Parisiensi," this is probably the ivory diptych stolen from the Cabinet des Médailles on 22 February 1804. In any case, it was inventoried in 1821 in the Riccardi collection in Vienna, whence it passed into the Kunsthistorisches Museum. The Bargello ivory of Ariadne is also supposed to have been in the Riccardi collection.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1929, no. 52; Fuchs, 1943, pp. 130–136; Noll (1), 1974, no. A19; Sande, 1975, pp. 71–81; Volbach, 1976, no. 52.

26 Head of Euphemia

Constantinople (?), about 520–530

Bronze

29 × 22 × 12–14 cm. ($11\frac{7}{16} \times 8\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ – $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.); face: 14 cm. ($5\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Niš, Yugoslavia, Narodni Muzej, 463/R

The bronze head was made for insertion in full-length statue of about life-size. In good condition, it shows normal surface corrosion, but broken edges at base and one hole in right side of neck. Slot behind ear(s?) may have been for the insertion of an earring. The subject is a youngish-looking woman, wearing imperial headdress, with smooth generalized features, little detail, and irises indicating straightforward gaze.

The coiffure is similar, but not identical, to that of Ariadne (nos. 24, 25). As with no. 24, only earlobes protrude beneath the bonnet, but no hoops traverse the top of the hair. The diadem, which has jewels in its central band and three triangular projections at the front, links the portrait with the empresses of the early sixth century (see Wessel, 1962). The uniformly textured sur-



faces and spherical overall shape, which is even more compact than in the Ariadne images, also date the head to this period. The handling of the eyelids is more summary than in the Ariadne heads, and suborbital pouches are absent.

If the subject cannot be Ariadne, neither does it resemble the known portraits of Theodora (see no. 27). The likeliest identification, then, is with the empress Euphemia, although she was, like her consort, Justin I, of advanced years when she reached the throne. The head is surely an idealized image, probably made for a dedication (with one of Justin) in the forum of the provincial city where it was discovered.

The head was excavated in 1958 at the site of Kulina, at Balajnac in Yugoslavia.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Srejšović and Simović, 1958–1959; Wessel, 1962, pp. 247–253; Sande, 1975, pp. 96–97.

27 Head of Theodora

Constantinople (?), about 530–540

Marble

27 cm. (10 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.); face: 15 cm. (5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Milan, Castello Sforzesco, Civico Museo d'Arte Antica,
755

The neck is broken off below chin; nose broken, and numerous chips and scratches mar surfaces, especially right cheek, both eyes, right front of coiffure, and various jewels and pearls in crown. A slender-faced woman of mature years looks straight ahead; her large eyes have incised irises and drilled pupils, with crisply cut eyelids under broad, arching brows. Mouth, cheeks, and chin are delicately modeled.

The headdress is an advanced version of the style initiated by Ariadne (nos. 24, 25; see Wessel, 1962), with the diadem binding a snooded coiffure, and is called the “melon” type. It is taller than that of nos. 24, 25, or 26, with the diadem high off the brow, and the entire mass balanced farther back on the head. The three hoops of pearls over the cap are all longitudinal, with only the central one a double row. The diadem itself has two rows of pearls and an elaborate central jewel with three pendants; it is tied behind with an elaborate knot.

The Western provenance of this head, and certain superficial similarities to such works as the Aelia Flacilla in Paris (no. 20) or the Barletta colossus (no. 23), have led to widely varied identifications, most recently as Galla Placidia (von Heintze, 1971). Sande (1975) states that this attribution is weakly based on comparisons with partly doubtful works, while the form of crown did not appear before 500.

The compact form and the contrast of delicately worked surfaces with the geometrical composition conform with our evidence for sixth-century sculptural style. The physical similarities between this face and that of the mosaic portrait of Theodora in S. Vitale, Ravenna (no. 66)—and the descriptions of Theodora given by the contemporary chronicler Procopius (*Anecdota* 10.11)—make the identification of this head as a portrait of that empress all but certain. Subtle as the differences are, comparison of this head with that of Ariadne (no. 24) shows that early Byzantine portraitists could, when challenged by a sufficiently interest-



ing sitter, achieve likenesses that are convincing not only as to physical similarity but psychological truth as well.

The head was discovered during demolition of the medieval walls of Milan.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1913, pp. 310–318, passim; Wessel, 1962; von Heintze, 1971, no. vi, fig. 7; Sande, 1975, pp. 93–97.

28 Diptych leaf with Justinian as Defender of the Faith

Constantinople, 2nd quarter 6th century

Ivory

34.2 × 26.8 cm. (13 $\frac{7}{16}$ × 10 $\frac{9}{16}$ in.); central panel:

20.1 × 13.4 cm. (7 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets
d'Art, OA. 9063



Four panels survive of the five-part wing of an imperial diptych, a type introduced in the fifth century. Breaks in the left edges of the upper and lower panels indicate location of hinges, where side panel was lost. Other than these breaks, and loss of the projecting right arm of Victory at the top of the central panel, carved areas are in good condition. Because the barbarian in the central panel has no carved left leg, Delbrueck (1929) assumed the work was originally painted. In upper panel, a beardless Christ in bust form occupies a clipeus supported by two flying angels; in the disc are inscribed the rising sun on his right, the crescent moon and a star on his left. In the left hand he holds a cross-scepter, while he blesses with the right.

The blessing is bestowed on the dominant figure in the center panel, a crowned and cuirassed emperor on a rearing horse, holding in his right hand a lance with point thrust to the ground. Behind this lance stands a barbarian, touching the lance and raising his left hand in gesture of submission. In the lower left is a seated female, personifying Terra, holding her fruits and touching the emperor's foot—another gesture of submission. In the upper left, a flying Victory bears a palm frond; her lost right hand probably held a crown.

The left-hand panel depicts a standing military figure, who offers a figure of Victory; a similar offering was doubtless made in the missing panel opposite. The lower panel has Victory holding a tropaion and gesturing to barbarians and various other exotics, including the fiercest of animals—lion, elephant, and tiger—all offering homage.

The iconography is the traditional one of imperial victory; only the upper panel indicates a Christian aspect. Because such representations no longer depicted specific events, the ivory cannot be associated with any particular war or imperial triumph.

Analysis of the style of the work has led to conspicuous disagreement. Delbrueck's suggestion (1929) of close similarity with the diptychs of Areobindus (consul in 506) seems less persuasive than the comparison to the Maximianus cathedra in Ravenna (Volbach, 1976, no. 140), now generally considered a product of Constantinopolitan workshops under Justinian. The radical difference in technique between the central panel, with its deeply undercut relief, and the more restrained

modeling of the other parts, bears comparison with the wide stylistic disparities between the three main categories of panels on the throne. The emperor bears a certain resemblance to the Constantinians and is most likely symbolic of Justinian as victorious conqueror in the name of Christ.

Although clearly a product of the East, the ivory found its way to the West at an early date, and was probably in Trier in the seventh century. Its subsequent history is unknown until 1625, when Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc gave it to the Cardinal Legate Francesco Barberini in Aix-en-Provence already in its present form. It was acquired by the Louvre at the Barberini auction in Paris in 1899.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1929, no. 48; Grabar, 1957, pp. 24–26; Coche de la Ferté, 1958, no. 22; Calza, 1972, no. 222; Volbach, 1976, no. 48.

****29 Drawing of Job and his family represented as Heraclius and his family**

Egypt, about 615–640

Parchment

26 × 29 cm. (10 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 11 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. I.B.18

Brush drawing on one sheet of fragmentary Old Testament, written in Sahidic Coptic dialect in uncial Coptic script. The eight folios begin with Job 40:8 and end at Prov. 3:19; the drawing is on fol. 4v, the last page of Job, below the end title. The script had been dated in the seventh to ninth century (cf. Delbrueck, 1929, p. 272), but recently it has been suggested it could be as early as the fifth (Rome, 1954).

Portrayed is a male figure standing to the right of three females, all in imperial costume. The emperor wears an ornate diadem, with a halo behind his head. He wears a belted tunic with chlamys fastened at right shoulder with a brooch, high boots on his feet, lance in the right hand, and globus in the left. His hair protrudes under his crown, and he has a short full beard. The ladies wear long-sleeved tunics under elaborate dalmatics, with jeweled girdles; all have earrings,

but the forms of their crowns differ, with the second one on emperor's left wearing that of an empress. The girlish figure on extreme left may be wearing a crown of flowers. Two women in center have spherical coiffures held by snoods, indicating their married state; princess at left still wears her hair long and free.

Ainalov (1961) first suggested that, since Job is not identified as royal in the biblical text, this could be a portrayal of an imperial household; Delbrueck (1929) showed, by comparison of regalia, that the only likely subjects were Heraclius, his second wife Martina (m. 614), his sister/mother-in-law Epiphania, and his daughter Eudoxia (b. 611). Kurz (1942–1943), however, pointed out that the Coptic text included a final chapter of Job, found in the Septuagint but not in the Vulgate or other European Bible texts: in this chapter it is said that Job's name was originally Jobab, and that he was the King of Edom mentioned in Genesis 36:33. Hence, the illustration is in fact pertinent to its location, at the conclusion of that terminal chapter of the book.

Still, the illustration is derived from a contem-

porary imperial "icon": the Coptic monk who added this picture to the manuscript symbolized his biblical king in terms of his own ruler. In the Cyprus silver plates, conversely, Heraclius is symbolized by the Old Testament King David (nos. 425–433). Even as the heroic feats of David prefigured the youthful conquests of Heraclius, the Coptic artist may well have known of the terrible trials the same emperor underwent later in life—largely due to foreign invasions, but also in the public unpopularity due to his incestuous second marriage. The choice of Heraclius to represent Job may have been more than just fortuitous.

The manuscript was no. 25 in the Museo Borgiano at Velletri, one of a large group of Coptic manuscripts from the White Cloister at Sohag, in Upper Egypt, purchased by Cardinal Cesare Borgia late in the eighteenth century. The entire collection was acquired early in the next century by the Biblioteca Borbonica, now Biblioteca Nazionale, of Naples.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1929, pp. 270–274; Kurz, 1942–1943; Rome, 1954, no. 1; Ainalov, 1961, pp. 66–68, 287–288; Leroy, 1974, pp. 181–184, pl. 111.

Medallions

Medallions represent the crowning achievement of Roman numismatic art. Although they were produced from the same materials, by the same methods, even by the same personnel as coins designed for broad circulation, at all periods they are stylistically superior to contemporary coins; their larger format permitted more ambitious compositions and encouraged more original ones and brought out the finest work of portrait engravers.

The regular production of medallions was a Hadrianic development and can be seen as a product of the artistic revival fostered by the emperor himself. Throughout the Hadrianic and Antonine periods medallions were struck primarily



on thick bronze flans about $1\frac{9}{16}$ inch in diameter and weighing about 50 grams, or roughly twice the weight of the heaviest coin in normal circulation. The obverse was uniformly occupied by the bust of the reigning emperor or a member of his house; reverse types were drawn mainly from mythology or religion, and, particularly during the Antonine period, deities and personifications appear frequently. Important historical events—anniversaries of the foundation of Rome, provision for the succession, military success, death and deification of a member of the imperial house—also found their place. Medallions were intended for presentation to the nobility or foreign dignitaries: hence it is not surprising to find that the Roman custom of giving presents at the new year (*strenae*) is reflected in frequent “*felicitas*” types, and others celebrating the ruler’s assumption of new titles at the new year.

The economic collapse of the third century had its effects on both the form and the content of medallions. What Toynbee has called “medallions proper”—those struck on substantial bronze flans—had disappeared almost entirely by the end of the century; here, this class is represented only by no. 30, of Probus. It was replaced by “money medallions,” struck in precious metal and regularly conforming in weight to multiples of basic monetary units: the aureus (5.45 grams) or solidus (4.54 grams) in gold, the *siliqua* (2.60 grams) in silver. The change in material was accompanied by a change in typological emphasis: the rich repertory of pagan deities and personifications is seldom exploited, and heavy stress is laid upon the imperial house and the fortunes of the city of Rome. By the middle of the fourth century Christianity had emerged as an element of medallic typology; yet some of the pagan traditions—especially the New Year’s or anniversary themes—continue in evidence until the mid-fifth century, when medallions virtually ceased to be struck.

Originally, production of medallions, as that of coins, was confined to the mint of Rome; in the late third century branch mints began to strike precious metal coinage, and marks were introduced to distinguish their products. These mint marks usually appeared in the exergue and consisted of one to four letters abbreviating a city name, often preceded or followed by other abbreviations whose significance is not always clear. OB (no. 42) may be either an abbreviation for *obryzum*, “pure

gold,” or the Greek numeral for 72: there were 72 *solidi* to the Roman pound. SM (nos. 33, 36, 40, and 41) seems to mean *Sacra Moneta*, “holy money [or mint]”; P (no. 32) and PS (no. 43) may abbreviate *percussa* (“struck,” as in *percussa Romae* = “struck at Rome”), though this can hardly be proved. Occasionally arbitrary decoration was added to the mint mark (nos. 38–40), probably to distinguish the issue to which a medallion belonged.

Even though “money medallions” represented usable multiples of existing coins, such massive pieces as nos. 31 and 32 can hardly have been circulated as coin even if anyone had been crass enough to spend them. They were, however, hoarded as treasure in the same way as coins, and medallions have been discovered in far-flung parts of the empire, even outside it.

WILLIAM E. METCALF

30 Medallion of Probus

Rome, 276–282

Bronze

Diam. 3.4 cm. ($1\frac{5}{16}$ in.); 30.79 gm. pierced and refilled

New York, The American Numismatic Society, 44.100

OBV: IMP(erator) PROBVS P(ius) F(elix) AVG(ustus).
Bust of Probus laureate, cuirassed left hand holding shield and spear.

REV: MONETA AVG(usti). The three *Monetae* facing, holding balances and cornucopias; at their feet, piles of coins

The bust of Probus is firm and compact. The use of military garb reflects the predominantly military



character of his reign, and his features are in every way those of a successful general. Yet, as Bellinger (1958, p. 129) noted, the posture of the bust is very awkward: either it is supposed to be seen from the rear (following a common later imperial convention, cf. no. 33) with the ridiculously small spear held in the concealed right hand, or, if it is seen from the front, the position of the spear and shield are inexplicable. Though partially obscured by piercing and refilling, the detail of the shield is remarkably fine: the emperor is shown on horseback preceded by a figure of Victory and followed by a soldier.

The reverse shows the three *Monetae*, who symbolize the three metals (gold, silver, and bronze) in which Roman coins were struck. Their balances represent the soundness and fineness of the coinage, their cornucopias the prosperity that resulted from their maintenance. The type was commonly employed throughout the third century—ironically a period of constant economic chaos—but it was particularly appropriate to the reign of Probus, who attempted to set the empire on a sounder economic footing.

The medallion was formerly in the E. T. Newell collection.

W. E. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gneecchi, 1912, II, p. 118, no. 24; Fagerlie, 1969, no. 19.

31 Medallion of Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius, and Galerius

Trier, 293 (?)

Gold

Diam. 4.2 cm. (1½ in.); 54.45 gm. (10 aurei)

New York, The American Numismatic Society, 44.100

OBV: *DIOCLETIANVS AVG(ustus) ET MAXIMIANVS c(aesar)*. Confronted busts of Diocletian and Galerius Maximian, both laureate and wearing imperial mantle.

REV: *MAXIMIANVS AVG(ustus) ET CONSTANTIVS c(aesar)*. Confronted busts of Maximian and Constantius as on obverse



This piece and no. 32 were part of the great hoard of Roman gold found at Beaurains-lez-Arras on 21 September 1922. It originally consisted of perhaps 50 medallions (2 of them said to be of 100 aurei) and 250 aurei and solidi, as well as gold jewelry; much of the find was melted down immediately after discovery and its true extent and significance will never be known.

Despite their stiff postures and identical garb, an effort has been made to distinguish the features of the Tetrarchs: Diocletian's features are vigorous but betray his age; Maximian is identifiable by his long, straight nose; Constantius' nose has a pronounced hook.

The Tetrarchy was devised by Diocletian in 293 to streamline rule of the empire. The East was ruled by himself and Galerius Maximian as Caesar, while the West fell to Maximian and Constantius Caesar. Normally, the obverse of a coin or medallion is reserved for the imperial portrait; but, symbolic of the absolute equality of the two pairs of rulers, this medallion has no proper obverse or reverse: on each face the two Augusti are on the left, the position of honor, and are accompanied by their respective Caesars; all four wear the imperial mantle.

The attempt to make both faces of the medallion equal in status led to the omission of the mint marking, normally placed in the reverse exergue, but, like almost all other pieces from the Arras hoard, this was probably struck at Trier. The occasion of its issue is not so clear. The coin may have been produced soon after the formation of the Tetrarchy, or just possibly on its tenth anniversary in 303.

Formerly in the Adra M. Newell collection.

W. E. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baldwin, 1926, no. 4; Fagerlie, 1969, no. 22.

32 Medallion of Constantius and Galerius

Rome, 293

Gold

Diam. 3.7 cm. ($1\frac{7}{16}$ in.); 54.31 gm. (10 aurei)

New York, The American Numismatic Society, 44.100

OBV: DD NN CONSTANTIO ET MAXIMIANO NOB CAESS (Dominis nostris Constantio et Maximiano nobilissimis caesaribus). Confronted busts of Constantius (on left) holding globe surmounted by Victory and Galerius (on right) holding eagle-tipped scepter; both laureate and wearing imperial mantle.

REV: PRINCIPVM IVVENTVTIS. The two Caesars standing in military dress sacrificing over altar; behind, two military standards. In exergue, P(ercussa) ROM(ae)



This piece is of the same weight as no. 31, but its smaller, thicker flan and lower relief detract somewhat from its medallionic character. The busts are much smaller in relation to the field and hence less imposing than those of no. 31. Despite the wear on the reverse, which celebrates the Caesars as princes of youth, the two bearded figures are recognizable as Constantius and Galerius; this is not always the case, since many medallions bearing this type (which is confined to gold multiples) were designed for presentation to the noble youth of the city and thus bore only idealized figures.

The piece was produced at the mint of Rome. The unusual use of a dative obverse inscription—a dedication to the Caesars—suggests that it was issued soon after their elevation in 293. Constantius, whose elevation took place two months earlier than that of Galerius, occupies the position of seniority on the left.

Like no. 31, this medallion was part of the great Arras hoard, found in France in 1922. Formerly in the E. T. Newell collection.

W. E. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baldwin, 1926, no. 1; Toynbee, 1944, pl. 9, 4; Fagerlie, 1969, no. 25.

33 Medallion of Galerius Maximian

Antioch, 293

Gold

Diam. 3.4 cm. ($1\frac{5}{16}$ in.); 27 gm. (5 aurei)

Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 50.5

OBV: GAL(erius) VAL(erius) MAXIMIANVS NOB(ilis) CAES(ar). Bust of Galerius laureate facing right and wearing cuirass and paludamentum seen from behind.

REV: IOVI CONS(ervatori) CAES(aris). Jupiter naked with mantle behind him facing left holding a thunderbolt in right hand and with left leaning on long scepter; to left, an eagle looking back at him. In exergue, S(acra) M(oneta) A(ntiochensis)

The portrait of Galerius is rendered in the severe style popular in the East at this period, which is characterized by arched brows, enlarged eyes, and well-defined hairline. In contrast, the figure of Jupiter is finely wrought: the god stands in a relaxed posture, and the fine working of his hair and beard give him a realistic aspect seldom encountered in contemporary Eastern art or coinage.

Galerius' elevation to the rank of Caesar was probably the occasion for the issue of this medallion. The dedication to "Jupiter, the preserver of Caesar," was particularly appropriate, since Diocletian had conferred upon Galerius the title



"Iovius"; a parallel issue was struck for Constantius, who bore the title "Herculus," with the inscription HERCVLI CONS CAES.

This piece was found during excavations near Alexandria in 1942, together with no. 35 and a medallion of Delmatius Caesar.

W. E. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bellinger, 1958, no. 4.

34 Medallion of Constantine I

Siscia, Yugoslavia, 325–326

Gold

Diam. 3.6 cm. (1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.); 20.06 gm. (4 $\frac{1}{2}$ solidi)

Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 49.4

OBV: CONSTANTINVS AVG(ustus). Head of Constantine facing right and looking upward, wearing diadem of square jewels separated by pairs of pearls, with a round jewel in front.

REV: VIRTVS D(omini) N(ostri) CONSTANTINI AVG(usti). Constantine in helmet and armor walking right and spurning a seated captive in Eastern dress; the emperor carries a spear in right hand and a trophy over his left shoulder. In exergue, SIS(cia)

This medallion was struck at the mint of Siscia in what is now Yugoslavia; it is part of a large series produced for the celebration of Constantine's vicennalia in 326. It is chiefly remarkable for its portrayal of the emperor in an upward-gazing pose. The historian Eusebius remarked of this type: "The deep impression made by Divine Faith upon his soul may be perceived from the fact that he ordered that he be portrayed on the gold coins looking upward, intent upon God, in an attitude of prayer" (*Vita Constantini* 4.15). Modern historians have adduced Alexander the

Great as the prototype for this posture; it recalls the divinely inspired Hellenistic ruler, whose upward gaze symbolized the inner contact between the earthly ruler and heavenly powers.

Though the medallion was struck in connection with the vicennalia, the military reverse type alludes to Constantine's victory over Licinius in 324, by which he secured control of the East.

This piece was found at Semlin, Hungary, in the nineteenth century and was formerly in the Pierpont Morgan collection.

W. E. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baldwin, 1921, pp. 6 ff.; Bellinger, 1958, no. 7.

35 Medallion of Constantine I

Constantinople, 326

Gold

Diam. 3.6 cm. (1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.); 13.48 gm. (3 solidi)

Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 50.6



OBV: CONSTANTINVS MAX(imus) AVG(ustus). Bust of Constantine facing right wearing diadem of rosettes and laurel leaves and paludamentum fastened with jeweled brooch.

REV: GAVDIVM AVGVSTI NOSTRI. Two genii facing each other holding a garland of flowers. In exergue, CONS(tantinopolis)

36 Medallion of Constantine II

Thessalonike, 326

Gold

Diam. 3.2 cm. (1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.); 13.5 gm. (3 solidi)

Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 49.5

OBV: CONSTANTINVS INV(ior) NOB(ilissimus) CAES(ar). Bust of Constantine II facing left, laureate, in cuirass and paludamentum holding



in right hand globe surmounted by Victory and in left hand the head of an eagle-tipped scepter or sword (?).

REV: VOTIS DECENN(alibus) D(omini) N(ostri) CONSTANTINI CAES(aris). Two genii facing each other holding a garland of flowers. In exergue, SMTS (Sacra Moneta Thessalonicensis)



Toynbee (1944, p. 171) has pointed out that Constantinian medallions gradually abandon the "plastic" in favor of the "engraving," or linear, technique, of which these two medallions are good examples; both illustrate the tendency toward broader, thinner flans, which began in the East but quickly spread throughout the empire.

Despite their identity of type and similarity of technique, the portraits show that the general rule of increasingly uniform style throughout the empire cannot be applied in all cases. The portrait of Constantine, though linear, is not schematic; the focus on the eyes and the substitution of diadem for laurel wreath look forward to the Hellenistic revival of the later Constantinian period. The tortured posture of Constantine II, with limbs contorted and the garb and attributes perfunctorily rendered, stands in sharp contrast.

The two pieces help to date one another. The Constantinian medallion, with its vague celebration of the "joy of our Augustus," was once associated with the consecration of Constantinople in 330; but the identity of reverse type shows that it belongs with the Thessalonican medallion of Constantine II, struck in 326 to celebrate his decennialia.

No. 35 was found at Alexandria in 1942 with no. 33 and a third medallion of Delmatius Caesar.

Formerly in the Pierpont Morgan collection.

W. E. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gneecchi, 1912, I, p. 26, no. 21; Bellinger, 1958, nos. 6, 19.

37 Medallion of Constantine I

Siscia, Yugoslavia, 336

Silver

Diam. 3.9 cm. (1½ in.); 13.17 gm. (4 argentei)

Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 48.17

OBV: AVGVSTVS. Head of Constantine facing right wearing diadem of jewels surrounded by squares of pearls separated by laurel leaves.

REV: CAESAR within a wreath; beneath, SIS(cia)

In later Constantinian art, forms became firmer and reproduction of physical features less precise; consequently, it is often difficult to identify portraits with specific members of the imperial house. The problem is even more complex in the case of this medallion, since it clearly derives from an Eastern coin of the first Augustus (27 B.C.–A.D. 14), of identical type with the legends reversed.

On the basis of similar medallions with CAESAR on the obverse and XX on the reverse, Lafaurie (1949) has suggested that the medallion portrays Constantine and that it was issued in 336 in connection with the vicennialia of his son Constantine II. This theory is consistent with the dates of operation of the mints that struck this issue and gains support from the frequent use of wreaths surrounding VOTA legends.

Formerly in the Hayford Peirce collection.

W. E. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lafaurie, 1949; Bellinger, 1958, no. 12.



38 Medallion of Constans

Siscia, Yugoslavia, 337–338

Silver

Diam. 3.7 cm. ($1\frac{7}{16}$ in.); 13.24 gm. (5 siliquae)

New York, The American Numismatic Society, 67.153

OBV: FL(avius) IVL(ius) CONSTANS P(ius) F(elix) AVG(ustus). Bust of Constans facing right diademed, draped, and cuirassed.

REV: GAUDIVM POPVLI ROMANI. SIC/V/SIC/X in four lines within laurel wreath; in exergue, SIS- (SIS[cia] plus issue mark)



Like nos. 35, 36, and 37, this medallion was struck to commemorate the fulfillment of one set of vows and the undertaking of another. The piece is an early illustration of the tendency away from elaborate celebration of that essentially pagan ritual: although the "joy of the Roman people" is proclaimed on the reverse, there is no elaborate or symbolic type, and even the normal formula "VOTIS V MVLTIS X" is simplified to "SIC V SIC X." The emphasis is on the general well-being of the individual rather than on the importance of the occasion.

The portrait is similar in conception and technique to that of no. 37, with which it is nearly contemporary; but an even heavier emphasis on the eyes lends greater force to this rendering. Two aspects of the portrait anticipate later developments: the elongated features, which suggest remoteness, and the tendency toward frontality evident in the forward thrust of the left shoulder.

Formerly in the Adra M. Newell collection.

W. E. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Toynbee, 1944, pl. 13, 11; Fagerlie, 1969, no. 30.

39 Medallion of Constans

Siscia, Yugoslavia, 347

Silver

Diam. 3.9 cm. ($1\frac{1}{2}$ in.); 12.43 gm. (5 siliquae)

Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 48.17

OBV: FL(avius) IVL(ius) CONSTANS P(ius) F(elix) AVG(ustus). Bust of Constans facing right, wearing diadem, cuirass, and paludamentum fastened at shoulder with a jeweled brooch.

REV: TRIVMFATOR GENTIVM BARBARARVM. Constans in military garb holding reversed spear in left hand and in right a legionary standard bearing the christogram. In exergue, SIS- (SIS[cia] plus issue mark)

This type was widely struck and undoubtedly commemorates Constans' successes in his campaigns against the northern barbarians, which began about 340. The posture of the emperor with a military standard is not unusual; but the addition of a christogram, albeit in a subordinate position, is an overt suggestion of divine involvement in human affairs, and is an early example of the gradual emergence of Christian symbolism on the coinage. The "Triumphator" type would not become common on coins for some years, but was a favorite on medallions (cf. no. 43).

The portrait is completely in the Constantinian style and is a magnificent example of the imposition of the Hellenistic ideal upon the rude features of Constans.

Formerly in the Hayford Peirce collection.

W. E. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bellinger, 1958, no. 24.





40 Medallion of Constantius II

Antioch, 348

Gold

Diam. 3.9 cm. (1½ in.); 20.05 gm. (4½ solidi)

Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 48.17

OBV: FL(avius) IVL(ius) CONSTANTIVS PERP(etuus) AVG(ustus). Bust of Constantius facing left wearing diadem, cuirass, and paludamentum fastened at the shoulder with a jeweled brooch.
REV: GLORIA ROMANORVM. Constantinople seated facing left on throne holding Victory on globe in right hand and in left a long scepter ending in a pine cone; her left foot is on a prow with alligator's head beneath. In exergue, ·SMANT· (s[acra] M[oneta] ANT[iochensis] plus issue mark)

Toynbee (1947) suggested that this type, which was issued at Nicomedia, Sirmium, and Rome, as well as at Antioch, was produced in connection with the 1100th anniversary, in A.D. 348, of the foundation of Rome. The reverse celebrates the "glory of the Romans," but the attributes of the seated figure (prow, highbacked throne, thyrsus) are Eastern, reflecting Constantinople's replacement of Rome as the first city of the empire.

Formerly in the Hayford Peirce collection.

W. E. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Toynbee, 1947; Bellinger, 1958, no. 30.

41 Medallion of Magnentius

Aquileia, 351

Gold

Diam. 3.5 cm. (1⅓ in.); 13.45 gm. (3 solidi)

New York, The American Numismatic Society, 67.256



OBV: IMP(erator) CAES(ar) MAGNENTIVS AVG(ustus).

Bust of Magnentius facing right, wearing cuirass and paludamentum.

REV: LIBERATOR REIPVBLICAE. Emperor riding right on horse greeted by kneeling woman wearing turreted crown. In exergue, S(acra) M(oneta) AQ(uileiensis)

Like the regular coinage of Magnentius, this piece proclaims the usurper as the liberator of the state. Reinforcing the message, the city of Aquileia, which Magnentius entered in 351, is personified in a posture of genuflection before the triumphant general; his nimbus symbolizes the justice of his cause.

The portrait contrasts with others of the period: the diadem is abandoned; the features are realistic (as the heavy chin shows), and their firmness and vigor succeed in communicating Magnentius' strength and resolve.

Until 1956, this medallion was known only from a cast of the specimen stolen from the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1831 and subsequently melted down; but in that year a hoard of thirteen gold multiples, twelve of them of Magnentius, was found near Emona (now Laibach), Yugoslavia. It contained nine examples of this type.

W. E. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gneccchi, 1912, II, p. 154, no. 7; Jeločnik, 1967; Fagerlie, 1969, no. 36.

42 Medallion of Valentinian I

Thessalonike, 367–375

Gold

Diam. 4.2 cm. (1⅞ in.); 28.80 gm. including loop and beaded border

New York, The American Numismatic Society, 67.153



OBV: D(ominus) N(oster) VALENTINIANVS P(ius) F(elix) AVG(ustus). Bust of Valentinian facing left, wearing diadem, cuirass, and paludamentum.

REV: VICTORIA D(omini) N(ostri) AVGVSTI. Emperor standing in military garb holding labarum in right hand and being crowned by Victory; captive below to left. In exergue, TESOB (Thessalonicae Obryzum)

The portrait is noteworthy for its combination of a left-facing head with a completely frontal body. Though similar in conception to Constantinian portraits, this rendering is distinctly inferior: instead of conveying a sense of relaxation and motion, it suggests only static tension.

The presence of Victory on the reverse would normally suggest commemoration of an actual military success (contrast nos. 39 and 43, where no specific reference is necessary); but as the period was one of almost constant warfare it is impossible to date the piece with precision.

This medallion was found with another (of Constantius II) at Boroczycze, Poland, in 1928. The attached loop and beaded border (not original, but nearly contemporary) show that it was employed as a piece of jewelry, like no. 276. Both the placement of the loop and the greater wear on the reverse show that when worn the imperial portrait was intended to be seen.

Formerly in the Adra M. Newell collection.

W. E. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Toynbee, 1944, pl. 31, 4; Fagerlie, 1969, no. 39.

43 Medallion of Honorius

Rome, 395–423

Silver

Diam. 3.8 cm. (1½ in.); 13.09 gm. (5 siliquae)

New York, The American Numismatic Society, 67.153

OBV: D(ominus) N(oster) HONORIVS P(ius) F(elix) AVG(ustus). Bust of Honorius facing right wearing diadem, cuirass, and paludamentum fastened at the shoulder with a jeweled brooch.

REV: TRIVMFATOR GENT(ium) BARB(arum). Emperor standing to left in military garb, holding labarum in right hand and globe in left; below to left, captive. In exergue, RMPS (Romae percussa)



The portrait of Honorius represents the culmination of the elongation of features that had progressed throughout the fourth century and ended only with the virtual abandonment of the profile bust on coins (in favor of the frontal portrait, which was even less personal), and the cessation of regular medallion production.

The reverse type is similar to that employed by Constans, and its derivative nature makes it difficult to determine the occasion of its issue. The "barbarians" referred to are surely the Goths, who sacked Rome in 410 and drove the ineffectual Honorius to Ravenna; but whether the medallion is an exhortation to the city's defenders or a celebration of its eventual recovery is unknown.

Formerly in the Adra M. Newell collection.

W. E. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gnechi, 1912, I, p. 82, no. 5; Fagerlie, 1969, no. 41.

***44 Medallion of Justinian I**

Constantinople, 534–538

Gold

Diam. 8.6 cm. ($3\frac{3}{8}$ in.); "Cinq onces, deux gros,"

164.05 gm. (36 solidi)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles,
galvano

OBV: DN IVSTINII ANVS PPAVC (Dominus noster Justinianus Perpetuus Augustus). Bust of Justinian nimbed, three-quarters right in military costume: elaborate helmet with plume and crest of peacock feathers, and jeweled diadem; paludamentum fastened at right shoulder with jeweled brooch, covering cuirass; spear in right hand, shield behind left shoulder.

REV: SALVS ET CLORIA ROMANO RVM. Justinian nimbed in same costume, mounted on richly caparisoned horse riding right preceded by winged Victory holding palm branch and trophy over left shoulder. In field, star; in exergue, CONOB

Weighing fully one-half a Byzantine pound, this gold medallion may have been the last, as it is the most immense, of its kind. That it commemorates an important victory is obvious; which one is less clear. The slight turn of the emperor's body on the obverse corresponds with his coin portraits up to about 538, when a full-face image was substituted; the general period of the medallion seems likely to have been the mid-530s, the years of the great successes of Justinian's armies.

The portrayal of the emperor's regalia is remarkably rich, even when compared with large-scale depictions such as that in the famous donation mosaic panel at S. Vitale in Ravenna (no. 65); but the work as a whole is less than a complete success—coarse in detail and execution. Undoubtedly, the enormous size of the die stretched the capabilities of its cutter beyond his limits; the piece also proved difficult to strike, as the doubled "I" of the obverse inscription and the blurring of the Victory of the reverse betray.

Nevertheless, the gross likeness is closer to the portrait in S. Vitale than it first appears: while the S. Vitale face seems triangular in shape, the shadow of a generous double chin gives away what Procopius described as a face "round yet not uncomely" (*Anecdota* 8. 12 [Dewing, 1935,



pp. 94–95]; his further reference to the similarity to Domitian may have been carefully chosen). The full curves and globular outlines of the medallion portrait conform to the geometric criteria of sixth-century portrait style as we know it from ivories and a few surviving portrait heads (cf. nos. 24–28).

The representation of the triumphant emperor has recalled to many scholars the description by

Procopius of an equestrian statue erected by Justinian in the Augusteum at Constantinople; but, although the feathered headdress of the medallic image may qualify as the Persian-derived *toupha* (fig. 7), other aspects of the description differ. According to Procopius, the bronze Justinian held a *globus cruciger* in his left hand, extending his open right hand toward the rising sun (*Aed.* 1.2.5 ff.).

The unique medallion was discovered in 1751 at Caesarea (Kayseri) in Cappadocia and purchased soon after in Constantinople by the Count Desailleurs, who presented it to the Royal Collection. In 1831 it was one of a number of pieces stolen from the Cabinet des Médailles and presumably melted down; it is known from casts taken by Mionnet before the theft, one of which appears here.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Babelon, 1896; Toynbee, 1944, pl. XLIX, 3; Lehmann (1), 1959; Mango, 1959; Lehmann (2), 1959; Morrisson, 1970, I, p. 69, and pl. VIII, 1 (misdated 524).

45 Leaf from the diptych of the consul Felix

Rome, 428

Ivory

29.2 × 13.6 cm. (11½ × 5½ in.)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles,

41

Only this leaf survives from a diptych made to celebrate the consulship of Felix in 428; its lost mate is known, however, through an eighteenth-century engraving published by Mabillon (1706, III, pp. 37, 203). The format of both leaves is simple: the consul, with his feet seemingly hovering in space, stands between knotted curtains. Above him, on the leaf here, is the inscription FL(avii) FELICIS V(iri) C(larissimi) COM(itis) AC MAG(istri). He is clad in triumphal regalia and holds a scepter crowned with portrait busts in his left hand. On the now lost pendant leaf he was similarly posed but dressed in a *chlamys* and holding the scroll of office in his right hand.

Apart from a long oblique crack, the leaf is well

preserved. In technique—low relief carving with engraved details—it is consonant with other examples of official art of the period and region. Felix appears to have been a large, imposing man with a fleshy face and medium, well-trimmed beard.

Once in the Benedictine abbey of St. Junien in Limoges, the diptych was sent to the Cabinet des Médailles in the nineteenth century by M. Roulhac de Rochebrune, mayor of St.-Junien. Front leaf unknown by nineteenth century.

J. C. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1929, no. 3; Volbach, 1976, no. 2.



46, **47 Diptych of the consul Basilius

Italy, 480

Ivory

Front: 20 × 12.2 cm. ($7\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{13}{16}$ in.)

Milan, Castello Sforzesco, Civiche Raccolte d'Arte
applicata ed Incisioni, Avori 10

Rear: 34 × 12.2 cm. ($13\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{13}{16}$ in.)

Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, A8

The diptych celebrates the consulship of Basilius in 480. Except for later dowel holes and some

to his chest with the right. Standing next to the consul, with her arm around his shoulder, is a helmeted personification of Rome holding in her left hand the consular fasces. Although no ground-line is indicated, the figures seem to be located in a shallow space before the columns of the circus tribunal. The architrave over the columns has been worked like an inscription tablet and bears the consul's name and rank: ANIC(ius) FAVST(us) ALBIN(us) BASILIVS V(ir) C(larissimus). Below the rather stern image of Rome embracing the consul



losses around the face of the personification of Rome, the rear leaf is well preserved. The front has been trimmed, only slightly at the top, but over one-third of its original length is missing from the bottom.

Depicted on the rear leaf is the standing consul dressed in a toga contabulata, holding a cross-surmounted scepter in his left hand and the mappa



is a scene of the circus race held on the day Basilius took office. At the right of this lower zone is an as yet unsatisfactorily explained pair of figures: a mature man in a senatorial toga gestures upwards toward the consul; standing idly next to the togatus is a youth, generally said to be a slave.

The now fragmentary front side of the diptych carried a different composition. Remaining is an eagle, supporting a Victory seated on a globe. The Victory holds an inscribed (BONO REI PVBLICE ET ITERVM) portrait shield bearing Basilius' image in relief. Above this are visible the columns and tablet with the consul's titles: ET INL(ustris) EX COM(ite) DOM(esticorum) PAT(ricius) CONS(ul) ORD(inarius). Like the columns on the rear leaf, these do not appear to be extended downward.

As on the rear leaf, the consul Basilius is a tall, thin man with a long face. His hair is coarse and of medium length, combed forward from the crown of his head and cut in low bangs. On both leaves he appears to have a short, stubbly beard. His gazing eyes are strongly engraved into the low relief surface. In many passages of the relief this linear detailing degenerates into repetitive decoration, as for example on the personification's chiton, with its triangular facets marked by teardrop-shaped incisions.

The leaves have been separated since at least the eighteenth century, possibly earlier. Both leaves attested in Florence in 1716: front in the Riccardi collection, rear in the collection of a Canonicus Apollonio Bastelli; in beginning of the nineteenth century, front in the Bossi collection, given in 1864 to the Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan; rear given by Bastelli to the Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

J. C. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1929, no. 6; Volbach, 1976, no. 5; Bovini and Ottolenghi, 1956, nos. 29, 30 (same in both editions).

48 Diptych of the consul Clementinus

Constantinople, 513

Ivory

Each leaf, 39 × 13 cm. (15 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Liverpool, Merseyside County Museums, M 10036

In 513 the consul for the East was Flavius Taurus Clementinus, whose name is inscribed on the front of the diptych: FL(avius) TAVRUS CLEMENTINVS ARMONIVS CLEMENTINVS. From the inscription on the rear leaf, V(ir) IL(lustris) COM(es) SACR(arum) LARG(itionum) EX CONS(ule) PATRIC(ius) ET CONS(ul) ORDIN(arius), we know that Clementinus served as imperial finance minister, but we have no further information about him.

Each leaf contains the same scene: the enthroned consul, dressed in triumphal regalia, holding the mappa in his right hand and a scepter crowned with a portrait bust of the emperor Anastasius in his left, appears in his tribune on the second level of the circus. On the floor of the arena, two young slaves in short tunics pour out coins from leather sacks. Scattered among the coins are pieces of silver plate and palms given as prizes at the races and other competitions sponsored by the incoming consul. As he supervises the sparsio from his box, Clementinus is flanked to the left by the personification of Rome holding a trochiskos and to the right by the personification of Constantinople holding the fasces, on whose blade is a portrait of the consul. Hanging from the crown of the arch above Clementinus' head is a round shield containing his name in Greek letters in a star monogram. The architrave surmounting the columns has been transformed into an ansate tablet for the inscription. Flanking the cross above the inscription are the two clipeate portraits—that of the emperor Anastasius, left, and the empress Ariadne, right—that were placed above the consul when he appeared in the arena.

Clementinus appears to be a middle-aged man with a short, sparse beard. His hair is thick and straight and in the typical bowl cut of the period. A certain facial type predominates among the heads, typified by slightly oval, fleshy contours with prominent noses, emphatic, protruding eyes, and sharply arching brows and upper lids.

Inscription inside indicates that the diptych was



FLAVIUS CAESAR AVGVSTVS
ARMINIVS CLEMENTINVS



AVGVSTVS CAESAR AVGVSTVS
PATRIS ET CONSORTIS



in use in eighth century in Magna Graecia; purchased in Nuremberg by the father of G. P. Negelinus prior to 1742; by 1798 in collection of Count Wiczay in Hédervár; by 1856 in collection Főjerváry; collection Joseph Mayer; donated in 1867 to Liverpool by Mayer.

J. C. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1929, no. 16; Volbach, 1976, no. 15; Bovini and Ottolenghi, 1956, no. 58 (1st ed.), no. 57 (2nd ed.).

49 Leaf from the diptych of the consul Magnus

Constantinople, 518

Ivory

26.1 × 13 cm. (10¼ × 5½ in.)

Milan, Castello Sforzesco, Civiche Raccolte d'Arte applicata ed Incisioni, Avori 8

This fragment of one leaf from the diptych of Magnus, consul for the East in 518, has been trimmed slightly at the top, and almost one-fourth has been removed from the bottom. The expunction of the inscription from the top and of the specifically official scene from the bottom (probably a sparsio as on no. 48) no doubt coincided with the alteration of other features of the composition. The Victory figures normally decorating the arms of the consul's chair may, like his scepter, have been recarved into meaningless discs, modeled after the trochiskos held by the personification at the left. The major change in this leaf of the diptych is in the consul's face. In the other leaf, now detached and in the Cabinet des Médailles, Magnus is portrayed as a beardless man with a full, thick head of hair. The face in the Milan leaf has been reworked to show a medium-length coarse beard and a sharply receding hairline, perhaps to conform to the features of a saint, such as St. Paul. This suggests that the ivory was sawn down and recut to decorate a Christian manuscript, possibly a copy of the Pauline Epistles. Such recutting in the medieval period altered the appearance of a number of consular diptychs.

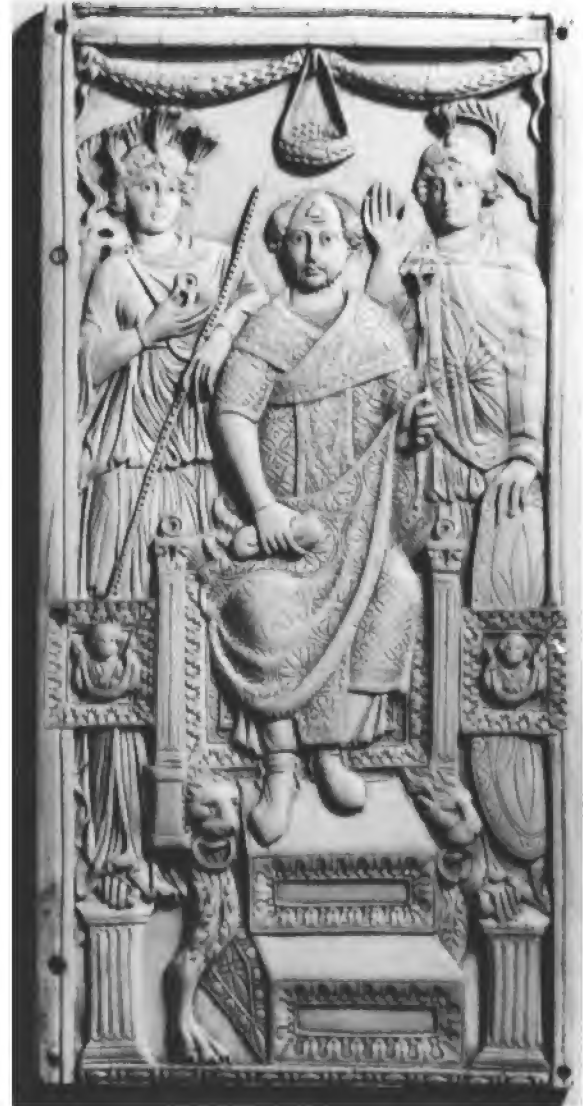
The main lines and details remain largely undisturbed. Magnus, dressed in triumphal regalia, appears in the tribune enthroned on an elaborate sella curulis holding the mappa in his right hand and a partly damaged scepter with eagle in his left.

Flanking the consul are the personifications of Rome, left, with fasces (drilled later) and trochiskos, and Constantinople, right, balancing a shield and acclaiming the consul. The background lacks architecture, yet some setting is suggested by the hanging crown and the swags suspended from points along the frame.

Around 1800 in the Bossi collection, Milan; in 1817 went with his collection to the Accademia di Belle Arti, Milan; 1864 in the Pinacoteca di Brera, from which it was transferred to the Castello Sforzesco.

J. C. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1929, no. 22; Volbach, 1976, no. 23; Bovini and Ottolenghi, 1956, no. 60 (1st ed.), no. 59 (2nd ed.).



50 Diptych of the consul Justinian

Constantinople, 521

Ivory

Each leaf, 35 × 14.5 cm. (13 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of

J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.52, 53

Justinian was appointed consul for the East in 521, a year or so before he was raised to the rank of nobilissimus. This diptych is inscribed, on tablets at the top of each leaf, continuously from front to back: FL(avius) PETRVS SABBAT(ius) IVSTIN(ianus) v(ir) I(n)l(ustris)/COM(es) MAG(ister) EQQ(uitum) ET P(editum) PRAES(entalis) ET C(onsul) ORD(inarius).

The diptych, which was planed down along the top and sides, probably in the later medieval period to be set into a book cover, is one of three preserved examples of a type given to the members of the senate in 521. The other two are in the Castello Sforzesco, Milan, and the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Volbach, 1976, nos. 25, 26). All three works are elegant in their simplicity and are, according to Delbrueck (1929), by the same craftsman. In the center of each leaf is a medallion framing a running inscription addressed to the senators for whom the gifts were intended: MVNERA PARVA QVIDEM PRETIO SED HONORIBVS ALMA/PATRIBVS ISTA MEIS OFFERO CONS(ul) EGO. This medallion is composed of a simple pearl motif and a complex cyma carved with great care and precision but rather hard and dry in appearance. At the four corners of each leaf are lions' heads emerging from the center of a bunch of lush acanthus leaves. The soft, plastic quality of the acanthus contrasts strongly with the abstract, geometric cyma.

In comparison with other consular diptychs (nos. 45–49, 51), this one seems plain. This is because it was given to members of the senate, whereas the more lavish diptychs were presented to high governmental officials. That three such diptychs presented by Justinian survive is certainly due to the later importance of the man whose consulship they celebrate.

In the seventeenth and/or eighteenth centuries, in an Italian collection; in 1840, bought by Aymard in Le Puy; 1900, exhibited in Paris with Bardac collection; J. Pierpont Morgan; 1917, New York, Metropolitan Museum.

J. C. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1929, no. 28; Volbach, 1976, no. 27.

51 Diptych of the consul Justin

Constantinople, 540

Ivory

Each leaf, 33.5 × 13 cm. (13 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,

Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, 6367

The latest consular diptych known is that dated 540 and made for Justin, the eldest son of Germanus, the nephew of the emperor Justinian, who abolished the office the next year. Procopius remembers Justin as "an energetic fellow and [one] unusually keen in action" (*De bello Gothico* 7.32.14 [Dewing, 1924, p. 425]), who, with his father, thwarted a plot to assassinate the emperor. The portrait of the consul is now unfortunately so rubbed as to be of little help in determining his features, but, apart from the abrasion, the work has suffered little damage.

The ivory appears to combine the format of a diptych made for individuals of senatorial rank (e.g., no. 50) with that of one made for presentation to high governmental officials (e.g., no. 48). The bust-length portrait of Justin is framed in the central medallion; he holds a scepter in his left hand and the mappa in his right. The medallion is fixed in a framework of heavy vine ornament connecting it with the sparsio below and the portraits and inscription tablet above [front: FL(avius) MAR(cianus ?) PETR(us) THEODOR(us) VALENT(inus) RVST(icius ?) BORAI(D)es) GERM(anus) IVST(inus); rear: v(ir) SNL(ustris [sic]) C(omes) DOM(esticorum) ET CONS(ul) ORD(inarius)].

Subtle variations in the poses of the consul, the slave boys below, and the portraits above distinguish the two leaves. These clipeate portraits show the emperor Justinian, left, and the empress Theodora, right, flanking a portrait of Christ. According to Grabar (1957), this is the earliest preserved example of a compositional type showing the emperor or imperial couple pictured with Christ. As Delbrueck (1929) pointed out, the portraits of Christ differ noticeably if not greatly. The portrait on the front has a cross monogram behind the head, that on the back does not. That on the front is dressed in a dalmatic, while that on the rear wears a tunic and pallium. The actual facial types also seem to differ slightly: the type on the rear leaf seems younger—his beard is shorter, the face narrower with the hair piled high on the



No. 50, diptych of the consul Justinian



No. 51, diptych of the consul Justin

crown of the head. The Christ on the front of the diptych has longer, flowing hair, a longer beard, and a fleshier, more mature face. Such different types may foreshadow the two radically divergent portrait types used for Christ in later official art.

Said to have come from the Goslar Cathedral; nineteenth century, Berlin, Kunstkammer; 1879, Berlin Antiquarium; Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich Museum; 1952, Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, Staatliche Museen.

J. C. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1929, no. 34; Bovini and Ottolenghi, 1956, no. 63 (1st ed.), no. 62 (2nd ed.); Grabar, 1957, pp. 24–26; Volbach, 1976, no. 33.

52 Ceiling tile with portrait of the actuarii Heliódorus

Dura Europos, Syria, about 255

Fresco secco

30.5 × 44 × 6 cm. (12 × 17⁵/₁₆ × 2⁵/₁₆ in.)

New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 1933.292

This ceiling tile found in the House of the Roman Scribes shows the head and shoulders of a bearded man. Hair and beard are brown, with short vertical strokes texturing only beard and mustache; flesh is pink, and eyes black with white eyeballs. White undergarment with pink border is visible beneath heavy yellow robe outlined in black on dark brown; leaf pattern or fringe crosses left shoulder. In front of this shoulder is upper part of cylindrical white pen-and-ink box, outlined with black. To right of the head a painted inscription gives the subject's name and position: $\text{H}\alpha\text{I}\text{O}\Delta\text{O}\text{P}\text{O}\text{C}$ AKTOVAPIC .

The actuarii was a noncommissioned officer

of the Roman army, charged with record-keeping duties comparable to those of a notary. Heliódorus was evidently one of a group of officers who requisitioned an enlarged private house near the main West Gate of Dura during preparations for the Persian siege under Valerian and Gallienus. When the house was demolished to strengthen the fortifications (like the adjoining synagogue), work was still in progress in decorating the room in which this tile was found: a mold for these plaster "bricks" was lying on the floor.

The use of ceiling tiles as coffers set into wood-beamed ceilings was common throughout the Roman world; many rooms in Dura had such ceilings. The placing of images of the occupants in such ceilings is less well documented.

In addition to a number of tiles with fruit and floral designs, this ceiling included heads of divinities and of mortals: aside from Heliódorus and another soldier—the tesserarius Ulpius Silvanus—several citizens of Dura who may have been owners of the requisitioned house. Four more portrait tiles, apparently removed from the same ceiling, were among seven tiles found buried under the floor of an adjacent room. These portraits should probably be related to the personages depicted in the coffers of the Constantinian ceiling discovered in a room beneath the cathedral of Trier (Lavin, 1967, pp. 100–101).

The portrayal is simple and craftsmanlike, the modeling reduced to linear elements of shading; the style is similar to that of apparently later Egyptian mummy portraits (no. 266), but closer analogies exist much nearer to Dura, at Palmyra (now Tadmur) (Rostovtzeff et al., 1936, p. 284). The short-cropped beard, painted as if stubbled, is in accord with the imagery of the soldier-emperors of the third century (no. 1), with whom a subordinate officer of the border armies would naturally identify.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rostovtzeff et al., 1936, pp. 265–304, esp. pp. 291–292.





53 Diptych of Probianus

Rome, about 400

Ivory

Each leaf: 31.8 × 13 cm. (12½ × 5¼ in.)

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz,

Ms. theol. lat. fol. 323

The diptych of Probianus announces his term as the vicarius of the city of Rome. Apart from the information supplied by the diptych itself, that Rufius Probianus held this post and that he was of the class of *clarissimi*, we know nothing about him, not even the exact dates of his term.

Probianus is portrayed as a serious man of middle age with a sparse beard and hair that is

short in front and longer in back. His throne is raised on a tribunal slightly higher than the foreground figures and is framed by a baldachin hung with curtains. At Probianus' right are portrait stands with the busts of the emperors, and he is assisted on the dais by two secretaries taking notes in polypica, practical relatives of the ceremonial ivory gifts. Despite the similarities in presentation, there are important differences between the two leaves. On the front (left), Probianus displays on his lap the unrolled codicil, his imperial diploma of office, and he and the two men below congratulating him wear the chlamys, the dress of the court official. This garment and the title of office in the inscription (VICARIVS VRBIS ROMAE) stress Probianus' official duties. The codicil is inscribed PROBIANE FLOREAS. On the rear leaf, which bears the vicar's name and rank, RVFIVS PROBIANVS V(ir) C(larissimus), the three main figures are dressed in the senatorial toga. Here, Probianus is receiving the congratulations of his peers, a mark of the honor accorded him.

The generally accepted date of around 400 was first established by Delbrueck ([1], 1952, pp. 165–189). As he argued, the diptych is stylistically related to works firmly dated around the turn of the century. Given this approximate stylistic date, the double imperial busts shown suggest that Probianus was vicarius during the co-reign of Arcadius and Honorius, in 399–402. Other works in ivory have been attributed to the same workshop, among them the diptych leaf in Milan with the representation of the Women at the Tomb (no. 453); the Nicomachi-Symmachi diptych in Paris and London (nos. 165, 166); and the Probus diptych in Aosta (Volbach, 1976, no. 1). The Rothschild cameo in Paris (Delbrueck, 1933, p. 206 and pl. 105) also seems related.

By eleventh century in the Benedictine monastery of St. Liudger in Werden, as covers of an eleventh-century manuscript "Vita S. Liudgeri"; 1794–1800, in possession of Baron von Hüpsch in Cologne; 1800, returned to the monastery in Werden; 1803, Münster, Bibliothek der Königlichen Paulinischen Akademie; 1823, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (Köngl. Bibl.).

J. C. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1929, no. 65; Delbrueck (1), 1952, pp. 173–180; Beckwith (1), 1958, pp. 5–6; Aachen, 1965, no. 501; Volbach, 1976, no. 62, pl. 18.

54 Diptych of a patrician

North Italy, probably Ravenna, about 425

Ivory

Each leaf: 33 × 14.1 cm. (13 × 5⁹/₁₆ in.)

Novara, Capitolo Cattedrale, Museo del Duomo

Both panels are substantially intact, but the work is unfinished: the vine scroll on the entablature of the rear leaf is only incised, and the egg-and-dart molding on the frames of both leaves is incomplete; the costume on the rear leaf appears only partially carved. These conditions enhance the impression that the front leaf is more deeply and richly worked than the rear one.

On each leaf, a man with full hair and short beard stands, wearing the chlamys, in a tribunal. The structure is approached by steps, and has two Corinthian columns hung with swags of drapery, curved entablatures (acanthus leaves decorating the one on the front, the vine scroll the rear), and flattened cupola roofs. The figure of the front panel holds his codicil in both hands, while the one on the rear extends his right hand in the gesture of speech.

Traces of paint over the head on the front leaf suggest the letters MVS ending a word, probably a title rather than a name; other rubbed paint on the chlamys on the rear depicts the tablion, which portrays an emperor in triumphal or consular costume. This image has been thought to resemble coin images of Honorius about 420–423, a date that accords with the style of the panel. The basic design of a figure poised with dangling feet within a tribunal derives from the Stilicho diptych of about 400 (Volbach, 1976, no. 63), but the two stiff, blocky figures are closer to those on the diptych of Constantius III in Halberstadt (Volbach, 1976, no. 35), which is dated to 417, or to that of Felix from 428 (no. 45). These two have more rounded, softer forms than the slightly angular ones in our diptych; the heads on the latter are wedge-shaped rather than egg-shaped. Given its presumed date, the workshop of the diptych here is likely to have been at Ravenna, where a different style was practiced than in Rome, the seat of the consuls. Attempts to identify the subject with prominent figures in the politics of Ravenna in the latter part of Honorius' reign, such as Asterius or Castinus, can only be guesswork, but it is clear



that, although not a consul, this must have been a personage of great importance.

The inner sides bear lists of bishops of Novara, written in ink in an early twelfth-century hand.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1929, no. 65; Volbach, 1976, no. 64.

55 Bust of Eutropios

Asia Minor, 3rd quarter 5th century

Marble

32 × 14 cm. ($12\frac{5}{8}$ × $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.); chin to crown: 22.5 cm. ($8\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung, I 880



Head broken off a bust, with part of left shoulder adhering, right part of neck and back missing; tip of nose and left nostril broken off. Bust had been on a wall console which bore an inscription identifying the subject as Eutropios, an official of the street-building commission of the city of Ephesus. The portrait depicts an elderly man with a long, narrow face whose features are exaggerated by the outlines of the hair masses above and below. Lines and grooves delineate features within large abstract curvilinear shapes: a few grooves separate each lock of hair, and two horizontal and two vertical lines mark the forehead. The eyebrows are strongly arched, and the upper lids follow the contours of the brows. The head is turned sharply to the left. The back of the head is only roughly worked, and there is a hole in the top of the skull.

The nearly hollow cheeks exaggerate the size of the eyes. The basic forms derive from those of the "older magistrate" at Aphrodisias of the previous generation (Inan and Rosenbaum, 1966, no. 243), but here they are reduced in all aspects—modeling, relief, linearity: "Even the elongated proportions seem to be a stylistic device rather than a characteristic belonging to the person portrayed" (Inan and Rosenbaum, 1966). Though similar in general to the form of the head of Boethius on his consular diptych of 487 (fig. 5), the closest resemblance—closer than to other similar heads found at Ephesus—is to the colossal head of no. 23, which is no doubt closely related in date.

Though the formula on which the head of Eutropios was built was altered by later sculptors, it remained fundamental to the portrayal of seers and saints throughout the Byzantine period.

Found at Ephesus.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Inan and Rosenbaum, 1966, no. 194; Severin, 1972, no. 72; Noll (1), 1974, no. A13.

56 Portrait seal of a Gothic king

Western Empire (Rome ?), 2nd half 5th century

Amethyst

About 2 cm. ($\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Anonymous loan



The gem portrays a frontal bust above a monogram—a man with large eyes, broad mouth, mustache but no beard, and heavy mass of hair combed downward from a center part to cover the ears. He wears Roman costume: tunic with toga over left shoulder. No Roman of this period wore hair of this length, mustache without beard, or earring such as appears over the right shoulder. The subject belonged to one of the Germanic tribes settled within the Roman Empire between the fourth and sixth centuries. The size of the gem indicates it served in a finger ring; amethyst, like sapphire, was reserved for royal use. Other extant seal rings were made for Childeric I, a Frankish king who died in 481 (Schramm, 1954, pp. 213–217), and Alaric II the Visigoth (484–507) (Schramm, 1954, pp. 217–219), but these seals are far cruder in execution, and on both of them the rulers' names are spelled out in full.

The monogram was deciphered by Berges (1954) as "Theodoric," and, since no adequate alternative reading has been offered, the seal is assumed to have been made for the well-known king of the Ostrogoths. Theodoric ruled Italy from 493–526 after receiving a prince's education in Constantinople. However, the only other image of Theodoric, on a unique gold medallion presumably struck on the occasion of his visit to Rome in 500, shows a very different figure from that on the seal. The coin portrait not only differs totally in style



Cast of gem

of execution, but also in the depiction of the coiffure, which falls more or less uniformly without a part—probably a Germanic fashion found on Constantinopolitan ivories of the early sixth century. The face on the coin is square-jawed, not triangular as on the gem. The only similarity is the mustache both wear. Sande (1975) has recently observed that if the medallion does represent Theodoric the Ostrogoth, the gem cannot portray the same man.

But the Ostrogothic king was not the only German ruler named Theodoric. The Visigoth Theodoric I died in victorious battle against Attila in 451, but his son Theodoric II ruled from 453 to 466, enjoying for the most part excellent relations with Rome from his base in southern Gaul. It may be worth noting that Sidonius Apollinaris, who lived at his court, remarked on Theodoric II's devotion to cultivating his mustache (*Epist.* 1.2.2–3).

The gem was probably cut by a Roman artisan as a gift to the barbarian chief; microphotography has revealed what appears to be an inscription, about $\frac{3}{16}$ inch long at the left edge of the gem, but, beyond the probable presence of an "o" and a "c" or "x", it seems indecipherable. It would be an artist's signature, if anything.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berges, 1954; Schramm, 1954, pp. 219–222; Sande, 1975, p. 82 n. 7.

Scenic Representations

If ceremony is the customary mechanism by which a structured society articulates its most vital features, then Late Antique society was most peculiarly addicted to the custom, even ritual, of ceremony. Previous Roman tradition had increasingly emphasized the ceremonial aspects of public life, formalizing the most varied social relationships; ceremony also found full expression in well-established motifs, presented repeatedly by works of art. This fixation on carefully staged ceremonies complemented the highly structured political and social system, dominated by an increasingly remote leadership and an extremely wealthy aristocracy—a hier-

archical system largely formed by the still powerful models of Roman paganism and maintained by the notables who governed society and the state.

Such a society tended to abjure the validity of personal relationships, except at the highest levels, and to consider the mass of the citizenry irrelevant outside of the demands of politics. Yet, this attitude stood opposed to the teaching of primitive Christianity, wherein each person—estimable in himself and not to be measured by possessions or status—had direct access to the highest majesty of all—God. The complex institutional interaction between the aristocracy and the masses as the empire was Christianized is demonstrated in the slowly changing artistic representations of public ceremonies.

The appearance of magnificence seems to have been the touchstone of this society, perhaps in an effort to sublimate the growing unpleasantness of life. The semipermanence of late Roman socio-political institutions, subject to increasing stratification, assured the use of traditional imperial motifs, precisely because these motifs continued to be recognizable signs of present power and ancient splendor. In a world of declining physical resources, further weakened by a gradual alienation from Greco-Roman civilization, the illusion of institutional continuity seems to have been strengthened by the greater formalization of action through ritual. Every act of the emperor, members of his suite, and of the great aristocrats became transformed into a carefully staged scene, framed in such a way as to elevate the principal actor, or actors, into a position of eminence. If, in reality, matters were seldom so well defined, these powerful images at least projected a protective aura of security.

The traditional imperial ceremonies—triumph, investiture, formal address, advent, departure, sitting-in-state, death, and apotheosis—continued to dominate works of art commissioned by the state.

FIG. 7 *Drawing of equestrian statue, Justinian or Theodosius.*

Budapest, Budapest University Library, cod. 35, fol. 144v





FIG. 8 *Silver plate of Constantius II.*
Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum

These motifs, like the rhythmic acclamations that greeted the emperor whenever he performed some ceremonial action, were reinforced by repetition. Equestrian monuments continued to be raised in Rome and Constantinople (fig. 7); emperors made triumphant entries (fig. 8), spoke to their armies (no. 57), appeared in colossal forms, symptomatic of their power (nos. 11, 23), stood in sumptuous court dress whose splendor complemented their special nature (no. 65), wore haloes indicative of their superhuman, radiant authority (no. 67; fig. 9), and rose unto heaven in the uplifting ceremony of apotheosis (no. 60) when their time on earth was completed. When seated in majesty surrounded by their temporal court (nos. 64, 65), sometimes augmented by celestial companions (fig. 10), the emperors assumed rigid, frontal positions as if they had been transmogrified into images of pure majesty. This is the deliberate posture of Constantius II, who thus presented himself in 357 to the people of Rome:

And as if he were planning to overawe the Euphrates with a show of arms, or the Rhine, while the standards preceded him on each side, he himself sat alone upon a golden car in the resplendent blaze of shimmering



FIG. 9 *Hadrianic tondo with haloed Constantine, Arch of Constantine.*
Rome

FIG. 10 *Emperors in majesty, Arch of Galerius.*
Thessalonike



precious stones, whose mingled glitter seemed to form a sort of shifting light. And behind the manifold others that preceded him he was surrounded by dragons [the imperial standard], woven out of purple thread and bound to the golden and jewelled tops of spears, with wide mouths open to the breeze and hence hissing as if roused by anger, and leaving their tails winding in the wind. And there marched on either side twin lines of infantrymen with shields and crests gleaming with glittering rays, clad in shining mail. . . . Accordingly, being saluted as Augustus with favoring shouts, while hills and shores thundered out the roar, he never

stirred, but showed himself as calm and as imperturbable as he was commonly seen in his provinces. For he both stooped when passing through lofty gates (although he was very short), and as if his neck were in a vice, he kept the gaze of his eyes straight ahead, and turned his face neither to right nor to left, but . . . neither did he nod when the wheel jolted nor was he ever seen to spit, or to wipe or rub his face or nose, or move his hands about (Ammianus Marcellinus *History* 16.10. 6–10 [Rolfe, 1950, pp. 245, 247])

To emphasize the glorification, even transmutation, of the mortal ruler as a superhuman being, artists also came to rely heavily on symbols, like the halo or the arcuated lintel on the Missorium of Theodosius (no. 64; cf. no. 104, entrance of Diocletian's palace, Split), which indicated the epiphany of a majestic lord. Almost in anticipation of the medieval doctrine of the "king's two bodies," the image of the throne itself could stand for the emperor, often accompanied by the further regal attribute of the diadem. It is in this realm of symbols that Christianity makes its appearance with the translation to Christos Rex, as indicated in the mosaics from the Cathedral Baptistry, Ravenna, or in a recently discovered early Byzantine relief, now in Berlin (fig. 11). Where apotheosis could be applied to the heavenly translation of the prophet Elijah (no. 438), then the signs of divine favor which supported regal authority even as early as Augustus, the first emperor, took on a new meaning. Under the old *Lex de Imperio* the Roman people supposedly exercised the authority to elect an emperor and to bestow upon him their power over the state. Perhaps influenced by the biblical model of King David, the presence of God himself became evident as the *manus dei* in the dynastic investiture medallions of the House of Constantine (no. 62); the symbol itself of the hand of God was already used in the biblical context of the third-century paintings from the synagogue at Dura Europos (no. 341).

Christianizing intrusions into the traditional pagan repertory of Roman state monuments had previously occurred among the triumphal images of Constantine with varying degrees of explicitness. The phrase *instinctu divinitatis* in the inscription of Constantine's triumphal arch in Rome (no. 58) had two effects; it did not refer to the traditional gods, who were conspicuously absent from the arch because the

FIG. 11 *Marble relief of Hetoimasia.*

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung



usual representation of the triumphal procession to Jupiter Capitolinus was missing, and it did refer, apparently, to the Christian deity proclaimed by the Christian troops in his army, victorious over Maxentius at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312. This imprecise reference, possibly even a covert allusion to the comity between Constantine and Sol Invictus, represented on the east end of his Roman arch, was soon strengthened. The Chi Rho, the monogram of Christ, appeared in Constantine's coins and medallions (no. 57) alluding to the sign, either the Chi Rho or the cross, seen by Constantine in the sky before the battle and subsequently adopted as his primary insignia.

The intrusion of Christian symbols into the tradition of triumphal representation became stronger in the column of Arcadius (no. 68), erected in honor of himself and his brother, Honorius, to commemorate the victory over the Ostrogoth Gainas in 400. The idea of the triumphal column, erected on a high base and decorated with helical reliefs, was derived from the famous monuments of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius in Rome, but with an important difference: Christian symbolism now dominated the reliefs of the column base (no. 68): the source of victory lies beyond the emperors in Christ, and the partnership of the two emperors (*concordia augustorum*) and of the East and West parts of the empire has taken shelter under the sign of the cross. Likewise, a gnostic conflict of good and evil modified the familiar equestrian motif: not a human enemy but a serpent was depicted under the rearing front hooves of the war horse, personifying the usurper Magnentius in the fourth century (fig. 12), Attila in the fifth century, and the arch-foe of the heroic martial saint, St. George.

Nevertheless, the traditional iconography of victory continued. The strident notion of invincibility joined with total victory over the whole world was essentially a creation of the third century and of the First Tetrarchy, a period when insistent propaganda displaced the unpleasant facts of military struggle. Even on the column of Arcadius, the narrative of the helical reliefs was secondary to the highly formal images of majestic dominance versus a supplicating and defeated enemy, presented on the column base.

Since representations of warfare were staged as



FIG. 12 *Gold medallion of Constantine II.*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles

dramas, their function was not to indicate a fact or event but to characterize the foregone conclusion of Roman victory. By extension to any contest in which the character of the protagonist was shown in possession of *virtus*—the positive, courageous power that lies within a person, according to Stoic doctrine—victory in any field of action indicated both the favor of deity and the *virtus* of the successful actor. This predisposition could be safely tested in sublimated conflict situations where *virtus* could be revealed: the hunt and the circus/arena, the former aristocratic and restricted, the latter popular and intensely public.

The hunting of dangerous game had evolved in Hellenistic times as a sport of nobles and kings, as a kind of private warfare for display of courage and as a vehicle for self-aggrandizement. This tradition was enthusiastically continued by Roman rulers and aristocrats on their great country estates (fig. 13), in part indicating their great wealth, through the conspicuous waste of slaughter. Hadrian had developed the hunt as a symbolic field for the display of *virtus*, which he celebrated in a quasitriumphal monument, later preserved in the Hadrianic tondi on the facades of the Arch of Constantine (no. 58;

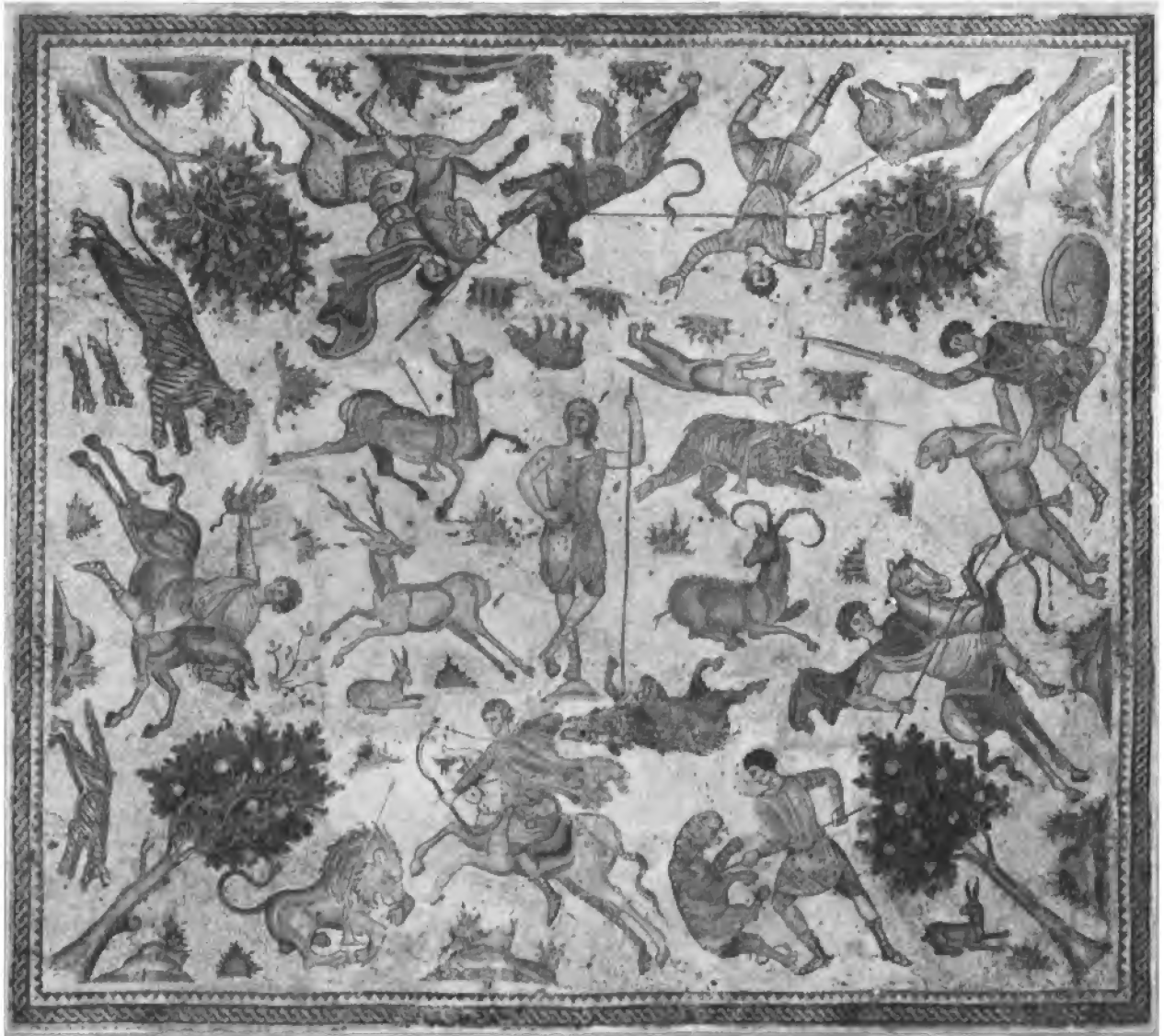


FIG. 13 *Mosaic of the hunt, from Antioch.*

Worcester, Massachusetts, Worcester Art Museum

the portraits of Hadrian were converted in the fourth century to those of Constantine and his father, Constantius Chlorus). This usage applied not only to the triumphant huntsman, the surrogate of the triumphant warrior, but could also be extended in many Roman hunt sarcophagi of the second, third, and fourth centuries to the ultimate victory in the most pressing contest of all for a human being, the struggle against and over death (fig. 14). Thus, what had been an aristocratic sport, a cultivated field for

winning acclaim and an opportunity for ostentatious display, became in the end an eschatological dream, a hope of ultimate victory, soon to be found only through the Christian faith.

The manifestation of virtue and the achievement of glory were primary motivations for emperor and aristocrat alike. When translated to the masses, the vicarious experience of violence certainly held the attention of the populace in those great centers of institutionalized violence perfected by the Romans for their enjoyment: the circus and the arena. Despite Christian opposition (Tertullian, Lactantius), the chariot races in the circus and the gladiatorial

contests in the arena were conducted for centuries, entertaining the poor with lavish spectacles paid for by the rich and powerful. Crowds, noise, excitement, drinking, and death were all part of the sport scene, which continued long after the empire became Christianized. The games may have continued because they were deeply entrenched as customs and served to sublimate the smoldering rebelliousness among the urban proletariat; in any case, the gladiatorial contests in the arena (no. 82) and the chariot races in the circus (nos. 89–91) were prized by all. Factions of the racing teams—red, blue, white, and green—were fanatic in their allegiance, often breaking out in riots with an undertone of political protest. The games gave another opportunity for

popular sport heroes, gladiators and charioteers (nos. 94–96), but also by implication the members of the regime, who were victorious by definition, infected everyone.

Since the hippodrome-circus provided a field of recurring triumphs and of continual renewal, the racecourse came to represent the cycle of the seasons (nos. 100,101), bringing renewed prosperity with victory to the Roman people, an association particularly marked when the four teams were in competition. The course was run around a central spina, adorned with images of Victory and great obelisks like celestial beacons (no. 91). Some of these obelisks survive; the most famous of them still stands in the hippodrome at Istanbul, representing the court of



FIG. 14 *Marble sarcophagus with hunt scene.*

Rome, Musei Capitolini

ostentatious self-indulgence to emperor and patrician, who appeared at the games in splendor from the tribunal (nos. 83, 84). The ceremonial nature of these presentations was frequently heightened by specific occasions such as the entrance into office of a consul at the New Year. The resultant pomp together with the games, especially in the increasingly popular circus, brought various aspects of Roman public and political life into intense ceremonial association. The celebration of “winning,” not only by the

Theodosius in reliefs on the base and his presidency not merely of the games but of the state as well (no. 99). It is the emperor—silent, frontal, majestic—who alone and forever presents the prize to the victor in the race; it is he, dominant in all public ceremonies, who is the immediate source of victory on earth, if not in heaven.

RICHARD BRILLIANT

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gagé, 1933; Grabar, 1936; Treitinger, 1938; Straub, 1939; Kähler, 1952; Bruun, 1966; MacMullen, 1966; Lippold, 1968; A. Alföldi, 1970; Cameron, 1970; MacCormack, 1972; Hunger, 1974; Laubscher, 1975.



57 Triumphal medallion of Constantine

Ticinum (Pavia), 313

Silver

Diam. 2.45 cm. ($\frac{1}{4}$ in.); 6.367 gm.

Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, 86 627

OBV: IMP(erator) CONSTANTINVS P(ater) F(elix) AVG(ustus). Bust of Constantine, cuirassed; horse's bridle held in right hand; in left, a scepter and a shield bearing Lupercale as emblem; on head diademed helmet, surmounted by crown of feathers; fixed in front over forehead a round disc filled by Greek letters, Chi Rho.

REV: SALVS REI PVBLICAE. Constantine in military dress standing on a raised platform flanked by Victory and cavalry standards (vexilla) lifting right hand in traditional gesture of address to dismounted cavalymen surrounding platform

This medallion displays the emerging pattern of Constantinian iconography and style. The inorganic treatment of the human body, the simplified forms, and frontal composition are fundamental characteristics of Constantinian art. These qualities are evident in the contemporary coinage (nos. 34–39), the arch at Rome (no. 58), and in the surviving fragments of Constantine's colossal statue in the Museo Capitolini, Rome (no. 11), like the medallion, direct creations of imperial commission.

Some scholars (A. Alföldi, 1935; Kraft, 1954–1955) hold that the medallion was issued in 315



to commemorate Constantine's decennalia. Others (M. R. Alföldi, 1963; Klein, 1972) view it as having been made as a presentation piece in 313, tying together Constantine's final victory over Maxentius in 312, his triumphant procession to the Capitol in Rome in January 313, and the Edict of Milan later in the same year. Accordingly, the medallion would celebrate both Constantine's arrival at the highest levels of power and the entry of the Christians into full participation in the empire.

The reverse describes an established imperial ceremony, the *adlocutio*, whereby the emperor addressed his soldiers with a speech of victory—here the victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge won by the cavalry. The inscription proclaims the welfare (*salus*) of the state assured by Constantine through this victory. This message complements the meaning of the obverse, where the emperor appears as master of horse and, by implication, as “the man on horseback,” who commands and rules. The scepter symbolizes temporal power and the diadem, kingship, with the feathers probably derived from Persian regal imagery. The Lupercale on the shield refers to the original founding of Rome by Romulus and to its “refounding” by Constantine under the sign of Christ, through whose grace victory was won (*hoc signo victor eris*). Thus, the Roman Empire became Christianized.

R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gnecci, 1912, I, p. 59.18, pl. 29.3; A. Alföldi, 1935; A. Alföldi, 1951; Kraft, 1954–1955; M. R. Alföldi, 1963, pp. 41, 42; Klein, 1972, pp. 25–26.

***58 North facade of the Arch of
Constantine**

Rome, 315

Marble

About 21 m. × about 25.2 m. (69 × 82 ft.)

IMP(erator) CAES(ari) FL(avio) CONSTANTINO
MAXIMO
P(io) F(elici) AVGVSTO S(enatus) P(opulus) Q(ue)
R(omanus)
QVOD INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS MENTIS
MAGNITVDINE CVM EXERCITV SVO
TAM DE TYRANNO QVAM DE OMNI EIVS
FACTIONE VNO TEMPORE IVSTIS
REMPVBLICAM VLTVS EST ARMIS
ARCV M TRIVMPHIS INSIGNEM DICA VIT

To the Emperor Caesar Flavius Constantine
Maximus,
Pius Felix Augustus, the Senate and the Roman
People,
Since through divine inspiration and great
wisdom
He has delivered the state from the tyrant
And his party by his army and noble arms,
Dedicate this arch, decorated with triumphal
insignia

The Arch of Constantine, commemorating Con-
stantine's victory over Maxentius at the Battle
of the Milvian Bridge in 312 (cf. no. 57), was
dedicated on 25 July 315, not coincidentally also
the decennalia of his entrance into power. The
arch incorporates several themes of Constantinian



propaganda which extended the implications of victory and suggested the pivotal position of Constantine's rule between an old order, still great, and a new order rising from it to a glorious future.

The site chosen for the arch is important, because it lies next to the Flavian Colosseum at the bend in the triumphal route between the Flavian arches of Vespasian at the Circus Maximus and of Titus at the entry into the Forum. Since the first Flavians had established their power by the conquest of Jerusalem, the new Flavian emperor, Constantine, had conquered both Rome and Jerusalem, if one can assume that the words *INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS* in the inscription refer to the famous vision of the cross, which brought enlightenment and victory to Constantine.

The arch is full of deliberate echoes of the Roman past, indicating Constantine's role as a continuator, revealed by the many fragments taken from earlier monuments and put under Constantine's control in his own monument: reliefs and statues from a triumphal monument of Trajan, eight tondi from a Hadrianic monument, and eight panels from a triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius. Confirming this reuse of the past, the original imperial portraits were replaced by the head of Constantine, with a few special exceptions in the Hadrianic tondi, thus assimilating these great persons into the present majesty of Constantine. In addition, Trajan's arch at Benevento

influenced the design of the Constantinian arch in that the two facades, similarly composed, were divided between the themes of war (south) and domestic policy (north). This division was reinforced by the inscriptions on the central passageway: *FVNDATORI QVIETIS* ("To the Founder of Peace") and *LIBERATORI VRBIS* ("To the Liberator of the City"), both set over complementary sections of the reused Trajanic relief.

On the north facade, a complex billboard of political messages, the following Constantinian reliefs appear: over the left entrance, the oratio of Constantine to the Roman people from the rostra in the Roman Forum, with the emperor (headless) shown front and center; over the right entrance, the largitio given by Constantine (headless, front and center) to the Roman people; in the spandrels of the side bays, the images of young and old river gods, symbolizing fertility and the boundaries of the world; and in the spandrels of the central bay, the figures of Victories holding trophies, held out to Roma on the keystone of the central arch; below the Victories personified seasons—Winter on the left, Spring on the right—mark the beginning of a new era. The column pedestals at the base of the arch show Victories with defeated enemy soldiers.

This iconography develops the interplay between themes of victory and of an ordered, prosperous world under imperial governance, but does not conceal the great variety of artistic



Details of no. 58, north facade of Arch of Constantine: above, frieze over left entrance; below, frieze over right entrance



styles in this assemblage of borrowed, adapted, and newly made sculptures. However, the use of borrowed elements neither indicates a lack of ability among the sculptors of the period nor the absence of a tradition. The inserted Constantinian portraits are masterful creations of an unknown artist, who was, perhaps, also responsible for other Constantinian portraits (no. 374). At the same time the abstract, symmetrical, hieratic composition of the Constantinian registers, their inorganic forms, and dense, almost cubist style emerge from anticlassical currents in Roman art of the late third century.

The correspondences between original and reused sculptures confirm the importance of the "fragmentary style" in Constantinian art. It is consistent with those syncretistic tendencies already at work in the assimilation of various pagan cults. With the interpenetration of Christianity and classical culture in the fourth to fifth century less than one hundred years after it was erected, the arch was invoked in an oration by the Christian poet Prudentius (*C. Symm.* 1. 461–510; dated 403–405) as a monument of Christian triumph, surely evidence that it had performed successfully the task of integrating its various images and the concepts they represent.

R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L'Orange and von Gerkan, 1939; Giuliano, 1955; Calza, 1959–1960; Ruysschaert, 1963; Bianchi Bandinelli, 1971, pp. 73–80.

****59 Relief with an emperor as Helios enthroned**

Egypt, 2nd–3rd century

Painted limestone

49 × 56 cm. (19 $\frac{5}{16}$ × 22 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, Greek Sculpture Collection, 27569

More a colored, incised drawing than a sculpted relief, this well-preserved limestone slab still retains some of its original paint, especially on the figure of the emperor: red flesh, red and blue drapery, black boots, black hair, yellow crown.



The yellow of the camel is also well preserved. Each figure is set within, and slightly apart from, an enclosing contour, seemingly placed below the surface of the stone in a crude adaptation of the ancient Egyptian technique of recessed relief. Despite the rudimentary technique, the stocky proportions, and a tendency toward frontality—each figure is fully defined on an implied ground-line, distinguishing elements of costume are precisely indicated, and vestiges of classical poses have been maintained. This combination of Egyptian and Hellenic motifs, organized by a naive, hieratic composition, is difficult to date on grounds of style but seems closest to those works produced in other mixed cultural contexts in Egypt in the early Severan period.

Iconographically, this relief participates in the varied program of monuments of a quasireligious character employed by units of the Roman army. Such works of art invoke the numinous presence of the emperor as a symbol of their allegiance and for their protection.

On the bottom appears a line of Roman soldiers dressed in short tunics with mantles, boots, and various weapons. The soldier in the center carries a bow and quiver on his back in addition to a dagger under his arm and holds some unidentified object in his left hand. The two soldiers at the far

left control a camel, probably as indication that the unit is an auxiliary force of dromedarii detached for service in Egypt to protect the caravans from desert raiders (see Lesquier, 1918, pp. 113–114). On the upper row and clearly more important, from left to right there appear an officer (centurion?), a baton in his left hand and a standard (?) in his right; then a short-haired priest in a long, painted robe, wearing sandals, and with his right hand extended over a thymiaterion; at the far right another mantled figure with long, curly hair, holding a plant (?) symbol in his left hand and a dog on a leash. The enthroned figure of a Roman emperor dominates the entire composition; he displays a spear in his right hand as a symbol of military-political power, is nimbed and radiate, and wears both a fillet and on top the Egyptian hem-hem crown, attributes of a ruler. The rays and nimbus are signs of Sol or Helios to whom Roman emperors assimilated, especially in the third century, when solar attributes contributed to the imagery of invincibility. Although the head is too generalized for identification and has, if anything, a vague resemblance to portraits of Alexander the Great, it is conceivable that Caracalla is here represented in all his glory.

Said to come from Cairo or Saqqara.

R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Edgar, 1903, p. 55, pl. XXV; Giglioli, 1938, p. 722, no. LIX.57.

60 Diptych leaf with consecration of a deceased emperor

Rome (?), 2nd quarter 5th century

Ivory

27.7 × 11.3 cm. (10 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

London, The Trustees of the British Museum,
57,10–13,1

From the left side of the plaque, part of the upper edge is missing; the head of one of the eagles and the head of the man in the lower left corner have been chipped off, as well as a segment of the symmetrically cut openwork volute on top.

Within a bead-and-reel frame, several moments of a consecration ceremony are taking place

simultaneously. A carriage pulled by an honorific team of four elephants is led by a man on foot; on the carriage, the image of a seated emperor is seen within a slender columned aedicula below a



gabled roof. He holds up a laurel branch in his right hand and supports a staff with his left. On top of each bridled elephant rides a mahout, differentiated as to age. Beyond is a draped funeral pyre with a youthful god in a quadriga on top. Two eagles emerge from it and fly heavenward, signifying the apotheosis of two people, the other possibly represented on the lost leaf. Above, the emperor's spirit is carried up by two winged wind genii toward a cloud-banked heaven, where he is greeted by five deities or deified ancestors. Half of the zodiac is shown in an arc to the right: Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces; a profile bust of Helios, with nimbus and rays, is in the upper right corner.

The carving is not only a detailed record of the event but, in the tradition of Roman historical reliefs, also of the participants and accessories: all heads are individualized, a conventional reticulate pattern is used on the elephants, and the throne and zodiacal figures, on the smallest scale, are fastidiously executed. The ambiguous spatial relationships are visually resolved by simple overlappings from bottom to top; and the narrative sequence of the ceremony is organized with maximum effect, using relative sizes and positions of the figures and scenes to report the event.

The style and high quality relate this piece to a number of other well-known ivories (nos. 84, 453) made during the first half of the fifth century. The piece has been attributed to a north Italian atelier (Wessel, 1948–1949, pp. 148–149), but a Roman origin cannot be conclusively excluded. The city apparently remained prominent as an artistic center in the first half of the fifth century, contributing the mosaics in Sta. Maria Maggiore (no. 420) and probably other works (e.g., nos. 203, 438, 452) attributed to Roman ateliers.

Identifications of the deified pagan emperor include Antoninus Pius, Constantius Chlorus, and Julian; no date in the first half of the fifth century, however, provides a definitive historical connection to any of these imperial figures—most widely accepted is the hundredth anniversary, in 431, of Julian's birth.

The monogram, variously interpreted, has been deciphered to read SYMMACHORUM (Weigand, 1937), relating it to one family responsible for the Symmachi diptych (no. 166), placing the plaque within the retrospective milieu of the old Roman aristocracy.

Formerly in the Gherardesca collection, Florence; bought by the British Museum in 1867.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weigand, 1937; Wessel, 1948–1949; Calza, 1972, nos. 73, 275; Volbach, 1976, no. 56.

61 Girdle of coins and medallions

Constantinople (?), 583

Gold

64.7, diam. each solidus 6.4 cm. (25½, 2½ in.); 360 gm.

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.147

A girdle composed of twelve solidi and four medallions, each set into a smooth gold frame with plain hoop links. All bear the mint mark CONOB (Constantinople obryzum—"pure gold of Constantinople"), suggesting, though not proving, manufacture in the capital. Each medallion and four of the coins have double beaded edges. The girdle now lacks the clasp and several coins. The order of the pieces and the attachment pins are modern.

The four medallions are identical, struck from the same dies (Grierson, 1955, p. 59). The obverse shows a frontal bust of the emperor Maurice Tiberius, wearing trabea, cross-topped crown, and pendulia, holding the mappa in his right and an eagle-topped scepter in his left hand. The legend reads D(ominus) N(oster) MAVRIC(ius) TIBER(ius) P(ater) P(atriae) AVG(ustus). On the reverse, with a more abbreviated legend, the emperor is shown standing frontally in a chariot, in military dress, crown, pendulia, and halo, with a crown-offering victoriola on a globe in his left hand and his right raised. The four horses are elaborately caparisoned and appear in a symmetrical design common on consular medallions. A serified Chi Rho and an eight-pointed star fill the spaces above the horses' heads.

Some of the coins are of previous emperors: one of Theodosius II (bust), three of a joint issue of Justin I and Justinian, 527, (one of Justin II and



Below: detail of no. 61, separate medallions and coins



Tiberius II, 578, in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia); and eight consular solidi of Maurice. The coins were probably a gift from the emperor, on his accession to office of consul, to some high official or noble, who had them fashioned into a girdle for easy display. Such largesse was traditional and could be given in specie or precious objects, such as diptychs or medallions (cf. no. 46). Because this girdle weighs almost three quarters of a pound and was found with the Second Cyprus Treasure (A. and J. Stylianou, 1969), its recipient may well have been governor of a province.

The four consular medallions and eight of the solidi were struck on the occasion of one of Maurice's two consulships—583 or 602. Grierson at first (1955) preferred the later date but changed this opinion (1961) after considering the medallions' stylistic and technical affinities with the Dumbarton Oaks Collection Epiphany medallion (no. 287) from the same treasure and the date, 584, he gave it.

The reason for the burial of the treasure was most likely the Arab attack on Lapithos, Cyprus, in 653–654. It was discovered near there, at the modern village of Lambousa, near Karavàs, in February 1902.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grierson, 1955; Grierson, 1961; A. and J. Stylianou, 1969, pp. 49–53, 64, no. 16, figs. 37–39.

****62 Encolpion with crowning of an emperor**

Constantinople or Cilicia (?), late 6th century
Gold

L. 46, diam. medallion 7.9 cm. (18 $\frac{1}{8}$, 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.); 39.8 gm.
Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum, Ø 107–108

A necklace made of one plain and twenty identically stamped discs connected by loops, some of which are modern, supports from an elongated biconical hinge a large gold medallion. Pressed from thin sheets of gold, the necklace imitates jewelry made up of solid medallions and coins set into separately worked frames (e.g., nos. 295, 296).

The central image on the medallion represents an emperor holding an orb in his covered left hand and a long, cross-topped spear in his right. He is flanked by two female personifications: the sun to his left, with radiate crown, offering him a crown or torque; the moon to his right, with crescent crown and hands covered with a cloth and extended in an attitude of adoration. Each carries a lighted torch over her shoulder and is accompanied by a further symbol of her identity—a starlike sun and a crescent moon. A hand descends from the sky proffering another crown; in the exergue is a vase with ropelike vines trailing from it.

The inner of two concentric bands is filled with a thick fluid vine scroll, the outer with sketchy, energetically rendered running animals. Fine beading rims the medallion.

The small medallions, each encircled by beading, show two frontal busts flanking a long, narrow cross. The word *ΥΓΙΑ* (*ὕγεια*—"health") is below.

Grabar ([1] 1951) explained the prophylactic intention of the overall program of animal frieze, crosses, and inscription. He demonstrated an iconographical connection between the central image and Constantinian formulae of the fourth century, suggesting that a storehouse of somewhat old-fashioned patterns was still used in a Cilician atelier (Grabar, 1962). Grabar (1962) also attributes the unusual personification of Sol as a female to a break in the antique tradition in such a provincial center of production.

Although the small medallions may be early examples of *constantinata*, as Grabar maintained ([1], 1951), they also bear a formal resemblance to marriage rings (Ross, 1965, II, nos. 51, 52, 67, 68) which the inscription would support (Ross, 1965, II, no. 38). The imagery of emperor, sun, and moon—traditional motifs even before Constantine's time—may also reflect, in its reformed Christian context, contemporary ideas related to the marriage rite (Kantorowicz, 1960).

The necklace was part of a treasure discovered near Mersine, ancient Zaphyron, in Cilicia. A pair of earrings (Bank, 1966, pl. 104) in this treasure



may be compared to jewelry of the late sixth and early seventh centuries (no. 290; Ross, 1965, II, nos. 34, 87, 90). The large medallion is related by artistic conception to the reverse of the pressed pseudomedallion in Dumbarton Oaks, dated to the

late sixth century (Ross, 1965, II, no. 179A); however, the thicker, softer forms, as well as the wavy-edged drapery, also recall the earlier cross of Justin II (Rice, 1959, pl. 71). Although the possibility of Cilician manufacture was increased by the discovery of the Çirga reliquary (Buschhausen, 1971, no. B4), since no documentary evidence points to such a local industry, an origin in Constantinople cannot be excluded.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grabar (1), 1951; Bank, 1966, no. 102.

63 Dynastic medallion of Constans

Siscia, Yugoslavia, 338

Silver

Diam. 3.7 cm. ($1\frac{7}{16}$ in.); 13.45 gm.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles

OBV: FL(avius) IVL(ius) CONSTANS P(ius) F(elix) AVG(ustus). Bust of Constans, diademed, with lorica and paludamentum.

REV: FELICITAS PERPETVA/ VOT(a) V/ SIS(cia). Three figures seated in court dress; Constantius II at left, Constans at right, Constantine II center, frontal, nimbed, and making the "imperial" benediction



Constans, the youngest son of Constantine I, became Caesar on 25 December 333. After his father's death in 337, Constans and his older brother Constantius II, as settled by the congress at Viminacium in 338, were assigned areas of rule in the West and East but deferred to their eldest brother Constantine II. This fragile political solution lasted until 340, when Constantine II invaded Italy,

Constans' territory, and was killed near Aquileia, leaving Constans ruler of the West until he was murdered in 350.

The medallion commemorates this political solution, dynastic solidarity, and the fifth anniversary of Constans' elevation. The reverse legend refers to that limitless bliss that the Roman world would enjoy under the rule of the sons of Constantine I, a dynastic aspiration anticipated a century before by Septimius Severus with equal success. Constans' youthful portrait on the obverse follows the pattern of idealized types adopted by his father (no. 34), here reinforcing the succession through stereotyped imagery. On the reverse, the formal composition manifests clearly the sacral nature of kingship, the deference of the younger sons who turn toward the Augustus, and the institutional dominance of Constantine II, who is central, frontal, larger, nimbed, and gestures as a sign of his power. This formula influenced medallic issues of Valens, Gratian, and Valentinian later in the fourth century, affected the composition of the Missorium of Theodosius (no. 64), and penetrated the imagery of Christus Rex between SS. Peter and Paul or among the apostles (no. 472).

R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gnechi, 1912, I, p. 62, pl. 30.2; A. Alföldi, 1935, pp. 60–64, fig. 7; Toynbee, 1944, p. 199.

*64 Missorium of Theodosius

Eastern Empire, 388

Silver with silver gilt

Diam. 74 cm. (29 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, electrotpe copy 0.27810

The large plate is divided into two nearly equal pieces by a jagged line of cracks which runs from the upper left to the lower right. This damage differs from the smaller networks of cracks that coincide with the outlines of figures represented to the far right. The main line of breakage is the result of purposeful attempts to divide the plate: blows of a chisel or a similar tool can be seen along the break. Examples of this practice have been



*Photograph of actual Missorium of Theodosius,
Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia*

found in barbarian silver hoards, although most pieces of scrap silver, or *Hacksilber*, are smaller than the halves of the missorium.

Traces of gilding remain in the individual letters of an inscription that circles the plate. It reads D(ominus) N(oster) THEODOSIVS PERPET(uus) AVG(ustus) OB DIEM FELICISSIMVM X and refers to the celebration of Theodosius' decennalia in 388. The emperor is shown enthroned on axis before a facade with an arcuated lintel. He is

flanked by two princes, Valentinian II to his right and Arcadius to his left. All three wear lavishly embroidered tunics and mantles and jeweled fibulae and diadems. The three are distinguished from one another by relative size and attributes. Theodosius is the largest; Valentinian is next in size with attributes of scepter and orb; and Arcadius is the smallest, represented with an orb. They are all larger than the other human figures and all three have haloes. Two guards flank the imperial figures at each side, while an official approaches the emperor to receive the codicil of an imperial commission. In the exergue a personi-

fication of the earth, or abundance, reclines among grain stalks, holding a cornucopia; three Erotes offer fruits and flowers.

The very low relief is detailed by fine patterns of stippling and engraved line. The drapery of the figures in the main scene is plastic in conception, consisting of softly modeled surfaces contained within simple outlines. The faces of the emperor and the princes are understood as miniature sculptures whose style can be paralleled in the large-scale portraits of the Theodosian dynasty (no. 99). By contrast, the personification in the exergue is treated in a cursive, linear style. The spatially complex posture is translated into a two-dimensional design; the drapery is characterized by numerous fine folds and a rippling border.

While the missorium is easily dated, a place of origin is more difficult to determine. A Greek inscription on the back records the plate's weight (fifty Roman pounds) and may indicate a Greek-speaking craftsman. The cities of Constantinople and Thessalonike, where the imperial anniversary was celebrated in 388, are the most plausible centers for the execution of the missorium, an official gift to a high-ranking dignitary.

Found with two silver cups near Almedralejo, in the province of Badajoz, Spain, in 1847.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, 1921, no. 56, pp. 59–60; Mérida y Alinari, 1930; Delbrueck, 1933, p. 200, pls. 94–98; Grünhagen, 1954, pp. 15–34, pls. 9, 10.

Photographs of actual mosaic in S. Vitale, Ravenna: below, no. 65; opposite page, no. 66



Apse decoration of S. Vitale

***65 The emperor Justinian and
Archbishop Maximianus and
members of their courts**

***66 The empress Theodora and
members of her court**

Ravenna, 546–547

Mosaic

65: 264.2 × 365.8 cm. (8 ft. 8 in. × 12 ft.)

66: 264.2 × 368.4 cm. (8 ft. 8 in. × 12 ft. 5 in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher
Fund, 65:25.100.1a–e; 66:25.100.2a–e

These imperial scenes are the only figures of living
contemporaries to share with the conch image of

Christ enthroned the sacred space of the apse in
the church of S. Vitale. They contribute an aura
of courtly formality to the extensive program,
which covers the entire presbytery, as well as
provide a bridge between the worlds of the faithful
and the divine. Integral with the mosaic scheme,
these panels were probably complete before the
consecration of the church in May 547.

65: In an indeterminate architectural setting
appear Justinian, carrying a gold bowl or paten,
and Maximianus, archbishop of Ravenna (546–
556), with an emerald-studded processional cross.
Between them is a man usually identified as
Julianus Argentarius, the wealthy patron of this
and other churches in Ravenna (Deichmann, 1969,
I, pp. 241–242, prefers to identify this person as
an imperial representative, perhaps the Praefectus
Praetorio Italiae).

The emperor is distinguished as much by the
bulk of his purple mantle and jewels as by his



centralized position and halo, a sign of distinction to connote honor and reverence. To the left are court officials and the imperial bodyguard (cf. no. 64); to the right are deacons, holding the evangelium and a censer, leading the procession.

66: Theodora, preceded by court officials and followed by ladies-in-waiting, carries a gold chalice. She, too, is singled out by her extraordinary jewels, halo, and focal—though not centralized—position beneath the scalloped niche. The scene takes place in an atrium, the door leading into the church; the fountain at the left is a standard element of Early Christian churches.

These scenes, understood as the same procession, make up the earliest extant representation of an imperial donation (Grabar, 1936, p. 106; Grabar, 1960). The theme is underscored by the scene of the three gift-bearing Magi applied to the empress' mantle. Emphasis is placed on the two converging ceremonies of presentation in the mosaic program: the giving of gifts to the church and the appearance of Justinian, Maximianus, and Theodora before the omnipotent Christ above.

No source reports a visit to Ravenna by this imperial couple, so the ensemble must be understood symbolically. Along with Italy and parts of North Africa, Ravenna had been recently won back by Byzantine forces from various Gothic tribes. These imperial images, then, signify the reunification of the empire under Constantinopolitan power.

The subtlety of expression in these portraits, most likely executed by Ravennate artists, bears witness to a keen psychological awareness and a highly developed technique. The ambiguous space and peculiar tension between movement and stasis, confounded by the overlapping feet, and the visual appeal of the brilliantly colored surface, augmented by a constant variety of gesture, glance, and pattern, contribute appreciably to the awesome impact of these mosaics.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach (1), 1962, nos. 164, 165.

67 Drawings of the Calendar of 354

Paris, 1620–1629

Parchment

27.6 × 20.6 cm. (10 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod.

Barb. lat. 2154

Twenty-three drawings reproduce pages from a calendar codex compiled for A.D. 354. The date is deduced from circumstantial evidence in the *Natales Caesarum* and from the lists of prefects and consuls of Rome up to 354 appended to the calendar. It belongs to a group of copies—most of them from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—based on an intermediary Carolingian copy of the original. Several pages from this same copy are part of another manuscript in the Vatican Library, cod. lat. 9135. Because none of the extant copies is complete, only through collation and analysis of them all can a full reconstruction be made (Stern, 1953, pp. 14–20).

The pages in this manuscript are: fol. 1, title page with dedicatory inscriptions to Valentinus; fols. 2–5, personifications of four great cities of the empire: Rome, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Trier; fol. 6, an imperial dedication, *SALVIS AVGVSTIS FELIX VALENTINVS*, on a shield held by a Victory and an eagle; fol. 7, the *Natales Caesarum* (birth and accession dates); fols. 8–12, five of the original seven personifications of planets: Saturn, Mars, Mercury, Sol, Luna; fols. 13–14, representations of the two consuls for the year 354, Constantius II and the Caesar Gallus; fol. 15, six medallions with zodiac signs; fols. 17–23, personifications of the months February, March, and August through December.

Valentinus, the recipient, must have been of aristocratic rank, judging by the profuse illustrations and large decorated pages. The inscriptions invoking Valentinus' happiness, joy, prosperity, and health suggest it was a New Year's gift.

The scribe, Furius Dionisius Filocalus, who signed his name on the title page, was an outstanding calligrapher in the time of Pope Damasus (366–384). This is his earliest known work.

The imagery blends traditional and recently invented iconographical types. The representations of Trier and Constantinople as imperial capitals date the work to no earlier than the Con-

stantinian house. The planets and zodiac signs are traditional types, while the months, combined with various seasonal and temporal symbols, are new, complex variations of older conventions. The two imperial figures, originally facing each other in the codex, are nimbed, carry the consul's staff, and appear in curtained aediculae derived from theater architecture (Weitzmann, 1965, pp. 269–271). The seated Constantius II distributes coins to the public (cf. *largitio* on the Arch of Constantine, no. 58), and Gallus, with a sack of gold at his feet, holds out a *victoriola*, which, in turn, extends a crown to the Augustus, linking the two consuls into an impressive double-page unit. The ornate and fanciful architectural frames used throughout the manuscript serve not only to contain the heterogeneous images within or support the calendrical data, but also to emphasize each page as an independent unit, suitable for individual artistic treatment.

The original Calendar of 354 is the only manuscript that can definitely be dated in the fourth century. Its invocations, illustrations, historical and festal notices—secular, Christian, and imperial—attest to the blending of these elements

Fol. 13 of no. 67: Constantius II



at a high social and intellectual level (cf. no. 386). It demonstrates the persistence of a “papyrus style” of ink drawings in the codex format, but, more importantly, shows the extent to which illustrators had developed the book miniature into a unit of commanding interest.

These copies were executed in France for the great antiquarian Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637). Sent to Cardinal Girolamo Aleandro in Rome; subsequently in the Barberini collection, and since 1902 in the Vatican Library.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Strzygowski, 1888; Stern, 1953; Weitzmann, 1965, pp. 264–271.

68 Drawings of the column of Arcadius

Constantinople, 1574

Paper

Open: 81.3 × 27.9 cm. (32 × 11 in.)

Cambridge, The Master and Fellows of Trinity College,
Ms. 0.17.2

The drawings of the column of Arcadius are on three fold-out sheets in a vellum-bound album containing twenty-one drawings of monuments, views, and curiosities of Constantinople. The album is dated by an inscription to January 1575; the inscription also mentions David Ungnad von Zonneck, the imperial ambassador from Vienna to Constantinople.

Arcadius (395–408) was voted an honorific column in 401. Emulating the helical column erected for his father, Theodosius I, built during the 380s, it was based on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius in Rome set up in the second century. Construction and decoration lasted until 421, when the column was crowned with a statue of the emperor and dedicated by his son Theodosius II. Numerous tremors had caused fissures and cracks, necessitating five iron retaining bands, and it finally fell in 1719 during an earthquake. All that survives today is the core of the base, its winding internal stair reached by a door on the north side; a low relief panel over the door; and a portion of the first spiral.



The narrative scenes on the column represent the expulsion of Goths from Constantinople (spirals 2–5), and episodes from the ensuing battles between Gothic and Byzantine forces on both sea and land (spirals 9–12). The narrative is punctuated by several depictions of the emperor receiving reports in camp or holding audiences at the palace in the capital (spirals 6, 10, 13).

This Constantinopolitan monument differed in several basic ways from its Roman precedents. It had fewer spirals, and its overall height was greater. The scenes representing the emperor addressing the army were frontally oriented, static episodes, a trend begun on the Aurelian column, which, by directly engaging the spectator, effectively interrupted the narrative flow of events. A fundamental addition to the traditional military and imperial themes is the Christian imagery, used on the four-registered postament and the undersides of the platforms on top of the column.

On each of the decorated sides of the base, Arcadius is accompanied by his brother Honorius, stressing the unity of the administratively divided imperium. The west side shows the emperors as generals with military escort. They stand beneath a Latin cross-in-wreath supported by Victory angels (nos. 70, 480) flanked by ascendant chariots, symbolizing the two halves of the empire; below are barbarians pleading for clemency and the usual display of war trophies.

The east side shows the emperors as consuls, an office they held jointly in 402; below, the senate presents gold crowns to the co-consuls and is flanked by personifications of Rome and Constantinople (cf. no. 153).

The south, and main, side shows the emperors again as victorious generals, holding victoriotas; the generals are flanked by high court officials and the imperial bodyguard. Below, personifications of captured cities, wearing mural crowns, offer gifts; above, Victories support a laurel wreath enclosing a Chi Rho with subtended Alpha and Omega; trophies stand at either side. The spoils have been transferred to the top register to avoid breaking into the victory wreath by the window.

The religious and allegorical symbolism combined with the military and civil functions of the imperial corporation express the conception of a Byzantine sempiternal and ever-victorious state under divine patronage. The repetitive imagery here confirms, within a Christian context, the

metaphor of victory expressed on Theodosius' obelisk base (no. 99).

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Freshfield, 1922; Becatti, 1960, pp. 151–288, pls. 56–61, 63, 72–76.

69 Relief with liberation of a besieged city

El Ashmunein (?), Egypt, 4th–5th century

Dark wood (dikotyle)

45 × 22 cm. (17 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, 4782

The relief depicts the liberation of a walled city, besieged by barbarians who have been routed by a relieving force of Roman infantry coming from the left, possibly under the direction of the tall figure to the left of the city gate; one of the soldiers bears the labarum. The barbarians on horseback are being driven off or killed; their leaders, marked by princely diadems, hang on forked stakes outside the city wall at the right. Troops of the defending garrison line the top of the wall and behind them rise the buildings of the city, and on the left appear three damaged figures in heroic scale, perhaps protective saints. Although the relief is well preserved, with the upper and lower frames intact, it is unlikely that this piece stood alone but, rather, was probably fixed to a wall as decoration with other similar reliefs, now lost. Since it has a simple decoration on the bottom, it was probably the lowest element in some assemblage.

The subject of the relief follows a familiar theme in Roman imperial art going back at least to Trajan's column in Rome, often similarly represented in stark, explicit terms. Comparable panels filled with historical reliefs have been found on the piers of the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus in Leptis Magna, A.D. 203/205, and this wooden relief may itself refer to some specific event, possibly the invasion of a Libyan tribe, the Blemyes, into the Delta, who were then defeated by the Christian armies of the empire. It has been suggested, however, that the subject is biblical and represents the rescue of Gibeon by Joshua (Josh. 10), who defeated the five kings of the Amorites and hung

their bodies on trees. If so, the relief would provide another instance of a Roman model derived from the rich tradition of narrative monuments and applied to a biblical theme.

Dating of the work is complicated by the lack of exact parallels and the distance from metropolitan centers, although comparisons can be made with the late fourth-century sarcophagus in S. Ambrogio, Milan, with the early fifth-century mosaics in Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome (no. 420), and with several of the illuminations in the *Ilias Ambrosiana* (no. 193). Although the formal tradition had its origin in Roman art of the late third



to fourth century, the variations in scale, the mixture of precisely defined elements in a very compressed space, and the manipulation of the architectural background indicate a date of about 400.

Acquired in 1900.

R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schlunk, 1939, no. 179; Beckwith, 1963, no. 46; Vienna, 1964, no. 129.

70 Weaving with Victories

Egypt (?), 4th–5th century

Wool weft on linen warp

96 × 223 cm. (37 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 87 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

New York, The Brooklyn Museum, Gift of Howard M. and Dorothy C. Pack, 74.155

This loop-woven hanging has been recomposed from numerous fragments.

Two symmetrically disposed figures support in their extended arms a yellow and pink floral wreath decorated with peacock feather "eyes." Neither figure is completely preserved; each is dressed in a long peplos, a short tunic tied with a jeweled belt, and a windswept mantle which flutters behind. They wear armbands, as well as wrist and ankle bracelets—decorative accouter-

ments more commonly seen on Nereids and dancing figures (nos. 132, 150).

The impressionistic use of color suggests the evanescent play of light across the dense folds of drapery. The body forms beneath are, however, never sacrificed for purely decorative effects. The remaining face is round and strongly modeled (cf. Wessel, 1965, pl. 105) and the bodies, with a slightly exaggerated thickness of limb, produce the effect of harmonious and rhythmical movement.

The hanging most likely comes from a secular or pagan ambience. The figures, highly ornamented, barefoot, and apparently wingless, do not conform to the usual sedately clad, sandaled, and winged depiction of Christian angels, though both derive from the same imperial triumphal imagery. The angel with wreath (no. 480) and those above the Barberini equestrian (no. 28) are typologically related.

The strong outlines recall no. 112; but the complex interior treatment reflects the accomplished technique of the sixth-century tapestry group defined by Shepherd in connection with the Cleveland icon of the Virgin (no. 477). However, the figures in that group tend to be somewhat stiffer and the colors more distinctly separated, suggesting a slightly earlier date for the Brooklyn hanging.

S. R. Z.

Unpublished.



71 Cameo with rider in battle (Belgrade cameo)

Color plate II

Place of origin unknown, about 325–350
Sardonyx
15 × 19 × 2.5 cm. ($5\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{2} \times 1$ in.)
Belgrade, National Museum

This fragment preserves only a small portion of a much larger cameo, once roughly circular in shape. The stone has been cut to form three distinct layers: a milky blue ground supports several cloudy white, flat figures, tinted by a thin surface layer of purplish brown indicating costume and providing coloristic accents. The flat relief with sharp contours is consistent with the lapidary's reliance on incision rather than modeling for detail and definition. On the basis of this linear style, considering also the abrupt mixture of profile and vertical views, the absence of ground-lines, and the relative isolation of the figures, a date in the second quarter of the fourth century has been proposed.

The piece represents a triumphant warrior in Greek dress riding high over the contorted bodies of dead barbarians. The motif of the heroic cavalier had been widely used in Roman art to symbolize the moral perfection and courage of the leader in peace and war, an expression of his virtue, but from Hadrian's time a man on horseback increasingly came to represent the hunter, and thus by extension victory in general (no. 79). However, this cameo was originally very large and therefore rare; surviving examples from the first and fourth centuries, when such large cameos were carved, indicate that they were precious state monuments in miniature, consistent with the imperial propaganda, even if produced for private ownership. This fragment falls into the tradition, but not easily, because there is no other large cameo representing the ruler at war and the imagery of military victory assumed a much more abstract character in the fourth century.

A great hunter-warrior-ruler, Alexander the Great, did serve as a paradigm of kingship in antiquity. It is he who might be invoked in the Belgrade cameo, since there are distinctly Hellenistic echoes in the composition, in the costumes,



and in the diadem worn by the cavalier. If so, this cameo marks another revival of Alexander imagery, frequently employed by Roman rulers since the Republic and also appearing in later fourth-century contorniates (no. 92). Although the features of the cavalier do not permit any exact identification, his image may have been intended to bring to mind the new heroic leader, Constantine, or one of his sons.

Found before 1900 near Belgrade, ancient Singidunum.

R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Furtwängler, 1900, III, pp. 453–458, figs. 234–236; Rodenwaldt, 1922, pp. 19–22.

72 Plate with tigress attacking an ibex

Constantinople, 450–525

Silver

Diam. 20.5 cm. ($8\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Theodora Wilbour

Fund in memory of Zoë Wilbour, 69.1146

The scene of a tigress attacking an ibex or mountain goat is raised in relief and detailed with surface engraving. The circular format of the object is echoed in its composition. The tigress attacks from a raised ledge and brings down her prey on a lower, sketchily indicated groundline. A lizard



below the combat watches the two figures. Above them, a gnarled tree is bent in an arc roughly parallel to the curve of the rim.

The subject has been discussed as an allegory of government in which imperial forces attack eastern mountain barbarism. A simpler explanation is based on the enduring popularity of hunt motifs in ancient art. In particular, the combat between beasts, from the pursuit of the prey to the devouring of the victim, is a constant theme in silver decoration. It should be noted that animal combats are most frequently elaborated in multi-figure compositions as border motifs on plates and bowls. The use of a single scene is comparable to the occasional depiction of the single human hunter and his game.

The specific compositional device of the curving tree has numerous parallels in silver plates that date from the fifth to the seventh century (cf. nos. 139, 428, 429). A rectangular stamp inscribed with Greek characters is found on the back of the plate inside the foot ring. It is comparable to other stamps and to coins of the late fifth and early sixth centuries and may indicate an imperial workshop, as do the later, more fully developed

stamps of the sixth and seventh centuries (Dodd, 1961).

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vermeule, 1971, pp. 405–406, figs. 60, 62.

73 Bowl with hunting scene

Eastern Mediterranean, 2nd half 4th century

Light green glass

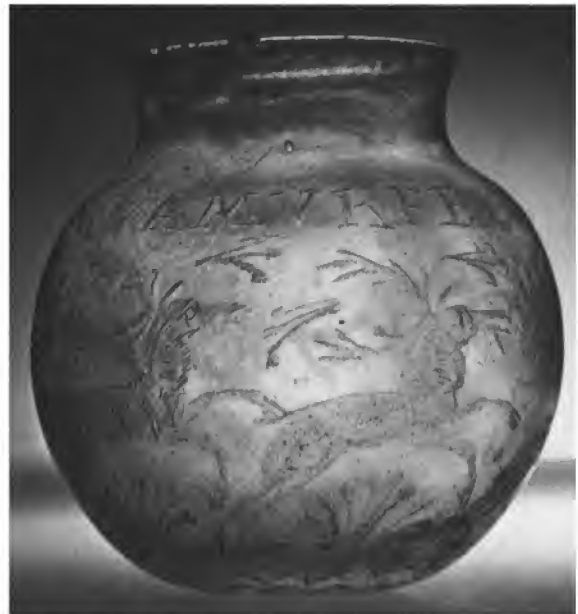
8.4, diam. 8.5 cm. ($3\frac{5}{16}$, $3\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

Corning, New York, The Corning Museum of Glass, 55.1.1

A small spherical bowl with a wide, short, slightly flaring neck. The figures and letters are executed by wheel-cut engraving; the inscription reads: VITA BONA PRVAMVR (=Fruamur) FELICES ("We fortunates enjoy the good life").

A hunter, dressed in the tunica exomis, has just released an arrow; his right arm is thrown back in a wide curve which fills in the space between the beginning and end of the inscription on the bowl's shoulder. Before him flee a doe, two stags, and a backward-glancing bear. The background spaces are filled in with a scatter of fan-shaped, pronged bushes.

A flask found in Sicily (Orsi, 1932–1933) is the closest parallel to this bowl. With a more elaborate



hunting scene and an inscription in Greek, the flask has a background filled in with the same kind of pronged, fan-shaped bushes and letters formed in a very similar way. Harden (1960, p. 174) considers these hunt bowls a stylistically distinct group. Other members are a flask found in Cologne with an inscription in Greek (Fremersdorf, 1967, no. 645, pl. 271) and another in Thessalonike (Petsas, Siganiou, and Gioure, 1967, *Chronika*, p. 391, fig. 12, pls. 296e, 298). Harden suggested that the Corning bowl came from the eastern Mediterranean. The shape and engraving technique suggest a date in the later fourth century, although the technique has been documented from earlier times (Isings, 1957, Form 96b.1).

Representations of hunts, current in all media during the Late Antique period, reflected, in the popular imagination, not only one aspect of the leisured, good life, but also physical well-being reflecting moral integrity. This interpretation may apply to mythological contexts as well, and certainly to similar scenes on other precious objects (cf. nos. 76, 78).

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Smith, 1957, no. 358.

74 Wint Hill bowl

Cologne (?), mid-4th century

Greenish glass

4.9, diam. 19.2–19.6 cm. ($1\frac{1}{16}$ in., $7\frac{9}{16}$ – $7\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1957.186

This glass bowl is pieced together from seventeen large, and numerous small fragments. It was made by cutting a section from a large blown globe, and filing down the lip. The weathered surface is the result of soil corrosion.

The scene engraved on the outside is a hare hunt. The mounted hunter, whip in hand, spurs on two large dogs chasing the prey toward a net. The open landscape is indicated by two trees, several small bushes and some tufts of grass. The line drawing is augmented by a series of short strokes to emphasize some contours. It is a rather loose, unrefined style, though highly animated

and vigorous. This and similar glassware were most likely meant for display rather than use.

The configuration of the hunt scene relates it to a large group of monuments in many media. A remarkable similarity exists between this and the Hellenistic gold-glass bowl from Tresilico (Harden, 1968, p. 32, no. 4) and the Alexander plate (no. 79), indicating a very long tradition behind such representations.

The inscription, a mixture of Latin and Greek, etched into the underside of the bowl, reads VIVAS CVM TVIS PIE S ("Live with yours, drink that you may live"). It was the standard formula for good wishes and toasts on gold glass.

This hunt bowl has been recognized by Harden (1960) as a member of a stylistically and technically related group of glass objects. The most idiosyncratic elements are the shaded contour lines and the indication of pelts by short jabs or V-marks, the style of the letters, and the similarity of drawing of trees, animals, and figures. The technique, too, of freehand engraving with a hard stone burin, though not exclusive to this group, is another unifying factor.

In addition to hunting scenes, this group includes mythological (no. 113) and biblical themes (nos. 378, 401). Despite the differences in subject matter, the style and technique point to a common workshop and a contemporaneous production, which, because of the Christian



iconography could not be earlier than the first quarter of the fourth century. This dating is supported by archaeological evidence whenever pieces of this group have been found or excavated in a datable context.

Despite the variety of find-spots, analysis of the distribution indicates Cologne, an important commercial center with an especially well documented glassmaking industry (Fremersdorf, 1967), as the center of production.

Excavated in 1956 by the local archaeological society at Wint Hill, Somerset, England.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Harden, 1960.

75 Fragment of bowl with spoils of the hunt

Rhineland, 4th century

Glass with enamel glaze

8 × 11.1 cm. ($3\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915, 30.95.34

The fragment of dark blue glass was once part of the bottom of a curving dish or bowl; a portion of the foot ring of the original vessel can be seen on the back. The interior of the vessel was decorated with scenes from a hunt executed in a greenish yellow enamel glaze with details of the figures scratched through the painted surfaces. In the fragment two hunters or attendants shoulder a long staff to which is bound a slain deer. Two



dogs leap about the attendants, and one partially preserved male figure to the lower left gestures in their direction. Portions of three other human figures can be clearly seen along the irregular lines of breakage. The tail and haunches of a distinctly feline shape are seen below the attendants; above them, the hooves, padded feet, long, slender legs, and arching neck of a camel can be observed. The fauna indicate a North African or Near Eastern hunt, and the captured animal might be more correctly identified as a gazelle. The apparent free combination of animal and human predators and prey suggests that the representation is one of a "fantasy" hunt.

K. J. S.

Unpublished.

76 Pitcher with hunting scenes

Italy (?), 2nd half 4th century

Bronze with silver, copper, and niello inlay

26.2, diam. 15.7 cm. ($10\frac{5}{16}, 6\frac{3}{16}$ in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenabteilung, 30244

The pitcher is divided into three decorated zones by continuous lathe-cut lines. Much of the precious inlay has either fallen, or was pried, out. Random parts of the fabric, especially on the shoulder and neck, are missing.

Under the wide flaring lip is a radiate linear pattern. The neck, bordered by continuous ivy vine scrolls, is decorated with inlaid grapevines, leaves and clusters emanating from a lenticular band. The body is decorated with hunting scenes arranged in irregular registers; the figures are executed in both solid areas and inlaid line, producing a vivid, coloristic impression.

The hunting scenes are traditional encounters between hunters and animals (felines, deer, wild horses, boar). The landscape setting is indicated by an uneven groundline, which the figures sometimes do and sometimes do not meet; gnarled, large-leaved trees and grass as well as scattered shields and hunting horns serve as space fillers. There is a notable attempt to suggest depth by showing figures from behind, in three-quarter



twists, and hunters and animals partially concealed behind outcroppings. However, the highly activated lines and the contrast of colored metals produce an overall silhouetelike effect, emphasizing the decorative qualities of the scintillating surface.

This metal inlay piece is related by technique to a small group of objects recently discussed by Bielefeld (1972). These include the Louvre hunt plaque (no. 77) and charioteer (no. 94). One remarkable member of this group is a throne back in the Archaeological Museum in Florence (Minto, 1935–1936) where the cross on one of the hunters' shields places the iconographically and stylistically closely related group into post-Constantinian times. The excavation of the Florence throne on Italian soil and the purchase of this pitcher and the Louvre plaque in Rome support the likelihood

that these bronze pieces were made in central Italy, if not actually in Rome.

These hunts bear great affinities to the hunting and pastoral scenes on the seaside palace plate from August (no. 251), and the Cesena plate (no. 251a), both executed with niello and gilt. These similarities point to a date for this pitcher around the middle of the fourth century or slightly later.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Minto, 1935–1936, pp. 133–134; Bielefeld, 1972, pp. 426–428; Kleinbauer (1), 1976 p. 23, fig. p. 26.

77. Plaque with hunting scenes

Italy (?), 2nd half 4th century

Bronze with silver and copper inlay

15 × 18.7 cm. (5 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités
Grecques et Romaines, Br 3448

Excellently preserved, the colored inlays still give this plaque its original bright impression. The four holes near the corners indicate it was attached to a box, piece of furniture, or other such composite object.



Two apparently unrelated hunting scenes take place one above the other; on top, running to the left, away from a column-altar (?) with a tree twined around it, a hunter on foot with a spear, preceded by two dogs, pursues two gazelles (goats ?). Below, on a reduced scale, two mounted men fight the onslaught of several felines. A horn, a ram protome, a shield, some schematic trees, and grass fill in background spaces in a random arrangement.

The foot and mounted hunts are drawn from the same repertory as those on the Berlin pitcher (no. 76); the technique is the same, too, except here no niello or filled-in lines are used, and, conversely, more internal detailing of pelts, clothing, and features is indicated. The combinations of scenes possible on these expensive objects are reflected in the endless variations of hunting scenes on floor mosaics executed throughout the Late Antique period (Lavin, 1963).

The rigid profiles, the repetitive short strokes along the contours of animals, and toylike quality of these figures echo the style of no. 74, and the great amount of internal detailing recalls no. 251, pointing toward a mid- to late fourth-century date for this plaque. While it has recently been suggested that this piece may have been made in Gaul (Kleinbauer [1], 1976), it seems reasonable to assume that these metal-on-bronze inlays are a homogeneous group from central Italy.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bielefeld, 1972, pp. 426–428; Kleinbauer (1), 1976, pp. 23, 24, fig. p. 25.

78 Pyxis with lion hunt

Rome (?), 5th–6th century

Ivory

8.5, diam. 11.6 cm. ($3\frac{3}{8}$, $4\frac{9}{16}$ in.)

Sens, Cathedral Treasury

Scenes from a hunt are carved in low relief on the ivory pyxis. The concept of the hunt is here translated into individual scenes of combat between man and animal, and references to the chase are limited. The motifs are drawn from representations of the hunt of the lion in the wild, an exotic



sport, prowess in which demonstrated courage and virtues associated with rule. It was a type of hunt elevated above the pursuit of small game and far removed from the venationes, or staged combats, performed in the amphitheaters of the major cities of the empire.

Four hunters engage in combat using different tactics and weapons and enjoying varying degrees of success. One lion lies dead, but five others remain active. To the right of the lock, a hunter meets an attacking lion with a spear thrust; a mounted rider does battle against two animals; a fallen hunter protects himself behind his shield; and a fourth attacks with bow and arrow. Tracking hounds are shown, and landscape elements are included.

The square faces of the hunters, with their drilled eyes, caps of curls, proportionately small heads, and simple muscular and skeletal structures, find closest parallels in ivories of the late fifth and early sixth centuries. The figural type of this pyxis has been compared with the consular diptych of Boethius, dated 497 (Volbach, 1976, no. 6) and the Murano diptych, now in Ravenna (fig. 59).

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, 1976, no. 102.

79 Alexander plate with hunting scene

Italy, mid-3rd century

Gold glass

4.5, diam. 25.7 cm. ($1\frac{3}{4}$, $10\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase,

Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., Bequest, 69.68

The Alexander plate belongs to a precious class of shallow glass dishes, enriched at the base by a gold-glass disc, fused to the body of the dish and decorated chromatically by a figured design meant to be seen from above. The finest of these gold glasses are dated in the third through the fourth century, and, although they have often come from Italian catacombs, there is no evidence that, as a class, they were originally destined for sepulchral

use. Their high quality and chromatic richness demonstrate the preference for splendid luxury in the minor arts that so fully characterized Late Antique art (cf. Prudent. *C. Symm.* 2. 489).

Typically, this plate was executed in two parts, the large upper section in green blown glass, and the concave lower disc of greenish glass which contained the gilded and painted decoration. Gold leaf was applied directly to the glass for much of the scene with additional details painted over in red and white; the white rocks at the bottom were painted on a reddish brown base, and a green pigment was painted on the glass around them. Fine lines, masterfully drawn by a sharp point through the gold leaf, expose the greenish glass below, seen as black against the gold. A reciprocating border motif frames the disc, a device used in another glass medallion in the Vatican



Museum (Cooney, 1969, fig. 4) and possibly the mark of an atelier. At some time the entire surface of the glass was deliberately abraded to remove iridescence caused by decay, which might have obscured the design.

The scene depicts a richly dressed horseman accompanied by his hunting dog and a groom; his throwing spear is raised high in the right hand with spares held in the left, as he pursues two elk and a boar who turns at bay. These animals were favored prey of the aristocratic hunters of the late empire, who tested their skill and proved their virtue in the hunt. Similar themes enriched many public and private works of art from conterminates and sarcophagi to the Hadrianic tondi on the Arch of Constantine (no. 58).

The hunt was considered to be symbolic of transcendent victory. The inscription, ALEXANDER HOMO FELIX PIE ZESES CVM TVIS ("Alexander, fortunate man, may you live [long] with your family and friends in affection"), reinforces the idea of the hunter as a victor, and most scholars have recognized here another evocation of Alexander the Great. This Alexander, however, has been given contemporary clothing and a physiognomy characteristic not of the Hellenistic period but of Roman portraiture in the third century. Cooney (1969) and Engemann ([1], 1973) believe that the portrait style can be dated to about 275, if not later, but Greifenhagen (1971), judging both by appearances and by the name, thought that the Roman emperor Alexander Severus (222–235) was represented. As Engemann ([1], 1973) observed, it is inconceivable that an emperor could be called simply *homo*, "man," and not by one of his regal titles; therefore, that identification is unlikely. Yet, the simple, pyramidal shape of the head, the close-cropped hair, large eyes, and sensitive mouth, when considered together with the subtle modeling effected by hatched lines, are stylistic features of Roman portraiture from about 230–255 and especially of the time of Gordian III. Thus, the plate may be dated to within this period. It is a luxurious object created in the imperial manner but for a private, aristocratic patron.

Disc intact about 1900, broken 1968, restored 1969.

R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cooney, 1969, pp. 253–261, cover ill.; Greifenhagen, 1971; Engemann (1), 1973.

80 Hanging with hunters on horseback

Egypt (?), 5th–6th century

Linen and wool weft on linen warp

About 102.8 × 66.6 cm. (40½ × 26¼ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of

George F. Baker, 1890, 90.5.905

The tapestry-woven cloth has numerous gaps and tears and shows signs of long use and repeated washing; some of the tears are ancient and were repaired before its use as a shroud. It may have served originally as part of a curtain, of which the left and top edges are preserved.

Between identical horizontal bands of laurel leaves runs an arcade supported by dark blue pearl- and jewel-studded columns (cf. no. 65). The continuous curving red architrave is likewise decorated with pearls and squares intended to imitate gems (cf. Thompson, 1971, no. 7; necklace of Hestia Polyolbos [Friedländer, 1945, frontispiece]). Above, against a blue field, are medallions containing busts of winged and haloed figures, holding fruits or flowers; against the ochre background of the spandrels are vases of fruit. The intercolumniations are filled with mounted hunters, nude except for cloaks and Phrygian caps; alternately carrying stones and bows, they ride harnessed horses accompanied by hunting dogs. The riders and horses are executed in the same black wool (cf. the monochrome purple horseman segmentum in Vienna [Wessel, 1965, pl. 123]). The lower border is embellished with intertwining laurel garlands, with large blue gems in the center.

The field below is adorned with a diamond pattern of rosettes, larger ones at crossing points. Each diamond is filled with either a decorated basket of fruit or flowers, or a medallion with a figure: a blue winged putto in a red mantle flying toward the right, holding up a small bouquet in the upper row, a winged and haloed figure holding a duck (?) in the lower left, and a rider in red tunic and green mantle on a white horse in the lower right.

The busts in the medallions probably represent Victories, and, along with the laurel bands and garlands, connote success—in this context with special reference to the hunt. The use of floral

and fruit motifs, generally referring to nature's abundance, combined with the theme of the hunt, conveys an expanded concept of the good life as expressed in no. 73.

The hunting groups, though they tend toward a distorting angularity, convey a strong sense of animation, while the other large-eyed figures are linear constructions with no pretense to naturalistic proportions.

From a private collection in Cairo.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fox, 1917, pp. 161–169, fig. 4; Ostioia, 1969, no. 13.

81 Tapestry medallion of Alexander Triumphant, the Hunter

Egypt, 7th–8th century

Wool and linen woven on linen

33.5 × 31.5 cm. (13 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 12 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

Washington, D. C., The Textile Museum, 11.18

Two horsemen, brandishing swords and crowned by Erotes, face away from each other as well as from the stylized tree of life in the center of the roundel. Although one horse is dark blue and the other a yellowish tan, the riders are identical—fair, clothed in an emperor's armor and chlamys, and about to slay the four-footed wild beasts beneath their feet. The inscription ΠΑΛΚΤΟΠ ΑΛΕΚΑΝΤΕΡΟΣ ("Alexander of Macedon") fills the top of the circular red field. These mirror images of the victorious Alexander flanking the tree of life may be explained as the triumph of civilization, or good, over the wild beasts as representations of barbarism or evil. Although this iconography has a long history in ancient art, this presentation is far removed from the idealized natural depictions favored in antiquity. Here, the human form is highly stylized and schematized and the entire composition is linear and decorative. Because of the depiction of a specific form of saddle and stirrups, the roundel is dated in the seventh or eighth century.

This medallion was probably part of the decoration of a tunic; a companion piece is in Cleveland (Shepherd, 1971, p. 244, fig. 1).

C. L.



Above: detail of no. 80



BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berliner, 1962; Essen, 1963, no. 355; Vienna, 1964, no. 596; Shepherd, 1971, pp. 244–250, fig. 2.

82 Stele fragment with gladiators in combat

Eastern Mediterranean, 3rd–4th century
Marble

35.1 × 34.6 cm. ($13\frac{13}{16}$ × $13\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1957, 57.11.7

The original right edge is preserved on this approximately triangular fragment; it was left in a rough chiseled state. The stele was probably an oblong, higher than wide, the most usual shape for these commemorative reliefs.

The extant surface is divided into three horizontal zones by narrow bands. The top shows two gladiators in animated combat: running to the left, a retiarius with a face protector thrusts his trident at the armored secutor pursuing him, who jabs with his sword from behind a round-topped shield. The retiarius wears a subligaculum and his left arm and shoulder are covered with bandaging for protection; the secutor has his left leg covered for the same reason. His right leg overlaps the frame as does a shallowly incised tip of a palm frond near the lower right edge. The combatants run toward



a beehive structure cut in very high relief; it may be a refuge for losing fighters (?) (von Bothmer, 1960–1961, p. 184), or, as part of the general apparatus of the amphitheater, a shelter for the “toreros” involved in sports events with animals (cf. Espérandieu, 1907, I, no. 609).

Each band separating the registers carries a partially preserved Greek inscription. These have been restored to read: (ΔΕ)ΛΦΙΝΟΝ (“Delphinos” in the accusative case) and (ΝΑΡΚΙ)CCOC (“Narcissus”) (Robert, 1971, p. 296). The zone between these bands is unworked.

The fragment of the bottom register can perhaps be restored as a victory image, a standing figure with palm branch—a formula for gladiators (e.g., Robert, 1971, no. 302) and charioteers alike (no. 94).

Commemorative, honorific, and funerary stelae with gladiators are well known in the Greek (Robert, 1971) and Latin (Faccenna, 1949–1950; Faccenna, 1956–1958) parts of the empire. Single combats were carved, or several aligned against a continuous background, or depicted in registers—illustrating either the victories of one gladiator or showing the different matches presented to the public by a donor; depending on its type, the stele would honor either the gladiator or the donor. The inscribed names of the athletes—both the defeated, frequently in the accusative, and the victor—might be next to the figures or on the top or bottom frame of the scene. The vigor of these figures and careful detailing most likely result from direct observation by the artist; the indifferent character of the modeling and the crude use of shallow drillwork to suggest shadows point to a date in the later third or early fourth century.

The relief was first noted in the Vigna Aquari, Rome (Matz and von Duhn, 1882, no. 3804).

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lovatelli, 1895, p. 262, no. 14; von Bothmer, 1960–1961, pp. 183–184, fig. 5.

83 Fragment of lanx with tribunal in the arena

North Africa, 1st quarter 5th century
Terracotta

15.5 × 9.5 × 1 cm. ($6\frac{1}{8}$ × $3\frac{3}{4}$ × $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Athens, Benaki Museum, 12427



The upper and right edges are preserved on this fragment of a rectangular terracotta plaque. It was intended to imitate an ivory diptych (see, e.g., no. 84).

Seated in a tribunal are three men, the one in the center distinguished by greater size, a crown, and a mappa in his right hand. The group is framed by decorated columns and lintel (cf. no. 65) and a parapet of diagonal and imbricated screens divided by herms. To the right another crowned man holds an ornamented cloth over the curving parapet. Salomonson (1962, p. 59, n. 27) identified this cloth as a prize offered to one of the venatores. The arena is indicated by some doors and arches incised in the enclosure wall, as well as by the slight curve below the tribunal.

A round terracotta plate found in Ephesus and now in Vienna has a very similar representation (Fuhrmann, 1940, pl. 10); although the Athens piece comes from Egypt, it has been suggested that they derive from the same or closely related

workshops in North Africa, probably Algeria or Tunisia (Salomonson, 1962, pp. 88–89).

The decorated redware plates and bowls with popular, pagan, and Christian scenes were probably used for display (e.g., nos. 98, 140, 465); the use of an inexpensive material, even for a diptych, in a provincial context should not be surprising. By comparing the imagery with ivory and silver prototypes, production of this ware can be dated into the second half of the fourth to the early fifth century; while specific comparisons (no. 84; Lampadii ivory [Volbach, 1976, no. 54]) point to a date in the early fifth century for this fragment. The diversified shapes, iconography, and wide geographical distribution indicate a thriving industry during this period of administrative, religious, and urban change. The Vandal invasion across North Africa in the 420s provides a credible terminus to large-scale production of this type of ware.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Salomonson, 1969, p. 12, fig. 14; Wrede, 1972, Catalogue III, A4, pl. 75, 1; Salomonson, 1973, p. 11, fig. 8.

84 Plaque with tribunal and officials at venatio

Rome (?), 1st half 5th century

Ivory

29.4 × 12 cm. (11 ⁹/₁₆ × 4 ³/₄ in.)

Liverpool, Merseyside County Museums, M10042

Intact except for restoration of upper right edge, the plaque was reused several times.

The scene shows three men in toga trabea seated frontally—elevated in position conceptually and actually—behind an ornately carved parapet overlooking the arena. The central figure pours a libation; an older man to the left gestures toward him; and the younger man to the right clasps a mappa in his right hand.

The symmetrically arranged parapet slabs, set up between herm-posts, set off the officiants from the games below. The curved wall of the arena is indicated by a shallow arch, and doors opening directly onto it suggest the enclosed space of the amphitheater (cf. Delbrueck, 1929, pls. 10, 11, 12, 57). The door at the lower right has an incised image of a victorious venator.



From three doors peer venatores, keeping track of the action and ready to provide protection, or distraction, in case of danger to the main fighter, shown at the decisive moment of impaling one of the deer with his spear. The topmost and fourth deer appear to be wounded and dying; the second attempts to defend itself by horned attack; and the fifth is running away.

Although some groundlines are indicated by ledges, the figures are represented in an unrealistic spatial relationship against a neutral background. The figures are rendered in inverted perspective, showing those at the top, presumably farthest away, larger than any of the others. The staggered arrangement of men and animals in the arena suggests the disorder of the fight, in distinct contrast to the solemn group of men above. The status of these officials is uncertain, since none wears the triumphal toga of the consul and no inscription identifies the occasion. They may be members of an aristocratic family sponsoring games for the populace to mark a now unrecorded and forgotten occasion.

Brandenburg (1972, p. 131) reaffirmed the attribution, by Delbrueck (1929, p. 226), of this ivory to an Eastern atelier. Delbrueck, however, had changed his opinion in 1952 (Delbrueck [1]) to a Western origin. This later opinion seems confirmed by the desiccated acanthus-leaf border.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck (1), 1952, pp. 7–8, fig. 7; Wrede, 1972, Catalogue III, A3, pl. 73, 3; Volbach, 1976, no. 59.

****85 Diptych with lion hunt**

Rome (?), 2nd quarter 5th century
Ivory
Each leaf, 33 × 10.5 cm. (13 × 4¼ in.)
Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum, 010

The lower left part of the left leaf was restored in Paris in 1869; the right edge of the right leaf is almost completely cut away. The surface and details of the carving are exceptionally well preserved.

The staggered groups of lions and venatores recreate vivid images of the spectacles presented

in amphitheaters throughout the Roman Empire. The leaves are almost identical—poses and gestures of corresponding figures on one duplicate those on the other. However, details of physiognomy, hair, clothing, hides, and terrain differ, indicating that the artist was permitted some freedom in copying.

The subject, poses, and structure recall the composition of no. 84, and, by analogy, must refer to games offered the public by some high official. With no inscription or other clue, it is impossible to specify the occasion of these games. The use of ivory confirms the high status of the commissioner.

The artist has represented discrete groups against an undifferentiated background; even the indication of some groundlines does not mitigate the lack of a coherent space. This is overcome by the artist's success in creating a field of details in counterpoint—repetition of poses with a variation in execution—which stresses the unity and rhythm of the pattern distributed over the surface.

The bead-and-reel border and the extremely fine carving relate this piece to no. 60; it remains hypothetical whether the works can be attributed to the same workshop, or workshop tradition.

Formerly in the A. Basilewsky collection.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, 1976, no. 60.

86 Drawing of a bear in the arena

Egypt (?), 3rd–6th century

Papyrus

12.7 × 15.2 cm. (5 × 6 in.)

London, The British Library Board, pap. 3053

This papyrus fragment, as the result of vertical folding, has tears that were repaired in antiquity. The stitches can be seen across two breaks in the center of the fragment.

Against a neutral background, a bear is jumping with head raised and mouth open, trying to reach the person whose booted legs appear, preserved to mid-thigh, in the upper left corner. Above these legs are the remains of a word or a name in Greek which cannot yet be restored: *ερσως*.



No. 85, diptych with lion hunt

The bear, rendered in a dark, dull brown, is articulated by spare but lively internal drawing, an expressive face and strong jaw, and powerful shoulder muscles. Shadows trail off from the bear's hind legs. The purpose of the broad red stroke that diagonally crosses the lower right corner and appears to turn back in a hook at the top is unclear.

The scene shows a performance in the amphitheater (Toynbee, 1973, pp. 93–100), comparable to those on ivory diptychs (nos. 84, 85) and conterniates. Animals were provoked by various



devices and performers escaped the animals' angered advances in many different ways. One method of incitement was to flash a cloth at them (Robert, 1971, p. 325); a violet circlet in the upper right corner is probably such a cloth that has fallen to the ground (cf. Delbrueck, 1929, pls. 11, 57). One of the most dexterous and spectacular means of avoiding the exasperated beasts was a feat known as the contomonobolon, a somersault over the animal's back performed with the aid of a short pole. The performer whose legs are shown is in the midst of this acrobatic tour-de-force (Delbrueck, 1929, p. 76, pls. 12, 20).

The outlined figure drawing was the usual style for illumination on papyrus (cf. nos. 194, 205), and these bright colors recall the charioteers of no. 93.

Although excavated among third-century documents at Oxyrhynchos in Upper Egypt, the date of this piece cannot be absolutely secured, since the site has also yielded texts of much later date; it could be dated as late as the early sixth century.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Turner et al., 1962, no. 2470, pl. xii; Skeat, 1963-1964, pp. 1-2, pl. 1a.

87 Emblema with banquet of gladiators

Thysdrus (El Djem, Tunisia), about 220-250

Mosaic

145 × 131 cm. (57 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 51 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Tunis, Musée National du Bardo, 3361

A rich palette of red, green, yellow, brown, and black tesserae has been used to depict a vivid scene of men and animals, posed against a white ground and framed by millet stalks within a narrow border. Cast shadows, highlights, and modeled contours preserve the vestige of an illusionistic tradition already moving toward abstraction, a development confirmed by the irrationality of the shadows and the prominence of the tesserae as colored stones. This mosaic panel follows the pattern of emblemata, which were inserted in a decorative scheme and were both narrative and symbolic.

Five men in colorful costume, variously crowned and holding different attributes, are engaged in a drinking bout, seated at a banquet table, whose curving shape and columnar front suggest the arena. The man at the far right seems to be the



head of the table; he holds a crescent-topped staff and animatedly addresses his companions, who gesture as they reply. Their talk has been recorded by the upper inscription in the fashion of a comic cartoon: (N)os NVDI (F)IEMVS/ BIBERE VENIMVS/ IA(m) MVLTVM LOQVIMINI/ AVOCEMVR/ NOS TRES TENEMVS ("We're going to be naked/ we're here to drink/ we're talking a lot/ we'll be called away/ we're holding our three [glasses]").

In the middle ground a slave hands a glass (of wine?) to the celebrants above, while a second slave comes from the left, calling out: SILENTIVM DORMIANT TAVRI ("Keep quiet! Let the bulls sleep"). Below, five bulls nestle together in sleep, each of them branded on the hindquarters; the humped backs mark them as zebus, the fierce African animals favored for the venatio in the arena.

The shape of the table, the branded zebus, the attributes and shouts of the drinkers indicate a party held by the venatores the night before they combat animals, perhaps the same shown sleeping, in the great amphitheater of El Djem, which still survives. Gladiatorial contests, especially the hunt, were very popular in Roman Africa.

Beyond the level of popular imagery, however, the prophylactic elements (millet stalks, the crescent scepter, the number "TRES") suggest a deeper meaning involving the contrast between the joyful celebration of good times today and the dangerous activities of tomorrow. The expression "SILENTIVM DORMIANT TAURI" appears in other Tunisian mosaics of the period and may be proverbial in the sense of "let sleeping dogs lie." Since these words appear in the center of the mosaic in larger letters than the upper inscription and since the mosaic itself comes from a private house, it is likely that this emblema had a general significance as a guide to life: "Eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we may die."

R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Salomonson, 1960; Washington, D.C., 1967, no. 19; Grabar (1), 1968, p. 16, fig. 36.

88 Diptych leaf of consul Anastasius

Constantinople, 517

Ivory

36.2 × 12.7 cm. (14¼ × 5 in.)

London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 368–1871

The back leaf of a consular diptych, this ivory is missing irregular sections from the upper and lower right corners. The large holes were used for attachment to another object at a later date.

Across the top, in a tabula ansata, are the titles of the newly appointed official: V(ir) INL(ustris) COM(es) DOMEST(icorum) EQUIT(um) ET CONS(ul) ORD(inarius). The front of this diptych, formerly in Berlin and now lost, bore the full name of the consul—FL(avius) ANASTASIUS PAVL(us) PROVS SAVINIANVS POMP(eius) ANAST(asius)—which allows the work to be dated exactly: Anastasius assumed office in January 517.

The consul, in triumphal trabea and shell halo, sits rigidly on a lion-legged throne. In his right hand, he ceremoniously raises a mappa, and in his left, a short scepter topped by an eagle in a wreath and three busts. The throne is decorated with medallions of mural-crowned personifications of Rome and Constantinople, and apotropaic gorgoneia. Winged Victories, standing on globes and supporting shields, flank the consul.

This iconic agglomeration of official regalia, maximizing the protocol of the office while minimizing the individuality of the consul, is set in front of a gabled aedicula. Above are three imagines clipeatae of the emperor Anastasius at the apex, flanked by garland-bearing Victories, the empress Ariadne (d. 515) on the right, and, on the left, either Pompeius, a relative of the consul who had held that office in 501 (Delbrueck, 1929, p. 124) or the incumbent co-consul.

The lower section is divided into horizontal registers with scenes from the festivities celebrating Anastasius' accession to office: on top, women lead horses, alluding to circus races, and carry cross-inscribed standards, rare Christian symbols on such traditionally secular objects; below, two scenes from an unidentified farce. (For other diptychs of Anastasius, cf. Volbach, 1976, nos. 19–22.)

Formal elements of the composition, such as different figure scale and compartmentalization



of units, had been experimented with on earlier ivories (e.g., no. 48, and Volbach, 1976, nos. 8–11 [Areobindus, A.D. 508]). These formal aspects, pointing to a cohesive atelier tradition in the capital, indicate a concern with ceremonial and symbolic aspects of office over incidental, personal ones. This attitude, in conjunction with the firmly controlled and minutely detailed execution of the carving, is characteristic of the early Byzantine court style.

From the treasury of St. Lambert, Lüttich (Liège), dispersed at the time of the French Revolution. On the backs were parts of a liturgical formula and lists of names, indicating reuse possibly as early as the sixth or seventh century.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, 1976, no. 18.

89 Bowl with circus race

Cologne, 1st half 4th century

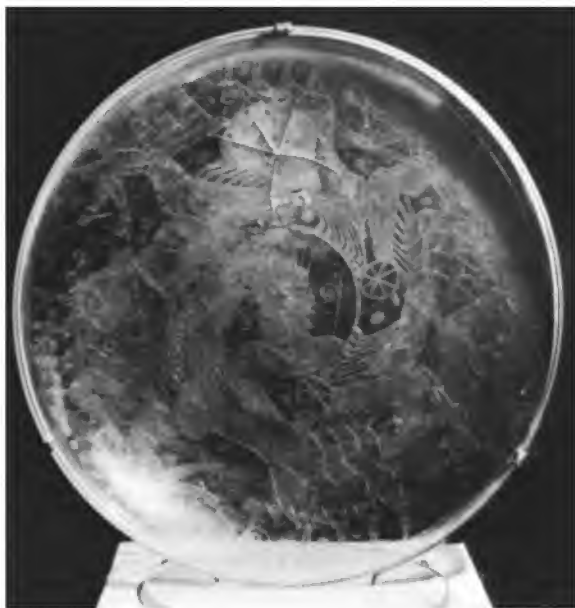
Glass

Diam. 27 cm. (10 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, 1002

The clear glass bowl is engraved with a figured design. The motifs are wheel-cut with sharp lines defining most figures and indicating details and textures. The same technique is also used to produce the blurred areas of surface abrasion that fill the more distinctly outlined figures.

The chariots, charioteers, and horses of the four teams conform to our knowledge of the typical competitions in the Roman circus. The horses gallop forward, pulling small two-wheeled chariots behind them. The drivers, dressed in caps and short tunics, brandish whips in their right hands and grasp the reins in their left. The ends of the reins extend to the waists of the charioteers, showing the drivers' practice of binding themselves with the reins only to cut themselves loose in emergencies. Several of the many functional and symbolic devices of the spina are represented on the glass bowl on the periphery of the design. The center is occupied by a bust of the sun, Sol Invictus, with rays emanating from his head and a whip that identifies him in the role of the celestial charioteer. The numerous contemporary allusions



to the circus as a temporal and cosmic symbol centered on the sun-obelisk seem appropriate to this bowl. Within this system of temporal references, the four quadrigae are understood as the four seasons.

When the vessel is viewed from the side, resting on its flat-bottomed base, the band of the circus race runs from left to right. As on other vessels with circus representations, the metae, the obelisk, and the seven ova for counting the laps completed are seen to occupy a spina which lies to the far side of the racing teams. The two views of the circus on the bowl correspond to the meanings of the circus in Roman society: it is a lavish entertainment that takes place in time and space, and a symbol of a temporal and cosmic cycle, the *circulus anni*.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ginsburg, 1941, pp. 9, 13, fig. 2; Frazer, 1964, figs. 1, 2.

90 Beaker with circus race

Eastern Mediterranean, late 4th century
Glass

11.1 cm. (4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1959, 59.11.14

The simple engraved beaker of clear glass has suffered numerous breaks; the restored vessel is now composed of original portions with figures, inscriptions, and decorative patterns and new glass on which some details of linear decoration have been inscribed. Below the rim of the beaker, marked by engraved lines, a band of inscriptions circles the vessel. Five names in Greek capitals read from left to right; the figures they identify are engraved from right to left on the exterior of the cup below the inscriptions. The driver in his chariot and the four horses leaping forward, pulling his vehicle, are shown just as they pass one of the turning posts of the circus. The driver grasps the reins with his right hand, while glancing back over his shoulder and gesturing to the rear with his left arm. Although obviously contrary to nature and to a realistic depiction of a gallop, the angle of the horses' bodies and the representation of their many legs lunging into space succeed in conveying the impression of great speed. The inscription on the cup appears to identify and celebrate the victory of a particular team. The driver, one EVTVX (Eutyches or Eutychides) is commemorated with his steeds ΠΥΠΙΝΟVC, ΝΙΑΟC, ΑΡΕΘΟVC and CΙΜΟC (Puripnous, Nilos, Arethous, and Simos).

Roman examples of colored glass vessels with



representations of single chariots or larger circus scenes date as early as the first century A.D. This beaker can immediately be identified as a later product by its method of execution and decoration: the linear moldings, the inscriptions, and the figural representations are wheel-cut on a smooth surface, a technique datable to the late empire. This particular vessel is said to come from Syria, but represents a vessel type, an iconographic formula, and a technique known and traded throughout the empire.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Smith, 1957, no. 354; "Recent Important Acquisitions," 1960, pp. 138–139, no. 6.

*91 Mosaic of a chariot race in the Circus Maximus

Piazza Armerina, Sicily, about 310–320

Marble and glass

About 4.5 m. × about 21 m. (13 × 69 ft.)

The Villa of Maxentius at Piazza Armerina in Sicily (no. 105) contains the greatest single assemblage of floor mosaics surviving from classical antiquity. Although there has been some dispute about the date of the villa and its mosaics, recently most scholars have agreed on a date of 300–320 for the architecture and decoration and have associated the project with the reigns of Maximianus and his son, Maxentius. Despite the extent and complexity of the mosaics (about 3500 square

Detail of no. 91



meters), they were probably executed by mosaicists brought in for the commission from Roman Africa.

The Great Chariot Race fills the corridor, placed between the principal entrance to the villa and the great peristyle, and functions as a "narthex" to the wing containing the baths. The mosaic represents in brilliant colors the excitement and dangers of the chariot race (see *Sid. Apoll. Carm.* 23.360 ff.), hotly contested by the four factions: red, white, green, and blue. A green charioteer has won the race and his chariot approaches the officials at the left, who trumpet his victorious arrival and hold out to him the palm of victory.

The race is set within an architectural environment that has been identified as the Circus Maximus in Rome, although not all of the topographical indications correspond to their actual positions in the city. Three temples are set at the far right at the curve of the circus, above the decorated railings: the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus is at the left, that of Roma Aeterna in the center, and at the right the temple of Hercules Victor, the only one to lie in the neighborhood of the Circus Maximus and important both to the charioteers and the dynasts, Maxentius and Maximianus (no. 100). At the other end of the circus the triumphal arch of Vespasian appears, badly damaged however, surrounded by luxuriously dressed spectators avidly watching the races. The spina is filled with statues, cult shrines, and markers that record the progress of the racers. Slightly to the left of center on the spina the cult statue of Magna Mater appears riding on her running lion, shown from the rear.

This view of the Magna Mater can only be understood if the mosaic has been composed as if the race were being watched by the emperor himself from the high tribunal, located at the side of the imperial palace on the Palatine in Rome overlooking the Circus Maximus. The proximity of palace to hippodrome characterizes several late Roman palace-villas and seems to imply a connection between the lord in his palace and the victories won in the circus. Such a symbol of power complements directly the imagery of the four circus factions, conventionally understood as a reference to the four seasons and the perpetual renewal of nature's bounty.

The circus mosaic must be studied in the context of the villa as a whole; motifs of the hunt, the contests of the stadium, and the exploits of Heracles

form together with the circus an imagery of victory. But those images are so replete with references to the city of Rome and ancient Roman traditions, and to the dominance of Heracles, that only the careers of Maxentius and his father and their patronage of the pagan tradition at Rome seem sufficient to explain the program of the villa.

R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gentili, 1959, p. 19, figs. 1, 3, pls. VII–XIII; Rinaldi, 1964–1965; Carandini, 1967; Kähler, 1973; Settis, 1975.



92 Contorniate of Alexander the Great and the Circus Maximus

Rome, about 356–395

Bronze

4 cm. (1 $\frac{9}{16}$ in.); 28.89 gm.

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Anonymous Gift, 13.1695

OBV: ALEXANDER. The head of Alexander the Great with lion-skin helmet.

REV: Representation of the Circus Maximus at Rome with four chariots racing around the spina, dominated by a central obelisk; metae visible at either end and statues, with faint indication of spectators in between

Roman contorniates were not numismatic issues of the mint, from which they are distinguished by size, weight, and the characteristic deep groove on the inside of the rim. Contorniates resemble medallions, commemorative pieces commissioned by the state for special circumstances, but apparently they were privately issued, possibly by powerful magnates as gifts or tokens for their

friends and supporters. Thousands of these pieces are known and have been extensively published by A. and E. Alföldi (1976), and there is general agreement that they date in the second half of the fourth century. Since the subjects are exclusively pagan and largely involve the representation of culture heroes on the obverse (e.g., Alexander, Nero, Trajan), and of deities, legendary heroes (e.g., Heracles), professional athletes, and the circus and amphitheater on the reverse, it is believed that the contorniates mark an effort of pagan resistance to the Christianization of the empire in defense of "the old ways."

Alexander the Great appears frequently on the contorniates, often shown as here with the lion-skin helmet, an attribute of Heracles. The conventionalized representation of the circus with the four chariots probably refers both to the circus factions (red, blue, white, green), whose fanatic adherents played an important social and political role in Rome, and to the annual cycle of the seasons, since the greatest games were held to celebrate the New Year.

R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vermeule, 1974, no. 97; A. and E. Alföldi, 1976, no. 25.2.

93 Miniature of charioteers

Egypt (?), about 500

Papyrus

12 × 7.5 cm. (4 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

London, The Egypt Exploration Society

This fragmentary painting shows a group of charioteers in some unidentified context. The colors of their knee-length tunics and contrasting shirts indicate membership in one of the four factions of the hippodrome: blues, greens, reds, and whites. They wear greenish helmets with a yellow band, yellow belts, and narrow strips wound around the chest for protection against racecourse accidents. The figure to the right does not wear strips and may be an attendant; a sixth driver is partially visible at the left edge. A yellow arch suggests an arcade of the hippodrome architecture.



Four factions were still racing in the sixth century. Thought to be the popular standard-bearers for different social classes, political allegiances, or religious beliefs, these teams seem rather to have been the rallying points around which civic unrest would gather and periodically break into mob demonstrations (Cameron, 1973, pp. 232–239).

Recently, Turner (1973) pointed out that this is a fragment from a codex—not a roll as had been maintained by previous scholars—after he discovered on the verso the beginnings of about thirteen lines of writing by the same hand as the writing on the recto.

Among surviving Late Antique illustrated papyri this one ranks very high in quality. Despite the heavy outlines in black, the group conveys a sense of spirited animation through the abrupt alternation of colors and the sharply

focused glances; while the figures are essentially flat, they show some degree of modeling.

The text has not been identified, and the subject of the illustration, therefore, is still unknown, as are the original size of the page and the extent of the illustration.

This fragment is proof of the existence and high quality of Late Antique illustrated papyrus codices. Gasiorowski (1931, p. 1) pointed out that the letter forms indicated a date of about 500 for this fragment, but preferred, nonetheless, to place its production in the first half of the fifth century (Gasiorowski, 1931, p. 9), as most scholars after him have done. Turner (1973), after a scrupulous analysis of the letter forms, proposes a date between 450–500, and reaffirms, as most likely, Gasiorowski's first suggestion, a date about 500. Turner would tentatively place its production in Egypt.

Found in Antinoë in a rubbish mound in 1914, whose contents, still unpublished, were dated by the excavator and former owner of the piece, John Johnson, from the late fourth to the sixth century.

S.R.Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gasiorowski, 1931; Turner, 1973; Weitzmann, 1977, pl. 6.

94 Diptych leaf with charioteer

Rome (?), late 4th–early 5th century

Bronze with silver and copper inlay

17 × 8.5 cm. (6 $\frac{11}{16}$ × 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, Br 3447

On this diptych leaf are the endings of an inlaid inscription at top and bottom: (Mu)NVS (Bene) FICI.

The tall figure is a victorious charioteer standing beside a trophy (Meischner, 1974) with four palm branches displayed in it; he wears protective puttees and chest binding and holds up a whip in his right hand and a palm branch in his left; the diminutive figure with upraised whip is most likely an attendant. The proportions of the charioteer are unusually exaggerated—small arms and head and elongated torso and legs. The unrealistic relationship between driver and attendant reflects their relative importance.

The diptych, however, was not meant to celebrate the charioteer, but rather to commemorate the accession to office of a high official or some other public event.

Besides serving as souvenirs (nos. 95, 96), the standing charioteer or charioteer in quadriga took on a more general symbolic connotation of triumph in popular and imperial imagery of the late empire (nos. 61, 98). This explicit reference to victory and public benefits, in the form of entertainment, is thus combined with the concept of good government.

The plaque is related by technique to the small group of inlaid bronzes with more scenic representations (nos. 76, 77, 137). The image may be placed



into the same secular sphere as contorniates of the late fourth or early fifth century with analogous representations.

Formerly in the Hofman collection, Rome.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1929, pp. 7–8, fig. 3; Coche de la Ferté, 1958, no. 33.

95 Bottom of bowl with triumphant charioteer

Rome, 2nd half 4th century

Gold glass

Diam. 6.4 cm. (2½ in.)

Toledo, Ohio, The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of

Edward Drummond Libbey, 67.11

Gold leaf was placed on the underside of a shallow cup or bowl, the design etched out, colors added, and a second layer of glass fused onto the bottom, protecting the image and originally providing a foot for the vessel.

Standing frontally and firmly holding the reins of his horse seen in profile, the charioteer displays the palm branch of victory. This piece of gold glass, like no. 96, was a memento of a victorious and popular idol. The legend within the frame identifies the driver: VINCENTI NIKA ("Vincentius wins!") and below, in a rough, cursive hand the

horse, IMBICTVS. This latter spelling, late Latin for "Invictus" ("Unconquered" or "Unconquerable"), can be paralleled in other Late Antique inscriptions and reflects contemporary pronunciation.

The use of red in the driver's tunic, as well as in the reins and leg guards of the horse, makes clear that the team belongs to the red faction.

The Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna has an almost identical gold glass (XI 1734), lacking the driver's head and two letters of the same inscription, VINCENT(i N)IKA. It differs from the Toledo piece in its predominant use of blue for the driver's tunic and in the horse's name, written with the same kind of free hand, FANESTRO. The two images, close enough to suggest that they are not only contemporary but from the same workshop, were possibly done by the same artist. Vincentius, on these two pieces, may well be the same man, too. Charioteers are known to have changed allegiance from one faction to another several times.

Considered in relation to emblemata in the Maison aux Chevaux in Carthage (Salomonson, 1965, Tableau 3, p. 95, Tableau 13, p. 102), and in comparison with bronze contorniates, a date in the second half of the fourth century seems most appropriate.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Noll, 1973.



96 Bottom of bowl with victorious charioteer

Rome, 2nd half 4th century

Gold glass

Diam. 9 cm. (3½ in.); medallion: 7.6 cm. (2½ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1928, 28.57.24

Among a large number of gold glasses with a wide repertory of subjects, circus scenes are rare. The charioteer, standing in a quadriga moving to the left, parades around the circus after having received the symbols of his victory—a crown, which he holds in his right hand along with his whip, and a palm branch, in his left. Above the horses' heads float a stylized palmette and to the charioteer's left, his helmet.



Above the scene is the legend *DEMETR NICA*. Thought to be an invocation to the goddess Demeter when first published (Alexander [1], 1931), it is now more plausibly interpreted as the acclamation of the spectators in recognition of the winner, "Demetrius wins!"—*DEMETR* misspelled for *DEMETRI* (Engemann, 1968–1969). *TRASINICVS* in the exergue is the name of the lead horse. The fame and performances of these animals were acclaimed and debated as much as those of their drivers.

The stripes on the charioteer's tunic and the horses' harness straps are brown, and blue is used on Demetrius' tunic and helmet, the horses' fillets, phalerae, and leg guards. This identifies the driver as a member of the blues. The bowl was probably a celebration gift or a memento for distribution or sale to Demetrius' fans after numerous victories (cf. no. 95).

The composition is a standard one, frequently seen on coins of the third and fourth centuries and on contorniates manufactured in the later fourth and early fifth centuries.

Said to have come from the catacombs of the Via Passiello in Rome.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alexander (1), 1931, pp. 288–289; Engemann, 1968–1969, pp. 15–16, pl. 3, b.

97 Statue of a horse from a miniature quadriga

Constantinople (?), about 500

Bronze

13.7 × 13.3 cm. (5 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Geneva, George Ortiz Collection

The eye cavities, perhaps once filled with glass or a precious substance, are now hollow. The hind legs are bent out of shape and no longer rest on the same level as the left front leg. Both sides of the horse's midsection show haphazard gouges and abrasions. The tail has been broken off.

The raised right front leg in combination with the head turned in the direction of a stable left front leg corresponds to the traditional ancient Greek schema for posing the left inner horse (as seen by the spectator) in a formal quadriga.

The present owner is credited with identifying the style as early Byzantine and with dating the object around 500, which is acceptable in view of the comparison he makes to the emperor's horse on the Barberini diptych (no. 28). The Barberini horse shares the same stylization of a somewhat heavy and protruding mouth of which the outline is distinctly U-shaped. Other stylizations evident here include the elongated-triangular profile of the left front leg, the unnatural way in which the raised right front leg is attached to the body, and the regularly incised treatment of the fetlocks.

The group to which it belonged may have been inspired by the monumental gilded bronze quadriga which Constantine had brought to Constantinople and erected on porphyry columns in the Milion in the center of the city, and which, as a result of the looting of Constantinople in 1204, is located today on the facade of S. Marco in Venice. The small horse's pose matches that of the left-most steed in the present mounting of the Venice horses, while their unusual feature of stiff, clipped manes punctuated at intervals by V-shaped partings is carried over into the miniature horse, together with some part of their naturalistic skin folds, veins, and musculature.

Formerly said to have come from a Roman triumphal arch, the Venice horses have recently been associated with a Greek monument, the golden chariot of the Rhodians at Delphi (Crome, 1963). Constantine had the monumental quadriga



mounted with a chariot carrying Helios, the god to whom the patriarch Eusebius was to compare Constantine himself. The miniature reduction may have the same significance as the quadriga of Helios.

The place of manufacture was probably Constantinople.

J. L. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Geneva, 1975, no. 389.

98 Bowl with triumphant charioteer

North Africa (?), 4th century

Red earthenware

Diam. 19 cm. (7½ in.)

Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum,
0.39581

A late pottery workshop in North Africa produced a large number of burnished earthenware vessels to which various motifs in low relief were applied and subsequently fused with the body of the vessel on firing. These motifs represented scenes from ancient mythology, especially the exploits of Heracles (no. 140), the pagan cults of Isis and of Mithras (no. 175), as well as the Bible (nos. 402, 415, 434, 435). Lacking distinctions of pottery type or technique or style, apparently the same workshop served a clientele of diverse religious persuasions, but the vessels themselves were probably used as sepulchral offerings, since many have been discovered in the excavation of cemeteries.

This shallow bowl conforms to form "A" as defined by Salomonson and others (cf. Salomonson, 1969; La Baume and Salomonson, 1976, nos. 594–605). It is primarily decorated by the near-frontal figure of a triumphant charioteer, standing in his quadriga and brandishing the attributes of victory, a crown in his right hand, a palm branch in his left. The reiterative form of a palm tree appears



beneath the quadriga, thus reconfirming the motif of victory (cf. similar example in the Louvre [Baratte, 1971, pp. 178–192, pl. xxi]). This imagery has its counterpart in Roman contorniates of about 400 (van der Wolff, 1973, p. 86, fig. 5, p. 87), while a similar application of victorious imagery to funerary contexts is evident in the use of comparable gold-glass pieces in late Roman cemeteries (no. 96).

R. B.

Unpublished.

*99 Relief with prize presentation scene from the Theodosian obelisk

Constantinople, 390

Marble

93 × 143 cm. (36½ × 56¼ in.)

Istanbul, Hippodrome

As a feature of his intensive monumental development of Constantinople, the emperor Theodosius I erected an obelisk on the spina of the hippodrome at Constantinople in 390 upon a base decorated with relief sculpture, possibly completed only under Arcadius in 395–396. This base was divided into two parts; the lower level showed on opposite sides the erection of the obelisk itself and a chariot race in the circus, while Greek and Latin inscriptions covered the other two sides.

The upper level of the base consists of four large, formally composed relief panels representing: northeast, Theodosius at court (Bruns, 1935, fig. 44); northwest, Theodosius receiving an embassy of barbarians (Bruns, 1935, fig. 37); southwest, Theodosius in state (Bruns, 1935, fig. 62); and southeast, the scene shown here—Theodosius at the hippodrome. The north panels have been attributed to a single artist, designated as "B," the south panels to another, known as "A." All four compositions are symmetrical, abstract, and hieratic, stressing the exaltation of Theodosius and members of his dynasty, with sculptor "B" slightly more insistent. These schemata reflect the official format developed for imperial representation much earlier in the fourth

century, as exemplified by the *oratio* and *largitio* registers in the Arch of Constantine (no. 58), and anticipate the mosaics of Justinian and his entourage in S. Vitale in Ravenna (nos. 65, 66). In this capacity the four principal reliefs of the Theodosian obelisk function as a monumental, figural counterpart to the late Roman panegyrics, delivered before the emperor at state occasions in testimony to his glorious majesty.

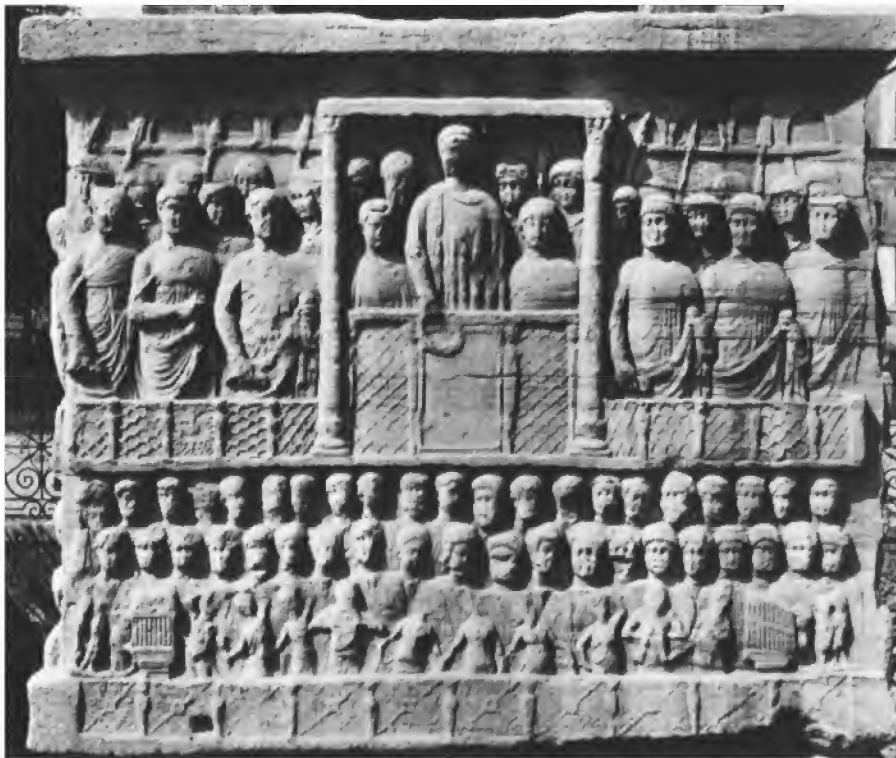
This panel is divided into two zones, which correspond to distinctions of office and status. Below, the spectators at the chariot races have been depicted in two rows of frontal heads, their bodies hardly shown, while beneath them musicians and dancers entertain the crowd. The upper part of the relief represents the pulvinar or imperial box in the center with flanking wings filled with officials and a guard of soldiers (cf. no. 83). Some of these officials are in consular dress and hold *mappae*, by which they indicate the start of the race, in their right hands. The central box with its elaborate balustrade and aedicula reveals the frontal, dominating image of Theodosius, who holds out the victory wreath in his right hand, prepared to bestow the prize on the victor in the chariot race. Since the victor is

not shown and the emperor looks directly out of the panel, there is a strong implication that all victors are dependent on Theodosius as the giver of victory and of its rewards. Guards and officials attend the emperor, although the two small figures who flank his majestic person are probably to be identified as his sons, Arcadius and Honorius. This dynastic imagery follows well-established precedents (no. 63) and was employed by Theodosius as well in the famous Misorium (no. 64). Unfortunately, the condition of the relief surface is such that identifications are difficult, especially given the idealizing tendencies of the period, but it is likely that the high officials seen standing front in the wings were individually portrayed.

These panels are important in the history of late Roman-early Byzantine art because they represent the continued evolution of an ever more rigid state imagery as a means of eliciting a reverential response from the viewer.

R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bruns, 1935, pp. 61–68, figs. 77–85; Budde, 1957, p. 5; von Sydow, 1969, pp. 81–82, 124–126; Bianchi Bandinelli, 1971, pp. 332–337; Kähler, 1975.



Architecture

Portraiture, coinage, and architecture were the most pervasive tangible means by which the emperor could proclaim to the world his legitimacy, his power, and his virtue. Of the three media, only architecture could establish the actual environment surrounding the increasingly sacrosanct figure of the head of state. This environment was made up of three principal settings, each with its roots in the past: the palace, where the emperor presented himself to the court ceremonially; the hippodrome, which, by the fourth century, had become firmly established as the principal locus for the emperor's appearances to the masses, and the imperial mausoleum, where the ruler perpetuated his presence after death.

A palace was erected wherever the emperor established an official residence. For almost three centuries the original palace on the Palatine Hill in Rome sufficed. But, with Diocletian's decentralization of imperial administration beginning in 286, palaces proliferated in Trier, Milan, Thessalonike, Nicomedia, Antioch, and other cities of the empire. With the restoration of sole rule by Constantine and the founding of Constantinople, all subsequent palace buildings were concentrated in the new capital. Constantine's first palace was successively rebuilt and enlarged over the centuries to form an entire quarter of the city.

Each late Roman palace contained a number of rooms for everyday functions—private apartments, a secretariat, quarters for staff and guards—as well as large state dining rooms and at least one, and often many more, halls for ceremonial appearances. A Christian emperor, moreover, required a chapel within the palace compound for his private devotions.

The Aula Palatina at Trier (no. 102), built by Constantine, is only one of the audience halls sufficiently well preserved to convey something of its original impressiveness. Preceded by a forecourt and

a vestibule, the hall appeared starkly simple from the outside. Most of the decoration was reserved for the interior. While the interior walls of the first Roman palace were articulated with niches, pilasters, and projecting tabernacles, the walls at Trier were smooth, originally covered with marble sheathing and decorative stucco. This glowing space, illuminated by huge, glazed windows, was focused on the large apse at the far end, where Constantine presumably appeared in solemn majesty. Under the effect of Persian court ceremony, his audience was conducted with liturgical pomp and, on occasion, with recitals of panegyrics—rhetorical monstrosities of flattery favored in the late Roman world.

When not conducting state affairs in the capital or on campaign, the ruler often repaired to a villa where he could enjoy the royal pastime of hunting. Many of the imperial villas of earlier times continued in use in the late Roman period; a modest alteration of probably Constantinian date was even made to a portion of Hadrian's villa near Tivoli. Two interesting new country seats were built early in the fourth century: that at Split (the ancient Spalato) on the Adriatic coast of Dalmatia (no. 104), erected for Diocletian's use after his retirement in 305; and that at Piazza Armerina in the interior of Sicily (no. 105), identified by some archaeologists as the villa of Diocletian's colleague Maximian or of Maximian's son Maxentius. The two could not be more different, no doubt at least partly because the occupants and locations were different. Piazza Armerina is more in the tradition of earlier deluxe villas in its informal sprawl over a rolling terrain, although its constituent suites—each of which reflects a different aspect of villa life—are not as integrated with the landscape nor as open to it as in earlier villas. That the shaping of interior space was the late Roman architect's chief concern is nowhere better illustrated than at Piazza Armerina, and nowhere is it more emphatic than in

the villa's plan, which, unlike the plan of other Roman villas, looks like an architect's space diagram.

In contrast to Piazza Armerina's haphazard exterior, Split's bastioned rectangular wall seems so redoubtable as to dissociate the compound from the traditional category of seaside villa. Less elaborate villas, and even farmhouses in areas subject to sudden alien, or—increasingly—domestic, incursions, were being fortified in the fourth century. The elaborately formal character of Diocletian's retirement seat, however, must ultimately have derived from the emperor emeritus' desire to perpetuate his imperial dignity. The internal organization at Split may derive from the Roman ceremonial military headquarters like that built at Palmyra by one of his lieutenants. If so, it is evidence of the interplay of civil and military planning in a militarized state.

Diocletian's monumental mausoleum, which rises to the left of the principal entrance to the imperial apartments, is one of Split's most notable elements. Royal tombs had been leading architectural vehicles of authority in many earlier cultures. Members of the imperial families from Augustus through the early third century were buried in dynastic tombs, most conspicuously the great Augustan tumulus and the cylindrical mausoleum built by Hadrian, both of which still stand in Rome. With the collapse of the dynastic principle of succession in the third century, this practice died out, and, in the chaos of crisis, some unfortunate emperors received no burial at all. When Diocletian established the short-lived policy of succession by ability and not by birth, a dynastic tomb had no value, and he erected a mausoleum for his wife and himself alone. The form he selected, a rotunda, first appeared in the suburbs of Rome in the third century as tombs of now-anonymous persons of great wealth. It was Diocletian, apparently, who raised the funerary rotunda to imperial rank, and it immediately became the standard form for royal mausolea. Typical of the diversity of stylistic expression in the period, the late Roman imperial mausolea differ as widely as did the villas at Piazza Armerina and Split.

Diocletian's mausoleum is centralized in form and

has a domical roof, internally constructed of a crystalline octagon of cut stone preceded by a classical, pedimented porch. The niched, cylindrical surface of the inner wall is overlaid with the orders in two stories. The only light is admitted through the front door. Its plan may resemble those of Roman mausolea but its superstructure and its articulation owe much to the East.

The Rotunda of Galerius at Thessalonike (no. 107) is thought by most scholars to have been intended as his mausoleum. It, too, was erected in the palace quarter, but its walls, cylindrical internally and externally, are built of mortared rubble faced with bricks and small stones, the local substitute for Roman concrete. Its dome, in contrast to those in contemporary Rome, is built of solid brick in a technique native to Asia Minor. Unlike Diocletian's mausoleum, the interior of the rotunda at Thessalonike was articulated in a two-storied appliqué of marble architectural "wallpaper." The only plastic elements were small tabernacles at the bases of the great piers, whose size drew attention to the dominant two-dimensionality of the decor. With this feature, combined with the abundant windows, the Galerian rotunda resembled something like a circular version of Constantine's Aula Palatina.

When the body of Constantine, after what proved to be a provisional burial in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, was placed by his son in a great mausoleum adjacent to the church, the form of the sepulcher was a rotunda. It became the place of burial for subsequent late Roman emperors and in the first half of the fourth century, rotundas were erected under imperial patronage in the Holy Land over the sites of Christ's Birth and of his Resurrection. So potent was the form, that the Gothic king Theodoric, the *de facto* ruler of Italy in the early sixth century, erected as his tomb in Ravenna an octagon covered with a dome cut from a single, enormous block of stone (no. 109).

ALFRED FRAZER

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Forni, 1959; Frazer, 1966; Swoboda, 1969; Boethius and Ward-Perkins, 1970; J. and T. Marasović, 1970; Krautheimer, 1975.

*100 Circus of Maxentius

Near Rome, about 306–312

482 × 79 m. (1503 ft. 10 in. × 246 ft. 6 in.)

This best preserved of all Roman circuses was erected in a valley on the east side of the Via Appia, less than three miles from Rome. It was associated with a contemporary mausoleum, facing the road, and with an earlier hillside villa that was remodeled when the circus was built. The builder was the emperor Maxentius, who presumably occupied the villa in his lifetime. His burial in the mausoleum, though doubtless intended, was precluded by his *damnatio memoriae* in 312, but his son Romulus, who died in 309, may have been interred there.

The Circus of Maxentius closely resembled other Roman circuses in form, for the type became standardized through use (primarily chariot races) and by the influence of a famous prototype, the Circus Maximus, which adjoined the imperial palace in Rome. Characteristic features included the U-shape, with starting gates (*carceres*) at one end and a ceremonial archway (*porta triumphalis*) in the curved wall opposite. The *carceres* were often flanked by towers (*oppida*), between which was a terrace with a loge for the sponsor of the contest, who signaled the start of the races by dropping a *mappa*. There was also a judges' box near the finish line (on the south side in the Circus of Maxentius) and another loge for the emperor, often, as here, connected with his residence via a corridor. The public—numbering here up to 15,000—sat around the "U" on benches borne on ramping barrel vaults that connected the double perimeter walls. Large gates were included (here, behind the *oppida*) for the entry of the *pompa*, the pagan religious procession with which each racing day began. The arena was divided by a *spina*, with conical *metae* signaling the turning points at each end. On the model of the Circus Maximus (vividly illustrated in a contemporary mosaic at Piazza Armerina, no. 91), the *spina* was adorned with fountains, honorific statues, and an obelisk.

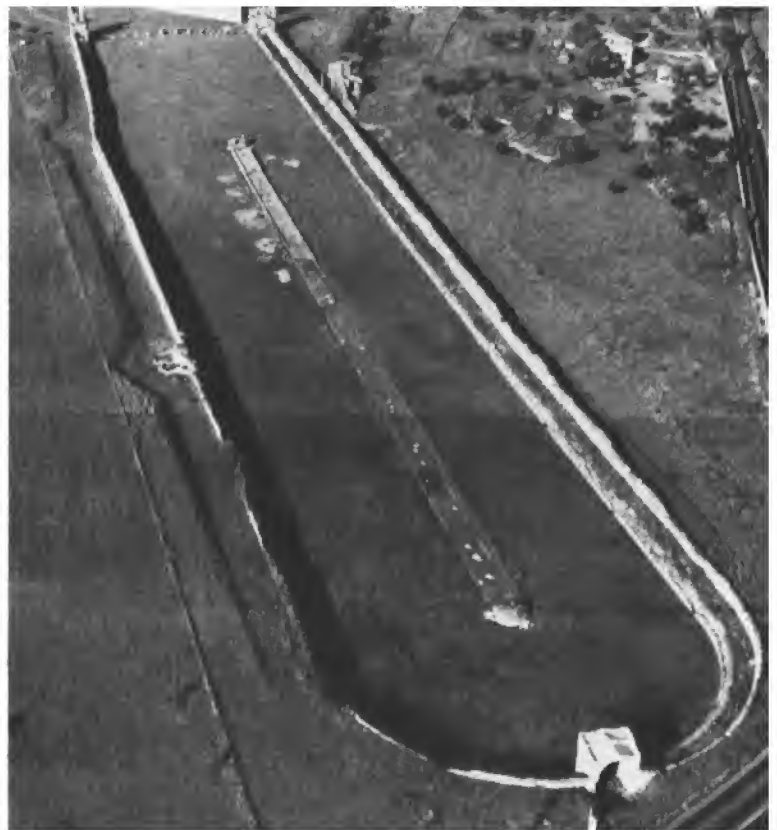
Refinements of the basic circus design include the bent axis of the south wall, the slightly oblique alignment of the *spina*, and the asymmetrical disposition of the *carceres*. Such devices

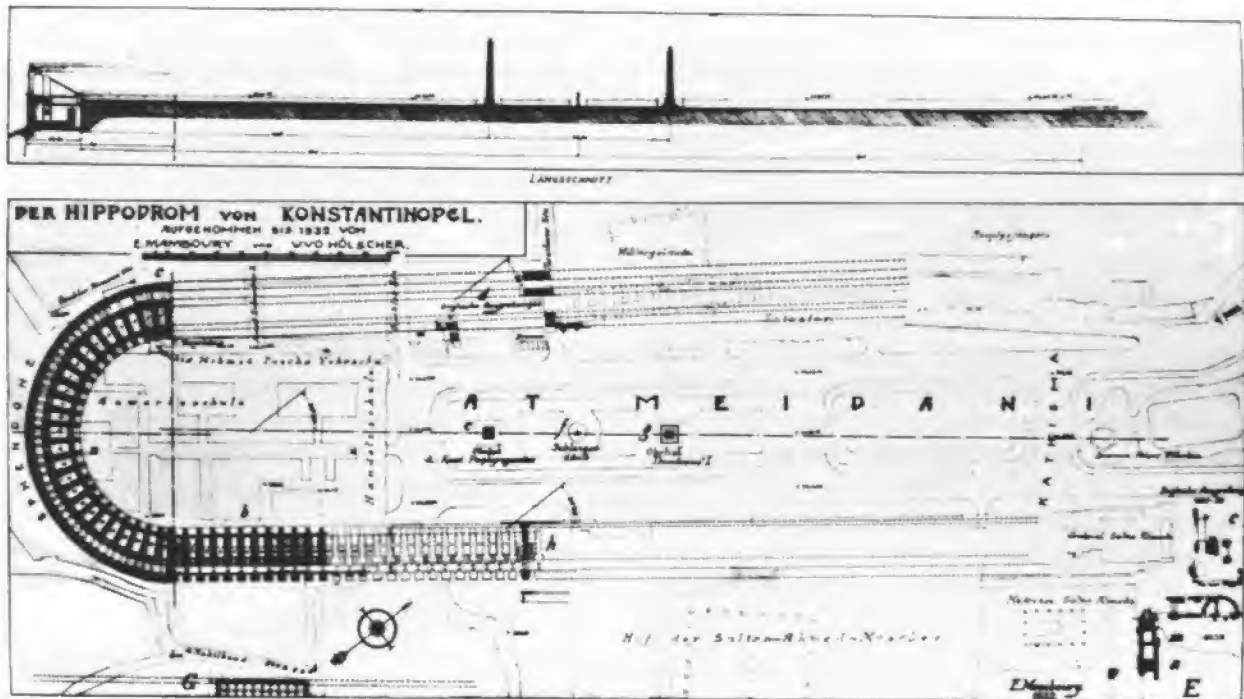
promoted safety and fairness by reducing crowding at the beginning of the first lap and at the turn, and by making the distance from gate to breaking line equal for all contestants. Late Roman constructional innovations are also present, including the facing of the concrete walls in alternating layers of brick and tufa blocks, and the incorporation of large hollow jars ("pignatte"; comparable to *tubi fittili*, no. 593) to lessen the weight of the vaults.

The conjunction of circus, villa, and tomb was unique in late antiquity, although the villa-cum-tomb alone was quite familiar (see no. 104). The presence of the circus is probably explained by the imperial ownership of the villa, for circuses were important adjuncts of the palaces in all imperial capitals of the day. The *ludi circenses* were traditionally religious, as well as sporting, events, celebrating the gods (among whom, after 309, was numbered Romulus) and the increasingly godlike emperor, whose appearance to the chanted acclamations of the crowd was a significant part of his ritual.

D. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Crema, 1959, pp. 595–596; Frazer, 1966; Iversen, 1968, pp. 76–92; Humphrey, 1975.





Drawing of no. 101: reconstruction of hippodrome

*101 Hippodrome

Constantinople (Istanbul), 3rd–4th century
Plan, 500 × 150 m. (1640 × 492 ft.)

The hippodrome of Constantinople served as a focal point of urban life. There, the populace congregated, principally to enjoy chariot races and its idols, the charioteers. The hippodrome also served as a substitute forum, where the populace could communicate with the emperor and vent its feelings on political and social issues. In the hippodrome, emperors and generals victorious in battle were greeted; executions and punishments of criminals—occasionally even of emperors—were witnessed; and announcements of imperial births were made. When Constantine dedicated his new capital in 330, most of the forty-day celebration unfolded in the hippodrome, and it was there that the Nika riot, which almost led to the overthrow of Justinian I in 532, erupted, leaving at least 30,000 dead.

Little of the hippodrome survives. First laid out under Septimius Severus at the beginning of the third century, the hippodrome was based on

the Circus Maximus in Rome, the model for most monumental Roman racecourses. It was enlarged by Constantine. In layout and appointments it was also much like the Circus of Maxentius in Rome (cf. no. 100). Unlike its Roman prototypes, however, that of the Constantinopolitan hippodrome falls away sharply to the southwest. This necessitated the U-shaped end (the sphendone) to be erected on massive substructures. This Severan portion of the hippodrome still towers above the slope and forms the limit of the upper terrace of the Turkish Palace of Justice built in the 1950s.

The kathisma was located in the middle of the southeast side of the hippodrome immediately above the stama. The emperor and his retinue entered it from a spiral staircase, known as the cochlias, that communicated directly with the palace. The palace and hippodrome in Late Antique capital cities were often adjacent (see no. 107).

The exact height of the tiers of seats in the hippodrome has not been determined, but there were probably between thirty and forty tiers that could have accommodated as many as 60,000 spectators. Originally constructed of wood, they

were later replaced with marble. The spectators rented cushions, rugs, benches, or chairs from attendants; the demarchs sat in armchairs.

As at Rome, the carceres and storage areas were situated at the northeast end.

W. E. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Casson et al., 1928; Casson et al., 1929; MacDonald, 1956; Guiland, 1969, I, pp. 369–555; Guiland, 1970.

*102 Aula Palatina

Trier, about 305–310

Interior: about $30 \times 27 \times 67$ m.

(98 \times 89 \times 220 ft.)

Trier, a provincial capital, became an imperial residence under Maximian (285–305) and was a seat of Constantine I and his successors. Their palace stood on a natural terrace in the eastern

part of the city, extending from the cathedral (no. 583) to the imperial baths. Near the middle of the terrace stands the Aula Palatina, one of the most luxurious Roman buildings in northern Europe. It is believed to have been the emperor's audience hall. On the evidence of coins and brick stamps its construction can be placed around 305–310. Although it has lost its decoration and its ceiling, as well as the original south and east walls (rebuilt in the nineteenth century), the Aula retains a rare majesty, and much of its decor can be reconstructed from remains.

The spacious, apsed hall was preceded on the south by an elongated apsed vestibule. Courtyards on the other three sides served as light wells for the enormous windows. Wooden galleries, reached by stair towers flanking the apse, permitted the repair and cleaning of the windows; the lower gallery also gave access to the exhaust ducts of the heating system, which rose inside the pilasters to the level of the lower sills. The pilasters continued upward to arch over the second row of windows—a manner of articulation



soon to find favor in northern Italy. The brick masonry, unique in Trier, was hidden by grayish plaster.

The pragmatic, colorless exterior was the antithesis of the interior, where the walls were covered with variegated opus sectile to the height of the upper windowsills and with painted plaster above. Except for a cornice under the lower windows and the seven niches in the apse, the decoration was generally flat, so that the patterned wall and the translucently glazed windows appeared as a vibrant, continuous thin screen. An impression of pomp and grandeur was enhanced by optical tricks. The motifs in the revetment patterns—including pilasters and other architectural members—were small, causing the total wall surfaces to seem higher and farther away. To make the apse seem deeper, its windows were made smaller than those in the side walls, and the top row was set more than 3 feet lower.

As a building type, the Aula Palatina was not unusual: witness the similarly shaped reception rooms at Split (no. 104), at Piazza Armerina (no. 105), and in earlier palaces. But it differed from its predecessors in conception and from its contemporaries in degree. The heating system was unusually complicated, allowing all or only part of the building to be heated, as circumstances required. The decor was novel; despite a lack of well-preserved interiors for comparison, many

scholars believe that the tapestrylike appearance of the wall was a recent development, at least in public building, when the Aula in Trier was designed. A similar mode may have been adopted at Piazza Armerina, as in other contemporary buildings and later at Ostia (no. 340). Trier exceeds them all, not only in the well-known Tetrarchic values of size and opulence, but also in the equally prized, if less frequently attained, qualities of subtlety and sophistication.

D. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reusch, 1965; Krautheimer, 1967; Günter, 1968; Wightman, 1971, pp. 103–109.

*103 Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine

Rome, 307–312/313

Interior: H. central vaults, 38.3 × plan, 82.6 × 62 m. (126 × 271 × 203 ft.)

The basilica is the capstone of Maxentius' continuation of the First Tetrarchy's architectural patronage in Rome. Rising on the north side of the Via Sacra next to Maxentius' rebuilt Temple of Venus and Roma, its ruins still dominate the Forum to the west. The building was not the traditional multiaisle, wooden-roofed, columnar Roman forensic basilica, but was a unique adaptation of the vast, vaulted frigidarium of the imperial bath type, like that recently completed (305–306) in the Baths of Diocletian.

On entering from the east, one faced an enormous hall covered by three bays of concrete cross-vaulting, apparently supported on two files of four colossal Corinthian columns (63 feet each). The long axis terminated in an apsed tribunal. Three great arches on either flank opened into barrel-vaulted alcoves divided by walls with small openings. The terminal walls and those dividing the alcoves from one another supported the roof without the aid of columns, permitting an unusually spacious and unobstructed interior. The interior was strongly lit by lunette windows beneath the vaults and by two rows of large, round-arched windows in the outer walls.





The floor was paved in patterned marble, and the walls were smoothly incrustated with the same marble from the floor to the spring line of the vaults and the sills of the upper tier of windows. The cast-in-place coffers of the vaults were stuccoed, painted, and, perhaps, even gilded.

Although the interior was in the richly decorated tradition of the imperial thermal canon, the exterior, there revealed for the first time, was simply covered with stucco inscribed to imitate ashlar masonry and was chiefly characterized by the rhythmic pattern of its fenestration. This treatment represents something authentically late Roman in important public buildings.

The basilica must have been structurally complete at Maxentius' defeat and death (October 312). The senate rededicated it to Constantine's virtues, an access from the Via Sacra was created, and a new apsed tribunal was constructed opposite it. A colossal, acrolithic, seated statue of Constantine was installed in the older apse (no. 11).

The building had no immediate effect on public architecture, but its vast size, its structural adroitness, and its association with the majesty of

Constantine may have challenged Justinian and the builders of Hagia Sophia to surpass it.

A. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Minoprio, 1932; Kähler, 1952; Buddensieg, 1962; Harrison, 1967, pp. 92-94.

*104 Palace of Diocletian

Spalato (Split), Yugoslavia, about 305

Plan: south side 181.4 m. (595 ft.); north side 175.3 m. (575 ft.); east and west sides 216 m. each (710 ft.); 7.56 acres

The soldier-emperor Diocletian built a retirement palace on the Adriatic coast near his birthplace, Salona, where he spent the last decade of his life upon his voluntary abdication in 305.

Like a third-century fortified villa, the palace was shut off from the world by thick walls forming a squarish trapezoid. To the north, east,

and west the walls were fortified by projecting square and octagonal towers and were pierced in their middles by gates. Overlooking the sea, the south wall was a monotonous arcaded gallery broken only by three loggias and flanked by corner towers.

Inside, two colonnaded thoroughfares intersected, dividing the palace into quadrants. The principal buildings were situated seaward and included a peristyle. To the east lay the emperor's domical mausoleum and to the west two rotundas of indeterminate function and a small classical temple, perhaps dedicated to Jupiter. South of these structures were the state reception rooms and private apartments. Since the site here slopes sharply toward the bay, these required vaulted substructures. The major buildings were sometimes decorated economically, sometimes sumptuously, with imported marbles, mosaics, and carved architectural elements. The less well preserved buildings in the northern quadrants of the palace presumably housed the emperor's bodyguard and servants.

The palace design was influenced by those of villas and army camps (*castra*). The seafront

facade, with a portico between corner towers, derives from plans of villas known to us principally in the Western provinces. Roman military camps were divided into quadrants by two major arteries, with the headquarters and residence of the commanding officer near the intersection of the streets. Spalato follows the plan of late Roman *castra*, in which the living and working chambers were situated against the sides of the camp, leaving open the area in the middle for the administrative center. The assimilation of the *castrum* in the design of an imperial palace coincides with the militarization of the Roman state's administration as reconstructed by Diocletian and heralds developments in Byzantine palaces, Arab villas, and medieval castles.

Today, scholars tend to agree that an architect and workmen from the East worked on the palace, for some of its most conspicuous features derive from Asia Minor or Syria: the preference for fine, squared-stone masonry, the use of brick vaulting, including pitched brickwork (cf. no. 107), the arched entablature or arcuated lintel and the arcading of the columnar screens in the peristyle, the engaged columns on isolated corbels,

Model of reconstructed palace of Diocletian, no. 104



and the decorative open relieving arches over flat-arch lintels. Other features seem Italian: the plan of the octagonal mausoleum with alternating rectangular and semicircular niches piercing its interior circular wall, the round, domed vestibule behind the peristyle, the framing of the arches of the seafront gallery between the half columns of an applied decorative order, and the apsed audience hall in the southwest sector of the palace. This amalgam, which underscores the ubiquity of ideas and motifs in the imperial architecture of the Tetrarchy, survived into Constantinian times.

W. E. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Niemann, 1910; Hébrard and Zeiller, 1912; Duval, 1965; J. and T. Marasović, 1970; Marasović et al., 1972.

*105 Villa

Piazza Armerina, Sicily, about 306–310

A magnificent villa at Piazza Armerina, inland from Gela, was excavated in 1950–1955. It is one of the finest known examples of baronial architecture under the Tetrarchs, especially interesting because of its extraordinary complement of polychrome mosaic pavements, covering some 36,584 square feet of floor space (no. 91).

The construction of the villa followed the destruction of an earlier one on the same hillside site. The slope was newly terraced to accommodate a cluster of distinct but interconnected buildings: entrance court (2 on diagram); peristyle and adjoining rooms (8–39); bath (42–46); and triconch (48). A rough axis through the peristyle seems to divide the domestic quarters, to the north, from the more public rooms grouped at the south. The northern rooms include the bath (frigidarium, 43–44; tepidarium, 45; caldarium, 46), a kitchen (13), servants' quarters (20–21), and a bedroom suite (30–31). Chief among the public rooms was the large reception hall (32–33), with a place for a throne in its apse (cf. no. 102). South of it a smaller apsed room, probably for dining, opened on a charming sigma courtyard with a

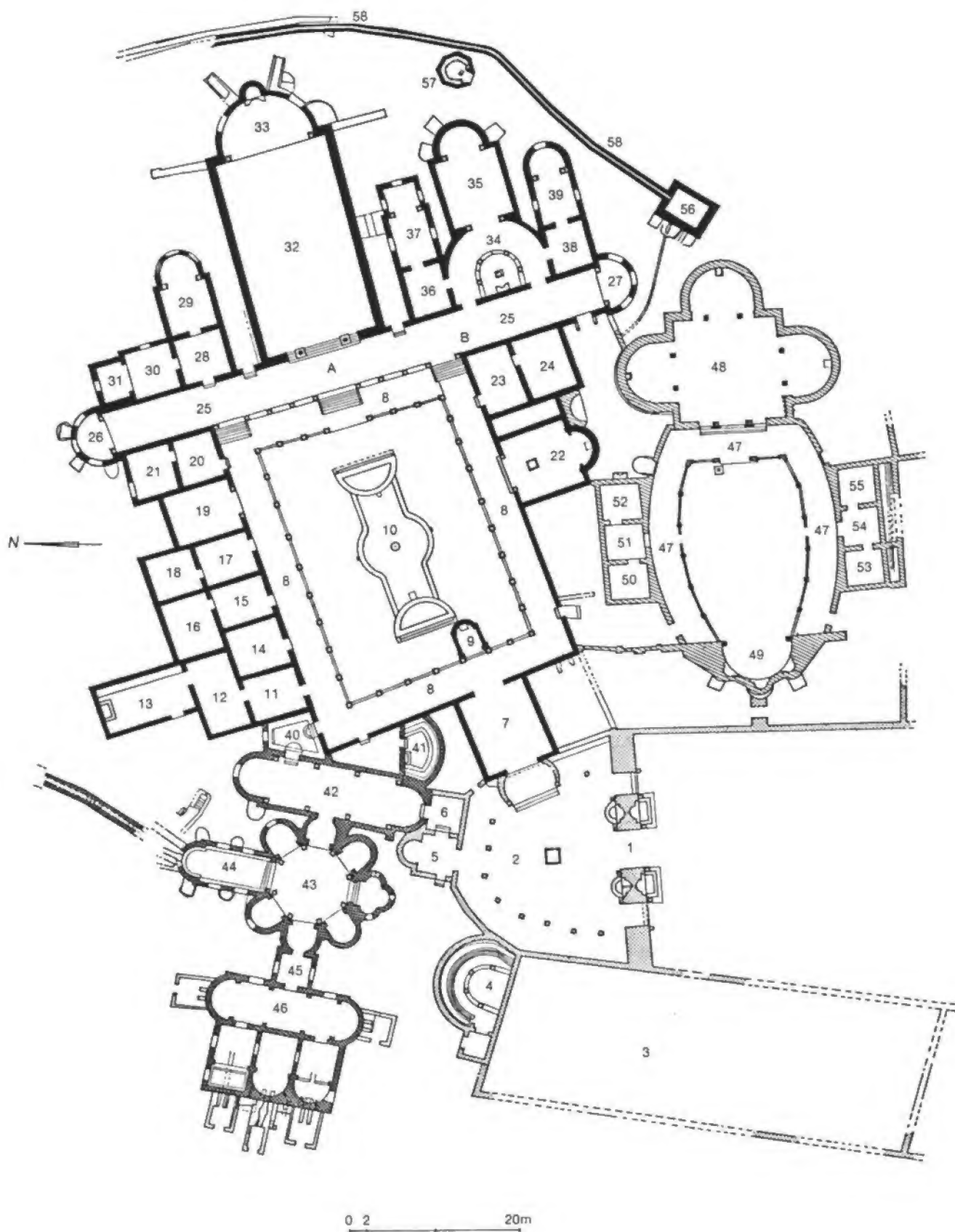
fountain. This suite may have been intended for informal entertaining, while truly ceremonial dinners were probably conducted in the triconch, which also faced a fountain (49) across a unique ovoid court.

Certain architectural motifs, like the triconch and the suite around room 35, seem to reflect the fashions of North Africa, and the brilliant mosaic pavements are generally attributed to itinerant North African ateliers. But the design as a whole, in its seemingly casual aggregation of self-contained units, may be of Italian descent. Although the grouping of components at Piazza Armerina is dense, the sense of variety and isolation found in sprawling earlier villas like that of Hadrian near Tivoli has been cunningly recreated by the dictation of tortuous and disorienting routes. The audience hall, for example, lay directly opposite the vestibule (7) but was blocked from its view by a shrine (9). The visitor entering at (1) had to change his course five times to reach it: turning into (7), twice in (8), to (25), to (32). Care was taken that successive doorways be unaligned (e. g., rooms 17–18, 23–24); long views were systematically obstructed so that the "end" of the villa could never be seen. And at almost every turn a new mosaic pavement or ornamented hall came into view. Typically, decor and design were wholly inner-focused. Despite the monumental entrance (1), there was no real facade; the shape of the exterior was accidental, the result of the conformation of the spaces within (cf. no. 592).

The owner of the villa may be the man depicted in the midst of the enormous (about 191 feet long) "Great Hunt" mosaic in the corridor (25). He wears official dress and insignia, and some scholars believe he is the emperor Maxentius; another portrait in the same mosaic is thought by some to represent Maximian, his father. The villa does incorporate several imperial features, like the audience hall and the image of an *adventus* in the vestibule mosaic, but in late antiquity members of the lesser aristocracy commonly claimed such perquisites for themselves. This was probably the case at Piazza Armerina.

D. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gentili, 1959; Ampolo et al., 1971; Di Vita, 1972–1973; Kähler, 1973; Polzer, 1973.



Plan of no. 105



Drawing of no. 106: reconstruction of imperial villa

*106 Imperial villa

Contionacum (Konz), Germany, 4th century before
371

About 84 × 38 m. (276 × 125 ft.)

The villa stood at the junction of the Mosel and Saar Rivers 8 kilometers (5 miles) southwest of Trier and commanded a splendid view down-river toward the city. It is of the “porticus villa” type, a longitudinally directed plan with suites and rooms linked by one or more long, open porticoes. The type was widespread in western Europe in the Roman period and survived into the Middle Ages.

The villa’s most conspicuous features are the porticoed facade, broken at the center by a projection, and the large, apsidal reception hall behind the projection. The arrangement of porticoed corridor and apsidal hall recall similar features at Piazza Armerina (no. 105) and Split (no. 104), although this villa lacks their formal sophistication. The simple, rectilinear character of Konz may owe something to military construction; that part of the empire was heavily garrisoned. The hall, which had a heated floor, recalls the Aula Palatina at Trier (no. 102) in form and function. Small interior courts flanked the hall. Domestic quarters were in the east (left) portion and the west (right) was a bathing suite.

The exterior was stuccoed and painted with a linear articulation in red-framed green and yellow panels.

The site is linked to imperial ownership by

edicts of the emperor Valentinian I and by the fourth-century court poet Ausonius.

A. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reusch, 1965, pp. 150–152; Wightman, 1971, pp. 166–168.

*107 Rotunda of Galerius (Church of St. George)

Thessalonike, about 298/299(?)–311 and later
Diam. north-south 35.96 m. (118 ft.); east-west axis,
including chancel and apse 48.48 m. (159 ft.);
to interior crown of dome: 25.61 m. (84 ft.);
dome diam. 24.09 m. (79 ft.)

The rotunda stood within a precinct wall as the northern focus of a monumental ensemble near the eastern ramparts of Thessalonike that included the Arch of Galerius, an imperial residence, and a hippodrome. Construction of this ensemble may have been begun by the Caesar Galerius as early as about 298–299 and probably no later than about 305–306, when Galerius was elevated to Augustus.

The association of a monumental rotunda with a palace-hippodrome complex is paralleled in other Tetrarchic and Constantinian ensembles (no. 100). The rotunda was probably intended to serve as an imperial mausoleum, although most ancient mausolea were located outside the city walls.

Later, the rotunda was transformed into a



church by the addition of a continuous ambulatory, a deep chancel and apse to the east, and to the south, a narthex flanked by staircase towers. Dyggve (1958) and Torp (1963) have attributed this conversion to about 390, but this date has been challenged on various grounds by Vickers (1973) and Kleinbauer ([1], 1972), who attribute the conversion to about 450. The original dedication and precise function as a church remain in doubt.

The rotunda was a freestanding version of such imperial structures as the caldarium of the Baths of Caracalla in Rome. It is constructed of alter-

nating brick bands and courses of mortared rubblework. The materials and technique of construction have affinities with buildings of the third century in the northern Aegean and in western Asia Minor. The perimeter wall of the rotunda is pierced by eight large, radiating, barrel-vaulted recesses, and, above them, eight similar, smaller recesses containing large windows. The building is also lit by semicircular lunettes in the dome just above the springing. The interior was capped by a dome constructed in an unusual manner: the lower part of the dome is based on a hemisphere centered on the level of the spring-

ing line, while the upper part follows a steeper curvature, based on a center about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet higher. Boethius and Ward-Perkins (1970, pp. 522 ff.) believe that the dome design is Galerian and was employed by the builders to reduce the effective span from 79 to 62 feet, corbeling the lower part inward without scaffolding and making the pitch of the crown less dangerously shallow. Torp (1963), who observes that the bricks in the upper part of the dome date from the time of the structure's conversion, supposes that the original crown of the dome either contained an oculus, as in the Pantheon in Rome, or collapsed and that the break in the curvature points toward two different building periods, Galerian (about 300) and Theodosian (about 390).

The lavish interior decoration consisted of marble revetment arranged with two orders of pilasters and entablatures framing the eight recesses and, on the piers between the ground-floor recesses, eight small aediculae, as in the buildings of Diocletian and Maxentius in Rome. Whether this decoration dates to the Galerian period or to the period of the conversion of the building remains unresolved. All the surviving mosaics (no. 491) date from either about 390 or about 450.

W. E. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hébrard, 1920; Dyggve, 1958; Torp, 1963, pp. 1–11; Kleinbauer (1), 1972; Kleinbauer (2), 1972; Vickers, 1973.

*108 Rotunda of Sta. Costanza

Rome, about 337–351

19, interior diam. 22.5 m. (62 ft. 4 in., 73 ft. 10 in.)

The rotunda called “Sta. Costanza” was the mausoleum of the princess Constantina (d. 354), a daughter of Constantine the Great. It adjoined an immense basilica dedicated to the virgin Agnes, whose tomb was in a nearby catacomb. The siting is typical of Christian mausolea, for it was believed that burial near a martyrium would encourage the martyr's intercession for one's soul. The basilica has long been a ruin, but the mausoleum, now a church, still stands.

Sta. Costanza descends from the domed, centralized type of tomb used by the Tetrarchs (nos. 104, 107), but in it the type has been dramatically reformulated. The dome has been dissociated from the solid bounding walls; it rests instead on an inner ring of twenty-four paired columns. The interior is thereby diversified, and the central domed space, brilliantly lit by large windows under the cupola, is set off by the shadowy ambulatory. The ambulatory contains the traditional wall niches, but there are many more than usual and they are differentiated in size. The princess' sarcophagus once stood before the large south niche, under a small tower that interrupts the ambulatory's barrel vault; the sarcophagus is now in the Vatican Museum.

Like her father's audience hall in Trier (no. 102), Constantina's mausoleum has a subtly meaningful design. The windows under the dome number twelve, like the apostles, who illuminated the world with Christianity. In the circular arcade, the four intercolumniations aligned with the axial niches were made slightly wider and their arches slightly higher than those in between, marking a cross. The sarcophagus stood within the cross, in its south arm.

The decoration, once elaborate, is mostly lost, but it was recorded in several drawings of the Renaissance. Concave surfaces—dome, barrel vault, niches—were covered with mosaic, while the vertical face of the drum over the arcade was masked with opus sectile simulations of pilasters, cornices, and other architectural motifs. The mosaics included many Christian representations: scenes from the Old and New Testaments in the cupola, and images of Christ in the tower and niches. They were juxtaposed to caryatids and purely secular river views in the cupola, and to cupids, nymphs, and scenes of vintage in the ambulatory. The abundance of profane motifs fostered the opinion that Sta. Costanza was created as a temple of Bacchus, which accounts for its popularity in the Renaissance. In fact, Sta. Costanza demonstrates how surprisingly large was the repertoire of pagan ornamental motifs that could be harmoniously employed in Christian art of the mid-fourth century.

D. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Deichmann and Tschira, 1957, pp. 81 ff.; Stern, 1958; Strong, 1960; Frutaz, 1969, pp. 72–83; Toynbee, 1971, pp. 160–161.



No. 108, Rotunda of Sta. Costanza

***109 Mausoleum of Theodoric**

Ravenna, begun about 526

14.2, diam. 32.62 m. (46 ft. 6 in., 107 ft.)

Perhaps only in his last year (A.D. 526) did Theodoric, the Gothic ruler of Italy, launch construction of his mausoleum, and when his daughter Amalasuntha's reign ended in 534 the building remained unfinished. Constructed of large limestone blocks transported by sea from Istria and laid without mortar, it was decagonal in plan and two stories high. The ground-floor interior was cross-shaped and groin-vaulted, whereas the second floor was circular, with a protruding rectangular niche. A porphyry tub (the king's sarcophagus?) now sits in the upper chamber. On

the exterior of the lower walls are ten deep, arched niches, with joggled voussoirs. The second story is set back and is controversial, being both complex and unfinished, and may have had a dwarf gallery with radial barrel vaults on its exterior, like no. 584, S. Lorenzo, Milan. Each side of the gallery may have been marked by a triad of pilasters and a pair of niches surmounted by lunettes containing carved scallops. The cornice above is carved with a "tongue frieze" or pincer motif, derived from either debased classical ornament or Ostrogothic ornament, such as occurs in Germanic metalwork of the sixth century. The roof is a monolithic lid cut like a shallow dome. Estimated to weigh more than 230 tons, it is rimmed with twelve pierced, projecting spurs, each inscribed in Latin with the name of an apostle.

Many questions about the building remain unanswered: Was the upper story inaccessible or reached by an exterior stair or ramp? What was the function of the two chambers? Why are the spurs on the dome pierced? Were they handles intended for ropes to lift the monolith into place?

The mausoleum is the only building in Ravenna constructed of limestone. In the West the tradition of stone building came to an end with Diocletian's palace at Split (no. 104). If the mausoleum does not represent a revival of this tradition, it must represent a contemporary version of building techniques in Asia Minor and Syria, where the tradition survived into the sixth century. Joggled voussoirs appear at Split and throughout the West, but they also survived into the sixth century in the east Mediterranean. Possibly the mausoleum was erected by Eastern

workmen, perhaps Isaurian builders, who were known to have worked in Thrace, Constantinople, Syria, and the Holy Land.

The building design is a late example of Roman imperial mausolea (cf. no. 104). In the West in the Late Antique period double-storied tombs were no longer built, but they did survive in the eastern Mediterranean (e.g., the tomb of Diogenes in Hama, Syria). The monolithic dome is sometimes said to have been inspired by the tradition of stone-covered tomb mounds of Germanic chieftains, but it is questionable whether the Ostrogoths in the sixth century were familiar with that tradition. Among Late Antique buildings known to us today, the monolith is a unique feature—perhaps a reflection of Theodoric's wish to be remembered eternally.

W. E. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: De Angelis d'Ossat, 1962; Deichmann, 1969, I, pp. 213–219; 1974, II, 1, pp. 209–239; Heidenreich and Johannes, 1971.



II

THE CLASSICAL REALM

Mythology

Thee, Jupiter, in my star-sounding song,
Thee first I name and worship. For through thee
The sacred revolution of the sky
Is wont to wheel again in order due
The jewelled constellations. Thou Almighty
Beneath thy sceptered diadem dost bind
And sway thy kingdom, Sire of every god,
While the great universe rolls on. . . .
Phoebus proclaims thee, while with task divine
His rays renew the purple dawn for men
And give their glory to the ambrosial day.
Cynthia, queen of night, month after month
Waxes with horns of gold. . . .
So the hard Earth soft-wrapped in circling Air
Rests on its axis, and by either pole
Rules and is ruled; so Nereus knows the bounds
Of ocean, so for food laps upper Fire,
That all things thrive with no discordant strife. . . .
Thou, King of Heaven, thou, Father, Best of all,
Who in thy love does clasp the stars together,
And to thy children givest perpetual life,
All hail—my lute uplifts its lay to thee
For whom full-sounding songs sound yet again. . . .

Martianus Capella, 911 ff. (Hymn of Harmonia,
addressed to Jupiter, about A.D. 400 [Cook, 1914,
p. 757])

The recollection of things past, precious symbols of a better time, maintained the traditions of Greco-Roman culture among those for whom the act of recollection itself served to reaffirm their connection with the classical world. Nostalgia stimulated memory and helped to preserve the ancient forms in Late Antique literature and art, often marked, as in the hymn above, by an exquisite sensibility. This retention of the past offered the rewards of old associations and provided escape from the difficulties of the Christian present. Conflicts could become acrimonious and unsettling, however, as in the dispute between the pagan aristocrat Symmachus and a militant St. Ambrose over the removal of the traditional Altar of Victory from the Senate House in Rome in the late

fourth century. Yet the growing alienation from the patterns of classical civilization did lead eventually to the diminution of their ancient authority.

Increasingly, the externals, rather than the substance of traditional modes and images, survived either as lingering conventions or as affected signs of high culture. The gods and heroes of antiquity were often reduced to stock characters in storybook tales or they were elevated into an abstruse symbolic realm that robbed them of vitality. Similarly, the ancient repertory of myths, mythological motifs, personifications, and cosmic symbols persevered, because it was familiar, had decorative possibilities, and provided a useful shorthand in new contexts for which no substitute had yet been created. The Christian societies of the Mediterranean viewed the tradition more reverently, in keeping with the distinction between the imperial Greek culture of the East and the barbarized, vernacular pattern of the West. For this reason, the classical tradition retained a normative function in Byzantine high culture for centuries, while in the West only a small group of aristocrats and churchmen still held it fast as an essential part of education.

Much of the classical literary and figural tradition was relegated to a marginal existence. Survival for the works of most ancient authors came to depend on whether they were considered worthy enough to be included in the anthologies and handbooks composed for students and "educated" persons. This progressive decline in erudition, with the loss of bilinguality, produced volumes of excerpted quotations, typified by the anthologies of Athenaeus in the third century, Macrobius in the late fifth century, and Nonnus in the sixth century. Thus, a taste for the telling fragment, the spoliation of the past, characterized much of Late Antique literature, and a comparable attitude colored works of fine art. As

always, great writers and artists transcended these limitations, but their lesser contemporaries mined the debris of classical imagery, nonetheless, often presenting their finds in an exquisite manner (nos. 110, 130).

The classical gods were old friends developing new relationships. Protagonists of so much of antique literature and art, they survived in decreasing numbers in conventional situations, artificial topoi charged with special didactic functions that gradually came to dominate their imagery. Late Antique artists discovered that the moral order embodied by the pagan gods could be made congenial to Christian interpretation.

Zeus (Jove, Jupiter) played the role of the principal god who presided over heaven and earth, ruled the assembly of Olympian deities, and governed an orderly universe. As such he was primarily an image of majesty. The Senior Augustus, Diocletian, for example, took the epithet "Iovius" to indicate his authority and so his image appeared in the imperial octagon at Thessalonike (fig. 15). The very popular figure of Athena (Minerva) invoked the capacity of mind, the function of the intellect under the control of reason. As patroness of great Athens and of Athenian philosophy, Athena stimulated the intellectual strength of Heracles (no. 118). In an extension of her character the frequent association of Athena and the Dioscuri not only alluded to their common derivation from Zeus but, also, to their celestial,

even ethereal nature. Although Athena was sometimes represented in company with Apollo (no. 110) as a source of mental activity, it was his distinction to illuminate the mind through inspiration, a prized conceit of artistic creativity which often involves the muses (nos. 242–244). Apollo, however, had a darker side: he punished the satyr Marsyas (no. 113) with a terrible death, although Marsyas lived on as a symbol of possession (by music) and as a demonic spirit whose flouting of authority was viewed as a challenge to order. Apollo, in conjunction with his sister, Artemis (Diana), slew the children of Niobe and ran after unwilling maidens like Daphne (fig. 16), who magically changed into a tree to avoid him. Perhaps

FIG. 15 *Pilaster capital with Zeus from the imperial octagon.*

Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum



FIG. 16 *Ivory plaque with Apollo and Daphne.*

Ravenna, Museo Nazionale



his frustration echoed the ambivalence of Artemis, patroness of the violent hunt but symbol of chastity. If her first role pleased the aristocrats, enthusiasts of the chase, her second gave some comfort to the Christians.

All of these deities—Zeus, Athena, Apollo, and Artemis—enjoyed continuous favor, because their representations carried moral implications of general applicability without respect to their “pagan” origins. The same motives affected the abundant representation of Asklepios and Hygieia (no. 133), since everyone was concerned with health as a positive physical state, complementary to a condition of spiritual purity. In this context it is perfectly consistent that the hospital on the Tiber Island in the center of Rome could shift from the patronage of Asklepios to that of S. Bartolomeo without any change in function.

Dionysos, center of an active cult, appeared frequently and in various guises (nos. 120–123). His enduring popularity as a saving god was ritually served in the drinking of wine; both ceremony and belief in his soterial powers were transferred to Christ by Christian communities. Many Early Christian monuments, especially those associated with the fact of death and the promise of resurrection, employ references to Dionysos (fig. 17). Dionysos was *the* god of ecstatic release through wine and revel, and the overt hedonism of the cult, with its deep origin in the harvest festival, never died (no. 130). His most complete realization in myth occurred in the famous rescue of Ariadne on Naxos (no. 125), the isle of wine, which combined epiphany, salvation, triumph, and love.

FIG. 17 *Vault mosaic with Dionysiac vendemmia.*

Rome, Sta. Costanza



Aphrodite (Venus) played her traditional role as the goddess of physical love; her blandishments conquered even the force of Mars and revived her dying lover Adonis (no. 119). In late antiquity, the deemphasis of her sexual powers and thus of her terrestrial nature heightened her role as the celestial Venus, the bright planet in the sky; in this guise she assumed some of the qualities of Athena as a stimulus of mental activity. Neoplatonic interpretations of Venus as inspirer of men, which eventually reached their apogee in the Renaissance, only served to remove more completely the taint of physicality.

Greek heroes and their exploits continued to appeal to all levels of a society cultivated by “classical” education steeped in the legends of the Greeks, titillated by novelle of love and adventure, and simply amused and comforted by the presence of champions. Although the tales of heroic adventure provided many avenues of vicarious escape, heroes, like Achilles (nos. 197, 207–213) and Heracles (nos. 136–140, 205, 206), who were much larger than life, had become familiar inhabitants of the mental world of the classical past and no less so of its figured arts. A vast repertory of images was repeated and gradually condensed into well-established motifs and cycles. This new *paideia* of the suffering hero who died triumphant and achieved immortality, drawn from the context of Greek thought, also provided an analogue to the life of Christ.

Perhaps the prime subject for such treatment was Heracles—man, superman, and demigod—who eventually rose up to heaven; his life story—from stressful infancy through the labors of his maturity (no. 136) to death by betrayal and his ultimate transfiguration—lent itself readily to ethical interpretation, whether Platonic, Stoic, or Christian. Like the biblical David, Heracles transcended the limitations of physical prowess, although he was patron of the arena and of gladiators; he struggled, often prevailed, was victimized by his passions, but retained to the end his spiritual quality. Although the Tetrarch Maximianus assumed his beneficent protection (no. 135), Heracles also served ordinary mortals at the moment of greatest danger, their death, since he could pass through the gates of Hades unscathed. As indicated by the many representations of the Alcestis story on Roman sarcophagi



FIG. 18 *Mosaic of Bellerophon, from Hinton St. Mary.*
London, British Museum

and Christian tombs (no. 219), this theme of rescue and resurrection had broad appeal.

Some heroes lacked this nobility of character but possessed qualities still prized in a Christian world. Such was Meleager (nos. 141, 142), the epitome of the brave, rash hunter, who was involved in an adventure with Atalanta that brought both of them to destruction by offending Artemis and Zeus. Bellerophon (nos. 112, 144, 145), the celestial hero, tamer of the winged horse Pegasus and slayer of the monster Chimera (no. 143) rose like Meleager as an aristocratic hero, only to be devastated in his pride by Zeus. The transition from Bellerophon to St.

George was readily made, and the appearance of Bellerophon in Early Christian mosaics (fig. 18) suggests the development of a Christian gloss which emphasized the positive qualities of the hero, his ascent, and his destruction of the evil monster. Similarly, Zeus' rape of Europa (no. 147) and of Ganymede (no. 148) may have come to stand more for the rapture of the soul by deity than the erotic possession of the body. The old protagonists of ancient epic survived, champions of a golden age. In Late Antique art, the spirited companions of the gods still danced (no. 128) and the ancient creatures of land and sea (nos. 150–152) displayed the forceful joys of nature.

Nothing in classical imagery survived more strongly than the personification of the seasons and times of the year (fig. 19), the fruitful bounty of the earth (no. 159), the elements of nature (no. 164), and the extensions of the cosmos (fig. 20). Personification as a system that converted abstractions into human form developed during the Hellenistic period, especially at Alexandria, where the practice flourished in poetry and art. The use of Tyche to personify cities (nos. 153–156) provided a coherent resolution to a complex subject. Yet, these symbolic evocations

FIG. 19 *Mosaic with Aion and the four seasons, from Tunisia.*
New York, United Nations

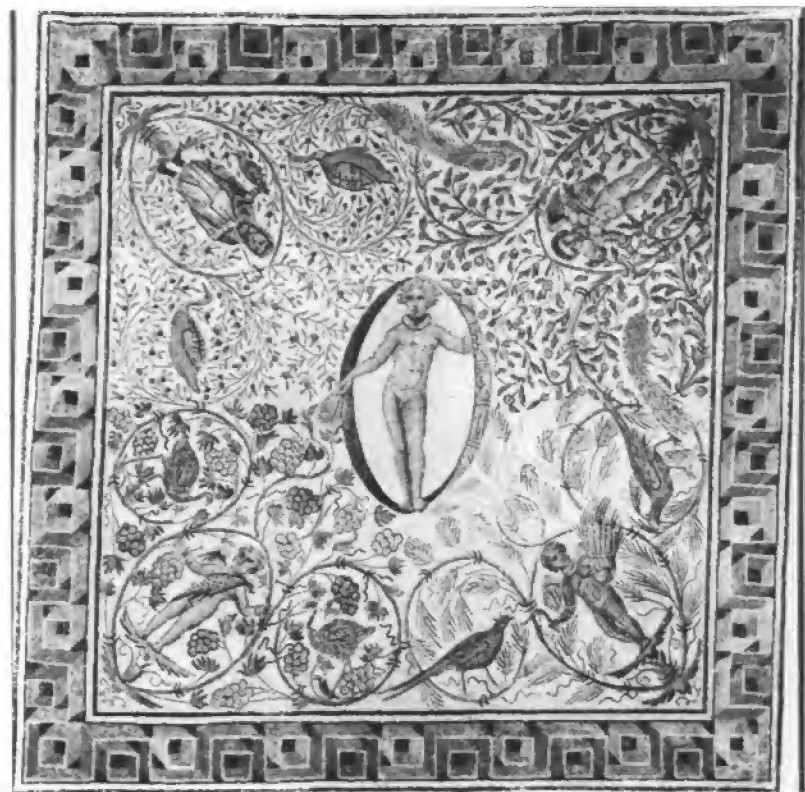




FIG. 20 *Bronze lamp with Triton, Sol, and Luna.*
Florence, Museo Archeologico

FIG. 21 *Painted relief with Mithras.*
Rome, S. Stefano Rotondo



tended to congeal into schemata that gradually substituted for scientific thought and observation. The primitive, even animalistic view of natural science evident in the encyclopedic works of Isidore in the seventh century indicates the retrograde course of this development when compared with Aratus' astronomical poem, *Phaenomena*, in the third century B.C., Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* in the first century A.D., and Ptolemy's *Geographia* in the second century A.D.

The mystery cults were very much part of the heterodox world of the Roman Empire, a manifestation of the irrational in ancient culture. The magic in signs was brought to bear on the iconography of these cults, whose governing deities and submissive celebrants sought to confirm the good life on earth and the likelihood of salvation. The resultant imagery of cosmic power, asserted by many competing deities, reflected the syncretism of late Roman private religion toward a singular objective: the search for help. Between deity and devotee the relationship became direct and personal, filled with the aura of the immanent god, especially Mithras



FIG. 22 *Mosaic with Orpheus.*
Tolmeita (ancient Ptolemais), Cyrenaica

(fig. 21; nos. 173–175). Mithras' epiphany offered a moving revelation that changed men's souls for the better. Mithras often appeared engaged in the act of cosmic sacrifice, thus assuring life's continuance, supported by figured episodes illustrating his divine history. His cult was celebrated by worshipers in communion, sharing a dogmatic belief and an institutionalized structure organized around a priesthood and progressive degrees of initiation.

Ecstasy played a major role in cult observances, frequently in connection with cycles of renewal centered in the dying/rising male god, partner to a mother/wife (nos. 164, 169, 170; Cybele, Isis) in sacred consortium. Older cults, like those of Dionysos (nos. 121–126) and Orpheus (fig. 22; nos. 161, 162) preserved traces of their primitive, preurban origins: Orpheus, singer of soothing songs, appeared as the Good Shepherd (nos. 464–466), who guarded his flock from danger like David and Christ.

Pervading these cults were certain basic features: lack of originality, individual access to deity but

within a community or congregation, the importance of revelation, and, above all, an imagery of intense belief. These features suggest that a desperate need for deity existed, a need met by a proliferation of religious images to serve the cult and to exalt the worshiper. The cults provided models for Christian practice, not always appreciated by Christians.

He [Mithras] baptizes some; he promises the removal of sins by the laver; and if my memory is sound Mithras even signs his soldiers right on the forehead; he also celebrates the oblation of bread, and brings in a symbol of the resurrection . . . and under the sword wreathes a crown. . . . He even limits his high priest to a single marriage. And he also has his virgins, and likewise his celibates. . . . (Tertullian *De praescriptione haereticorum* 40 [Grant, 1957, p. 245])

RICHARD BRILLIANT

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisler, 1925; A. Alföldi, 1937; Cochrane, 1944; Momigliano, 1955; M. Simon, 1955; Nilsson, 1957; Kerenyi, 1959; E. Simon, 1964; Brandenburg, 1968; Campbell, 1968; Matthews, 1973; Huskinson, 1974.

110 The Corbridge lanx

Ephesus (?), late 4th–early 5th century

Silver

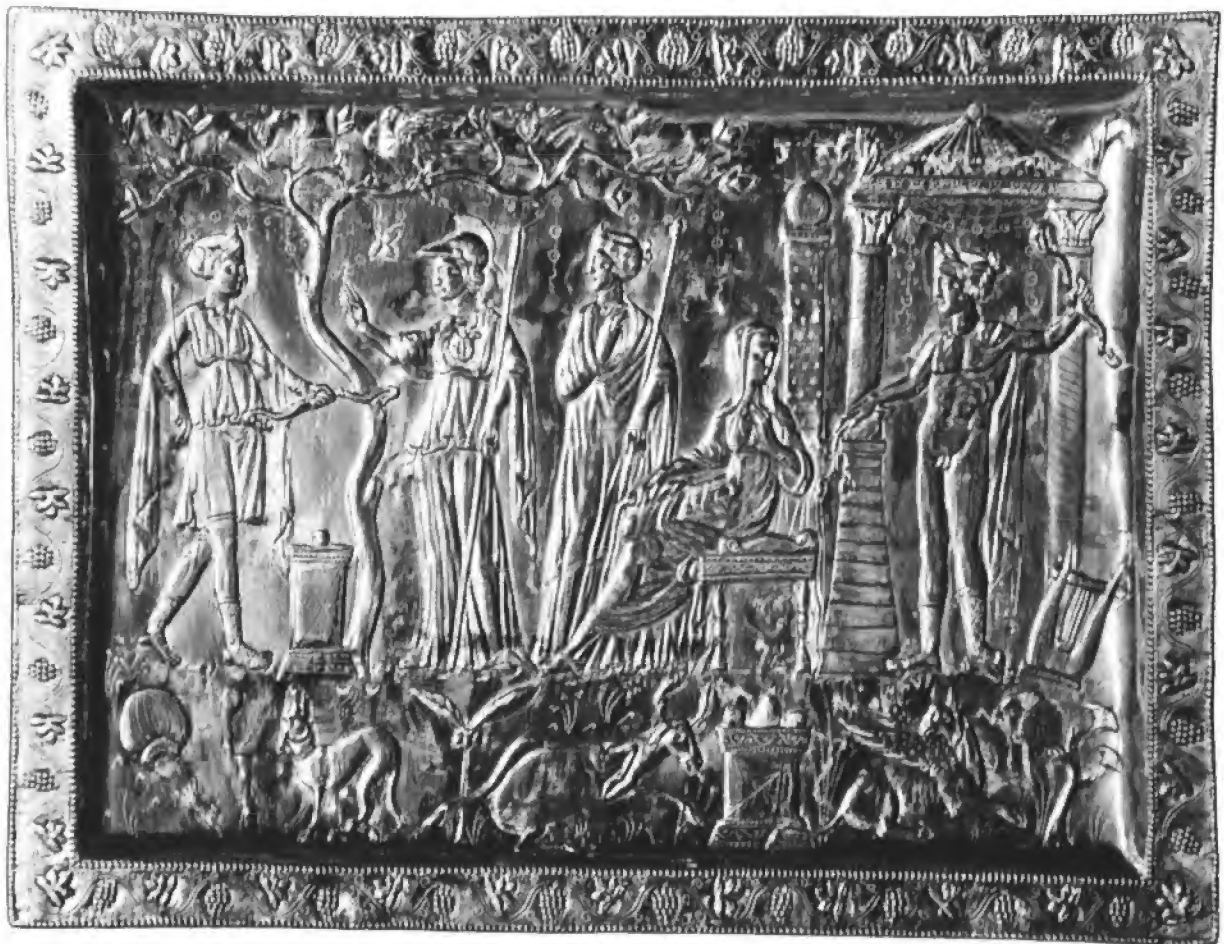
38.1 × 48.26 cm. (15 × 19 in.)

Alnwick Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Collection of
His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, K.G.

The shallow rectangular dish has a straight-sided foot rim and a horizontal border whose inner and outer edges are detailed with bead moldings. From the border, the four sides of the dish slope inward, diagonals at the corners giving way to a seamless horizontal surface. The lanx is solid cast with figural, architectural, and floral representations in relief and details of surface modeling and decoration produced by chasing and engraving. An inscription on the back of the dish records its

weight in Roman measure: fourteen pounds, three ounces, two scruples.

The sunken interior of the lanx is occupied by an elaborate scene in two registers, framed by a vine scroll on the raised border. The main scene depicts five figures in a landscape setting indicated by a small, open-air altar, a tree filled with birds and festooned with garlands, a freestanding column topped with a disc or sphere, and a small temple, possibly a tholos. The temple is preceded by a flight of stairs, somewhat awkwardly represented to the left. A figure of Artemis, dressed for the hunt and carrying a bow and arrow, approaches from the left; she is greeted by Athena who is clearly indicated by her aegis and military attributes of helmet, shield, and spear. Athena gestures in speech, and a third female standing to the right of Athena also gestures, apparently in witness to the approach of Artemis. The fourth figure, a



seated, veiled female, grasps a spindle in her right hand as she turns in speech to the fifth figure, a standing Apollo Belvedere, who holds a branch in his right hand and a bow in his left. The Apollo is framed by the representation of the temple, and his lyre rests against one of its columns.

The seated female is identified as Leto, the mother of Apollo and Artemis; the standing figure to her right is understood as Leto's sister Ortygia. Distinguished by a staff, which she holds in her left hand, Ortygia is simultaneously a participant in the scene and a geographical personification, since Ortygia metamorphosed into the island of Delos, the birthplace and shrine of the twins Apollo and Artemis and the site of a shrine of Athena. The birds that perch in the tree above her head may allude to the literal meaning of the name Ortygia—"the place of quails." In the lower register, the plants, the second altar, the overturned water jar, and the cliff or hillside associated with it may be seen as secondary references to the natural and religious topography of Ortygia-Delos. The hound, griffin, and fallen stag refer to the divine twins.

Although the individual figures are familiar, the assembly of characters is unique. The figural style, the facial type, and the details of costume, architecture, flora, and fauna show clear relationships to objects from both the Traprain Law (no. 389) and Esquiline treasures (nos. 309, 310). Both of these treasures date to the late fourth or early fifth century and have been thought to originate in Western workshops, possibly in Rome. This *lanx* has been traditionally associated with Ephesus, a major center in late antiquity near Delos with its own ties to the worship of Apollo, Artemis, Leto, and possibly Ortygia. A second and perhaps more significant association is with the emperor Julian the Apostate. The subject matter of the *lanx*, complex and learned in its allusions, seems appropriate to the revival of pagan cults under Julian. Specifically, the *lanx* is associated with his official visit to the shrine of Apollo on Delos and his sacrifice to the cult in 363.

Found in 1734 on the bank of the River Tyne, near Corbridge, England.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brendel, 1941, pp. 100–127, pls. VIII, 1, 2, IX, 1, 2; Dohrn, 1949, pp. 115–118, pl. 30, 4; Koch, 1955, cols. 259–263; Volbach (2), 1962, p. 25, pl. III, 6.

111 Plate with Artemis

Ephesus (?), late 4th century

Silver

Diam. 18 cm. (7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Antikenabteilung, Misc. 7883

A fine network of cracks echoes the bottom curve of the plate and interrupts the relief decoration.

Artemis rides across the surface of the silver plate on the back of a stag, an animal traditionally associated with the goddess as huntress. Her lower torso and legs are turned toward the rear of the animal; her upper torso is frontal, and her face is in profile to the right. The gesture of her right arm and hand and the bow held at a distance in her left hand would indicate that Artemis is represented in the act of hunting, just as she has released an arrow. Artemis is dressed in her traditional costume of a short tunic girdled below the breasts, and soft boots; she also wears a mantle that billows over her head and a small diadem.

The borders of the plate consist of a band of small beads, a highly stylized leaf molding, and



an outer border of large, hollow beads. The composition carefully conforms to the circular format. The stag's antlers, the extended, duck-headed bow, and the fluttering end of the mantle respect the boundary established by the decorative frames. The placement of the stag's hooves suggests his forward movement, while it echoes the curve of the frame.

The plate is often dated to the late fourth century on the basis of its stylistic similarities to the figures on the Corbridge lanx (no. 110) and to those on the Mildenhall plates with Dionysian imagery (see no. 130). The stylistic analogy to the figures on the lanx seems the more appropriate, although the large bead border of the Artemis plate and the Mildenhall pieces is an established device in fourth-century silver. Like no. 110, the Artemis plate is often cited as an example of silver from the workshops of Ephesus. In both cases, the place of origin is derived primarily from the iconography of the objects: Ephesus was, in fact, the major antique center for the cult of Artemis. The provenance of this dish, however, remains unknown.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dohrn, 1949, p. 117, pl. 31; Volbach (2), 1962, p. 25; Strong, 1966, p. 199, pl. 62B.

112 Shawl of Sabina with Artemis, Apollo and Daphne, Bellerophon and Chimera

Antinoë, Egypt, 5th century

Wool on linen

110 × 145 cm. (43 $\frac{5}{16}$ × 57 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes, Section Copte, Gu 1230

The shawl is preserved in a number of fragments, which have been mounted in their original order. They were found in the tomb of a woman called Sabina. Although much damaged, the overall dimensions of the shawl are known, and the arrangement of the decoration is clear. The portion shown here represents just over half of the original, which had four corner friezes (gammadae),

four panels, and a single center medallion surrounded by a field of smaller patterns.

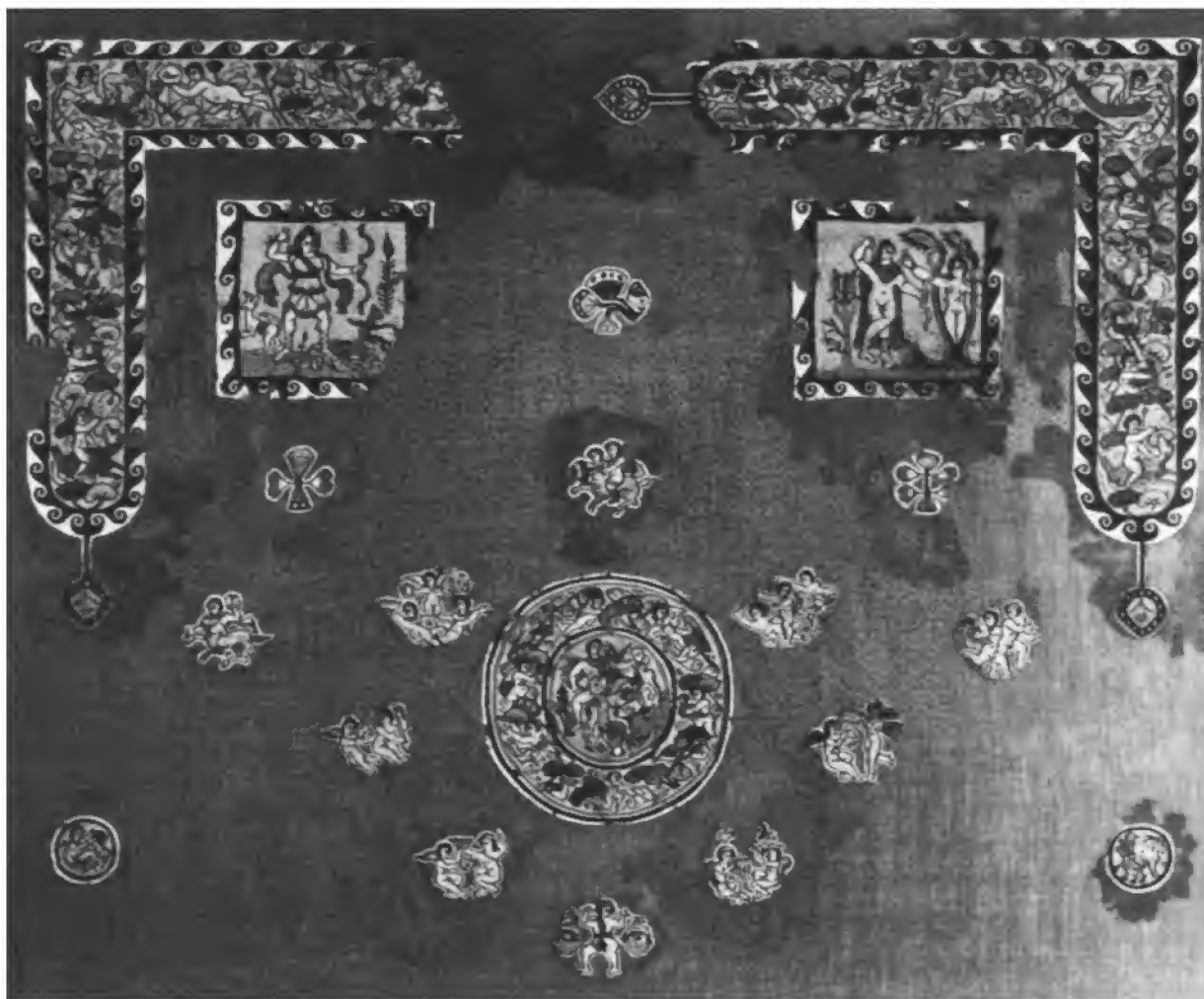
The corner friezes depict children in a Nilotic landscape. Constructed as a sequence of vignettes, both exhibited friezes present the same scenes. In the horizontal arms the compositions are mirror images of each other. The small scenes scattered in the field are related to the corner friezes but are more varied: children with animals, putti, animals, a centaur, and flowers.

Of principal interest are the two panels and the center medallion. The upper left panel represents Artemis, the huntress. She stands in a neutral space articulated only by a ground plane and a few plants scattered at various levels. To the left a dog prances. To the right lies a fallen beast, probably a lion, on whose head Artemis steps. Although the beast is dead, Artemis draws an arrow from her quiver. Perhaps the scene is drawn from a larger model in which other animals also figured. Equally likely is that Artemis drawing an arrow was a stock image used by artists even when not altogether appropriate.

The subject matter of the right-hand panel has been disputed. The nude male figure on the left is certainly Apollo, identified by his lyre. To the right is a nude woman in a tree. While Apollo draws an arrow from his quiver the woman holds out to him a cruciform flower or plant. The most likely interpretation is that the scene depicts Apollo and Daphne. This is strengthened by comparison with an ivory plaque from Syria or Egypt now in Ravenna (fig. 16). Here, too, the composition is not appropriate to the event. The probable interpretation of these panels is that the classical theme has gradually lost its meaning and the juxtaposition of isolated elements from different contexts is deemed sufficient for the expression of the narrative.

The central medallion is surrounded by a Nilotic frieze similar to the corner friezes. The central scene depicts Bellerophon restraining his rearing winged horse, Pegasus, above the body of the Chimera, a three-headed (lion, goat, snake) monster. Again the composition makes little sense. Bellerophon and Pegasus seem to be derived from a classical type originally used for the Dioscuri. The Coptic artist has actually conflated two events in Bellerophon's career, the taming of Pegasus and the victory over the Chimera (nos. 143, 144).

This shawl is an impressive example of the



funerary textiles used by the Copts in late antiquity. Although a Christian community in Egypt, the Copts drew extensively on classical mythology to decorate a variety of textiles. Not all, however, are as free in their interpretation of the classical models. Classical iconography remained popular until the Islamic conquest of Egypt in 640.

W. A. P. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Peirce and Tyler, 1932, I, nos. 156–157; Essen, 1963, no. 329.

Left: detail of no. 112, central medallion



Detail of no. 113, central medallion

113 Bowl with Apollo and Marsyas

Cologne, Germany, 2nd half 4th century
Glass
4.2, diam. 23.8–24.5 cm. ($1\frac{5}{8}$, $9\frac{3}{8}$ – $9\frac{5}{8}$ in.)
Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 42.0076.01

The bowl is undamaged. The central medallion is divided by a line into two approximately equal segments. In the upper one is depicted the punishment of the satyr Marsyas after his hubristic challenge of Apollo to a music contest. Apollo directed his servants, the Scythians, to flay the satyr. Apollo, seated on a hillock and facing the right, has already set aside his lyre. In the center a kneeling Scythian, identified by his cap, holds a knife and waits for Apollo to give the command. Another Scythian has just hoisted Marsyas onto a tree, his hands tied over his head. The composition reflects relatively accurately a freestanding group of the Hellenistic period, which, however, probably did not contain the second Scythian. At the top is a stylized altar with three flames. This may refer to the setting of the scene in a precinct, possibly that of the muses who were the judges of the contest.

The iconography of the lower segment of the medallion is unclear. In the center, under an arch,

is Apollo holding his lyre. He stretches out his hand over an altar. To either side stands a draped figure with one hand raised in greeting or reverence. Above their heads are rough cuttings, perhaps indicating wreaths or feathers. From behind their heads project the ends of fillets. In the field behind each is a double rectangle which may represent stylized writing tablets. There may be no more significance to the scene than the worship of Apollo, possibly in connection with his triumph over Marsyas. If the attendants are wearing feathers, they may be muses, an identification that would link the two scenes. In this case Apollo would be Mousagetes (no. 243).

The bowl belongs to an important class of cut glass produced in Cologne. It can be dated quite accurately to the second half of the fourth century by the context in which it was found in Rondorf-Rodenkirchen in 1942, a stone sarcophagus with coins of Gratian.

The bowl was intended for drinking, but, like many others of the area, it appears to have been made for funerary use. It was found placed carefully on the chest of the corpse in the sarcophagus. Since the theme of Apollo and Marsyas was common in Roman funerary iconography, it was certainly chosen for the bowl because of the intended function.

W. A. P. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Haberey, 1949, pp. 94–104, pls. 6, 7; Fremersdorf, 1967, pp. 178–179, pl. 245.

114 Trulla with Poseidon

Place of origin uncertain, 1st half 6th century
Silver
30.5, diam. 15 cm. (12 , $5\frac{1}{16}$ in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités
Grecques et Romaines, Bj 1983

This well-preserved trulla still bears traces of its original gilding. The bowl has a flat bottom, slightly curved sides, and a rolled rim. A straight handle attaches to the rim with a lunate lip. Five stamps, four on the base of the bowl and the fifth on the reverse of the handle, establish the date of manufacture as between 500 and 547.

The decorative theme used on this vessel is the

realm of Poseidon. The exterior of the bowl bears reliefs of fishermen and sea creatures, while the handle depicts the god himself holding his trident, standing on the back and tail of dolphins. The wide arms of the crescent-shaped handle include a centrally placed seashell flanked by dolphins and terminate in eagles' heads. Although the handling of human form tends to be squat, the forms themselves are derived from earlier Hellenistic figural types. The subject matter is similar to the maritime themes found in mosaic throughout Roman Africa and at Antioch in Syria.

A trulla of similar design and iconography may be found in Leningrad (Bank, 1966, no. 90). Vessels of this type, frequently called "saucepans" or "casseroles," have been identified as the *trullae*, ladles and drinking vessels referred to in ancient texts. This trulla was most probably used for

religious purposes. The worship of Poseidon would have been particularly appropriate near the sea; it was found in a vineyard on Cap Chenoua between Cherchel, ancient Caesarea, and Tipasa in Algeria. Discovered by M. Rolland, a settler, this trulla was acquired for the French National Collection by V. Waille and shown at an archaeological meeting in 1893 by G. Perrot.

C. L.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Matzulevich, 1929, p. 8, no. 15, pp. 71–75, figs. 7, 8; Peirce and Tyler, 1934, II, pp. 120–122, pls. 156, 158; Dodd, 1961, no. 14.

115 Pyxis with banquet of the gods and Judgment of Paris

Egypt, early 6th century

Ivory

8.5, diam. 9 cm. ($3\frac{3}{16}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 71.64



Although both lid and base are missing, the piece is well preserved. Four vertical splits with rivet holes at top and bottom indicate old repairs. A modern core now holds the sections together.

The banquet of the gods is depicted in abbreviated fashion, and only Athena is clearly recognizable to the right of center. Presumably Poseidon is on the left, Zeus in the center, and Hera seated on the right. Behind hangs a cloth. On the extreme left a nude female figure stands behind the legs of Poseidon, with upraised arm holding an apple. This must be Discord (Eris), who cast the golden apple of the Hesperides into the conference of the gods. The apple is seen again on the three-legged, round table before Zeus. A dog barks at it. To the left Hermes, nude save for winged cap and boots, holds the *kerykeion* and carries the apple to the right, where the three goddesses—Aphrodite, Athena, and Hera—await the judgment. Paris is omitted. Aphrodite is shown nude, holding up her hair in the manner of the Hellenistic statue type of Aphrodite arranging her hair or preparing for a bath. Next is Athena, identified by her helmet, aegis, spear, and shield. Her pose is also of classical derivation. Last comes Hera holding a staff, the top of which has been damaged by ancient repairs. She stands frontally and is heavily draped in



No. 115, banquet of the gods



No. 115, Judgment of Paris

chiton and mantle. Her right hand is set on her hip. On either side of Athena is a tree. To the left of Aphrodite is a vase with fruit (?) on an altar, to her right a basket. The basket may be intended to receive Aphrodite's clothes, but it and the vase to the left seem to have no function in the scene. Between Athena and Hera is a birdlike creature that turns its head to the latter goddess. This is

probably a peacock, a bird commonly associated with Hera in Roman art.

The style of the pyxis clearly points to an origin in Egypt in the early sixth century. It resembles a Coptic ivory plaque of Apollo and Daphne in Ravenna (fig. 16). Although the pyxis is more classical than the plaque, its forms are rendered in a stiff fashion. A very similar piece is the Aphrodite-Adonis pyxis in Zurich (Volbach, 1976, no. 98).

Originally in the collection of Count G. Possenti, Fabriano, it passed into the Félix collection (sale, Florence, 1880). It was resold in 1886.

W. A. P. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, 1976, no. 104.

116 Shroud or tunic fragment with Judgment of Paris

Egypt, 5th century

Wool and linen

17 × 15 cm. (6 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Washington, D.C., The Textile Museum, 71.117

The panel is well preserved, with only a small hole in the left border.

The scene is set within an oval band surrounded by a broad decorative frame. Below, in the center, Paris reclines against an altar while holding up and contemplating the apple of the Hesperides. The three goddesses occupy the top of the scene. At the right is Athena, identified by her helmet and her shield on which she appears to sit. In the center is Aphrodite, nude, who crouches, while holding out her hands, in a position reminiscent of Hellenistic Aphrodites. The figure on the left must be Hera. She is fully dressed, with a veil over her head, and holds in her left hand a sphere divided into four segments. Its significance is uncertain (orbis mundi?). Above her head is a design that looks like part of her headdress.

This scene should be compared to the more extensive representation of the same myth on an ivory pyxis also from Egypt (no. 115).

The panel comes from a Coptic shroud or funerary tunic. The use of classical subjects for Coptic textile decoration of these was common



(cf. nos. 119, 218), despite the fact that Christianity was the religion of the Egyptian community.

W. A. P. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Essen, 1963, no. 290.

117 Plaque from casket, with Apollo, Athena, and Hermes

Place of origin uncertain, late 3rd-early 4th century

Bronze

12 cm. (4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Antikenabteilung, Misc. 7420

Only a section of a hammered bronze sheet is preserved. This belonged to the revetment of a small casket that held writing materials or miscellaneous valuables. The original edge of the sheet is not preserved except possibly at the top center.

The fragment is bordered on top by an egg and dart over a bead molding and on the bottom by a

bead-and-reel molding. The main zone is divided into sections by an arcade of columns on high bases. Their shafts are only half-fluted with a crosshatched lower section. The Corinthian capitals support arches decorated with leaves in garland pattern. A rosette fills the interstice above each column.

On the extreme left is preserved a lower arm and lyre that must have belonged to a figure of Apollo. In the center stands Athena with her sacred animal, the owl, perched next to her on a high shaft that ends in a knob. She stands frontally, dressed in a long chiton girt under the breast and a long himation with one end slung over her raised left arm. Her spear is held in her left hand, her shield is suspended from her left forearm. The helmet and aegis complete her iconography. The figure type is highly refined and may reflect a Hellenistic original. Yet a sign of the late date of the pose can be seen in the downward turned feet. This contrasts with the more solid stance of Hermes, who stands to the right. His pose is also derived from classical models, but the rhythmical balance has been altered by placing the torso in a rigid frontal position. Hermes appears to move to the left. He holds the kerykeion in his left hand and in his right a bag of money to pay the boatman Charon to take spirits across the River Styx. Hermes' sacred animal, the goat, is at the left, turning its head back to look at the god.

The small casket to which this fragment of bronze sheathing belonged was a member of a large class of Late Antique caskets that were placed in tombs to hold the valuables of the



deceased. The organization of the main zone of the decoration into an arcade enclosing gods resembles the pattern of large stone sarcophagi. These caskets and their decoration are particularly interesting for their similarity to Early Christian reliquaries.

Found in Switzerland at Kaiseraugst.

W. A. P. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Buschhausen, 1971, no. A19, pp. 50–51, pl. A21 bot.

118 Situla with six deities

Constantinople, 613–629/630

Silver

25.8 (10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung, VII A 95

The situla is worked in repoussé with ornamental detailing applied as surface engraving and stippling. The upper border is broken in two places and major damage partially obscures four of the six standing figures.

Between the figures, at equal intervals, are swags of stylized foliage and fruits represented as hanging from the upper border; small wreaths, in turn, hang from the swags. A laurel wreath bound with

Ares and Aphrodite, from no. 118



ribbon circles the top and bottom of the situla in opposite directions.

Sufficient remains allow for the identification of the figures as primary deities of the Greco-Roman pantheon. They are grouped in three male-female pairs. Best preserved are the representations of Ares and Aphrodite. Ares is a muscular figure, beardless and nude except for laced boots and cloak; he leans to his right on his spear and holds a lavishly decorated shield in his left hand. Aphrodite turns toward him, proffering an apple. Her costume is distinct, with a long-sleeved, hip-length tunic over a long undergarment; she wears a heavy mantle closed with a brooch and a Phrygian cap (see Dodd, 1961, no. 16). To the right of Aphrodite stands the heavily muscled Heracles, who forms a pair with a damaged figure of Athena; he wears only his lion-skin cloak and leans wearily on his gnarled club. To the left of the figure are three spheres, perhaps to be understood as the apples of the Hesperides. Athena rests her right arm on a pillar; her left hand is on her hip and her right leg is crossed casually before her. A battle-axe can be seen near her right foot. The damage that obscures her figure continues across a cypress tree and across the hunting dog associated with the female of the third pair, Artemis and Apollo. Only the upper torso of Artemis remains, but her hunting costume and spear are preserved. Apollo rests against a pillar with his left foot on a low pedestal and extends a laurel branch over a tripod to his right. A swan is depicted at the base of the pillar.

The detailed treatment of the attributes and the postural types of the figures indicate a measure of fidelity to classical models, possibly to specific statuary types. The suggestion that the Heracles Farnese, for example, might have been the ultimate model for the Heracles illustrates the point. The heavy use of outline, however, combined with the decreased plasticity of both the bodies and the draperies, indicates a late date. Five imperial control stamps on the base of the pail confirm that it was made in the early years of the reign of the emperor Heraclius.

Found on the borders of the empire, possibly on a trade route, in Kuczurmare, Bucovina, Soviet Union.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Matzulevich, 1929, pp. 7, 27, 38–50, no. 14, pls. 7–11; Dodd, 1961, no. 56; Volbach, 1964, no. 488.



119 Textile fragment with Aphrodite and Adonis

Egypt (?), 3rd–4th century
Wool on linen
22.8 × 23.5 cm. (9 × 9¼ in.)
Bern, Elsa Bloch-Diener, Antike Kunst

A roundel with two figures is set within an almost square field covered with a nonfigural pattern. Yellow thread on a purple background is used in both the figural and nonfigural areas; the heavier concentration of yellow within the roundel emphasizes the figural portion.

Aphrodite, standing to the right, wears jewelry and a crown, and arranges her long tresses. Aside from the stole draped over her arms and between her legs, she is nude. Adonis stands to the left dressed for the hunt, leaning on a spear. The lovers are surrounded by a mass of vegetation. Although the figures are clearly descended from Hellenistic prototypes, they are squat, stocky, and less plastic. The heavy pattern of greenery within the circle emphasizes the two-dimensional, linear quality of the design, and the fine, abstract pattern in the surrounding square serves as a subordinate background which in turn emphasizes the roundel and its inhabitants.

This decorative panel, formerly part of the E. Kofler-Truniger collection, Lucerne (no. K 1926 F),

could have originally been used in a number of places, such as part of a costume or as a curtain decoration.

C. L.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zurich, 1961, no. 441; Essen, 1963, no. 288; Volbach, 1969, p. 46, pl. 19.

120 Portrait medallion of Dionysos

Egypt (?), 3rd–4th century
Linen and wool
36.4 × 31.5 cm. (14½ × 12¾ in.)
Washington, D.C., The Textile Museum, 71.106

The pictorial center of the medallion is completely preserved; only a portion on the top of the outer purple oval is missing. Identification of the personage as Dionysos hinges on the beribboned wreath of vine leaves in the hair. On stylistic grounds, the medallion is dated to the third or fourth century. The work is presented in a schematized linear manner with great emphasis upon the large dark eyes, which dominate the face. In spite of a careful differentiation of hues in the flesh, the overall effect is of a flattened mass.

This medallion is one of a pair owned by the Textile Museum; the matching head is turned in the opposite direction (Essen, 1963, pl. ix). These medallions might originally have been paired on



a ceremonial garment or cloth worn or used in the celebration of the Dionysiac mysteries.

Acquired in 1947. Although the precise provenance is unknown, Volbach (1969) has suggested an Egyptian origin based on a similarity to mummy portraits.

C. L.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hartford, 1951, no. 4; Essen, 1963, no. 263; Volbach, 1969, no. 7.

121 Textile panel with Triumph of Dionysos

Akhmîm (?), Egypt, 4th century
Wool and linen

21.9 × 34.9 cm. (8 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of George F. Baker, 1890, 90.5.837

The rectangular panel is well preserved except for a small piece missing from the center of the lower border and slight tears in the upper corners. The panel was cut from a tunic or shroud and was almost certainly the pendant of a very similar panel now in Leningrad (Lenzen, 1960, pl. 1 a-b). The subject is generally considered to be the Triumph of Dionysos after his Indian campaign, although Friedländer (1945) believed that the scene represented the emasculation of Attis before Cybele. Dionysos in the center rides in his chariot pulled by two leopards. He wears a chiton belted short and a leopard skin over it, both of which leave his left, feminine breast exposed. He holds stylized grapes and wears a mural crown. To the right an ecstatic maenad dances and brandishes a large knife. In the right corner is a captive with arms bound behind his back. To the left is a pensive maenad who holds a phial. In the left corner is a

satyr holding a pedum. The ground is filled with vine leaves and tendrils. The two lower corners contain dolphins, common attributes of Dionysos' triumph. The only novel element in the Dionysiac iconography is the mural crown. Such crowns were awarded to the first soldier to storm an enemy citadel and were a common symbol of military triumph in the later Roman Empire.

The style is classical, yet the two leopards folded to right and left of the axis of the chariot show the progress of principles of composition in Late Antique art.

The extensive finds of figured scenes woven in panels and bands on cloth tunics and shrouds in Roman Egypt are generally associated with Coptic or native Egyptian cemeteries. The use of classical mythological subjects does not exclude this. There is equally no reason to deny the existence of late pagan groups.

W. A. P. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Friedländer, 1945, pp. 27–46, pl. 10; Lenzen, 1960, pp. 1–23, pl. 2.

122 Medicine box with Dionysos, maenad, and satyr

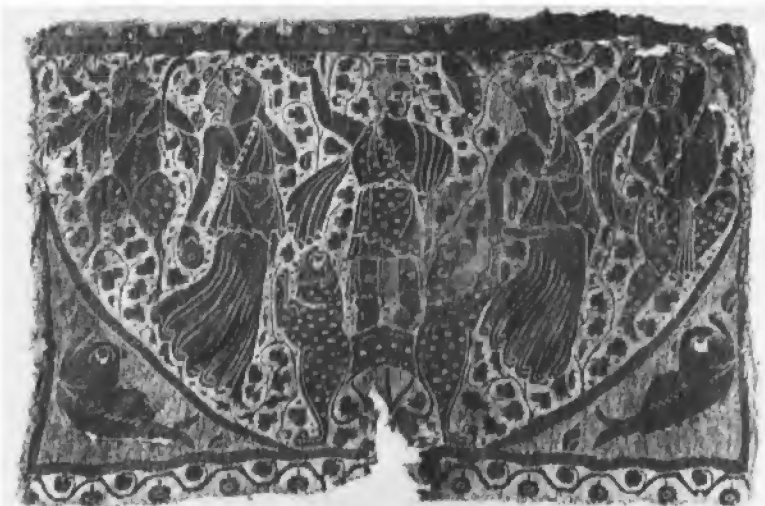
Egypt, 4th–5th century

Ivory

Box: 15.2 × (top) 8.9, (bottom) 8.1 cm. (6 × 3 $\frac{1}{16}$, 3 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.); lid: 13.8 × 6.2 cm. (5 $\frac{7}{16}$ × 2 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 47.8

The figures on the box are much worn from long use. The internal partitions are missing and the edges of the lid have been repaired with metal on the underside. A rectangular cutting in the top of the box indicates the later application of a locking mechanism, now missing. There is extensive damage at this point. On the box are carved three figures standing on a socle of acanthus leaves. In the center is Dionysos. His mantle hangs loosely around him revealing the torso from the groin. In his raised left hand he holds a thyrsus; in his right hangs a kantharos. A panther just below this lifts its head as though to drink the wine spilled from the vessel. To the left of Dionysos is a maenad, sometimes called Ariadne (cf. no. 127), who holds a thyrsus in her right hand and raises a tympanum





Box, no. 122

awkwardly in her left. On the right of Dionysos is a satyr who wears a garment, perhaps a fawn skin, around his waist and a panther skin knotted around his neck. In his right hand he holds a pedum and on his left shoulder he carries a wine-skin (cf. no. 123).

On the lid is a female figure dressed in a chiton, peplos, and himation. She holds in her left hand a cornucopia and in her right a rudder. On her head is the crown of Isis. An Eros hovers in the upper left corner holding an open folding mirror. Both figures are placed before a cloth whose bunched corners can be seen in the top corners. The female figure is a syncretized deity, principally Tyche-Fortuna, indicated by the cornucopia and



Lid, no. 122

the rudder; Isis (crown); and at least related to Aphrodite (Eros).

The style is still strongly Hellenistic. The meaning of the combination of figures is not certain, but Tyche-Fortuna may refer to the good luck or health conferred by the box, which was made to hold medicine. Dionysos would also be suitable in this context as a god of resurrection.

Formerly in the Attenborough collection, London, and the W. Francis Cook collection, Richmond Hill, England.

W. A. P. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weitzmann (1), 1972, III, no. 9.

123 Textile panel with Pan and Dionysos

Egypt, 5th–7th century

Wool

36.8 × 39.4 cm. (14½ × 15½ in.)

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Charles Potter Kling Fund, 53.18

The panel is damaged along the border at the top, at the lower right and left, and across the middle, particularly badly in the center.

On the left Pan looks left while walking right. In his right hand he holds the pedom. In the ground to the left are two castanets or cymbals and to the right his syrinx. Dionysos stands frontally and rests his right hand on Pan's shoulder as though to arrest his movement to the right. Dionysos wears a leopard skin tied over his left shoulder. At his right hip is a wineskin. He holds in his left hand a large symposiast's fillet. In the field to the top right is a stylized kantharoslike amphora. Both Dionysos and Pan are nimbed. The iconography is that of the orgiastic cult of Dionysos and not sufficiently specific to allow definition of a particular context.

The style seems late, especially when the panel is contrasted with no. 121, and indicates the tenacity of even those classical mythological themes most offensive to Christians in a presumably all-Christian milieu.

The panel comes probably from a tunic or shroud common in Coptic burials (see nos. 112, 116, 121).

W. A. P. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Essen, 1963, no. 267; Waltham, 1968, no. 66, pl. XXIX.

124 Fragment of a tapestry hanging with maenad and satyr

Egypt, 2nd–4th century

Wool and linen on linen

138 × 85.7 cm. (54½ × 33½ in.)

Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 75.6

The satyr, identified by an accompanying inscription, wears the usual costume of a Dionysiac devotee, the nebris. The maenad is nude except for a himation seemingly suspended behind her, earrings, a gold chain with pendant, and gold bracelets on arms and ankles. The heads of both are nimbed and adorned with wreaths. On the ground beneath their feet are scattered leafy branches and flowers; a little panther, much damaged, cavorts among them. The pair stands beneath a coffered vault, the supporting arch of which rests on half-fluted columns; one of these carries a "Corinthian" capital and the other, a section of an "architrave." A fragment of a second arch springs from the capital on the left.

The textile is only part of a much larger composition, of which at least two other important sections have survived. One, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (*Annual Report*, 1973, p. 74), preserves a figure of Dionysos carrying a cornucopia and accompanied by his usual panther, and the Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg, has another maenad, elaborately dressed in chiton with peplos and a billowing himation; she seems to be dancing as she plays a kithara (Riggisberg, 1976, cover). The three sections are obviously only parts of what must have been a very large hanging of which Dionysos and members of his thiasos were represented under the arches of a long arcade. Since the design was woven at right angles to the warp, the length of the whole composition could





have been virtually unlimited. The warps are linen, and the design of polychrome wools is inwoven in a plain linen cloth.

Among the surviving monumental tapestries from Egypt, there are none with which this panel can be convincingly compared. The model may well stem from a Hellenistic textile. The details of the arch, the coffered ceiling, and the half-fluted columns are typical of Alexandrine architecture of the Ptolemaic period. However, the arrangement of the figures in an architectural setting betrays Roman influence and the figure style can best be compared to works of the late empire in fresco and mosaic. The nude Venus in a Roman landscape of the mid-second century (Wirth, 1934, pl. xiii) and the water nymph in a fourth-century painted tomb at Ashkelon (Ory, 1938, pl. xxvii) provide equally important parallels for the maenad on the Cleveland fragment.

A precise dating of the tapestry is impossible; textiles of Egyptian provenance are not dated to earlier than the third century—the period when mummification was abandoned for direct inhumation. However, a textile of this importance may have attained considerable antiquity before it had become sufficiently damaged, or outmoded, to have been relegated to serve as a grave cloth—certainly its final office. The monumentality of the textile itself and the quality and character of the design suggest that its original purpose must have been cultic, confirming a date before the end of the empire, when the Dionysiac cult and the official performance of its mysteries still flourished.

D. G. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Shepherd, 1976, pp. 307–313, cover, figs. 1, 3, 9.

125 Two tapestry fragments with Dionysos and Ariadne

Place of origin uncertain, 4th–5th century

Large fragment: wool and gold thread

57 cm. (22 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

Small fragment: linen, wool, silk, and gold thread

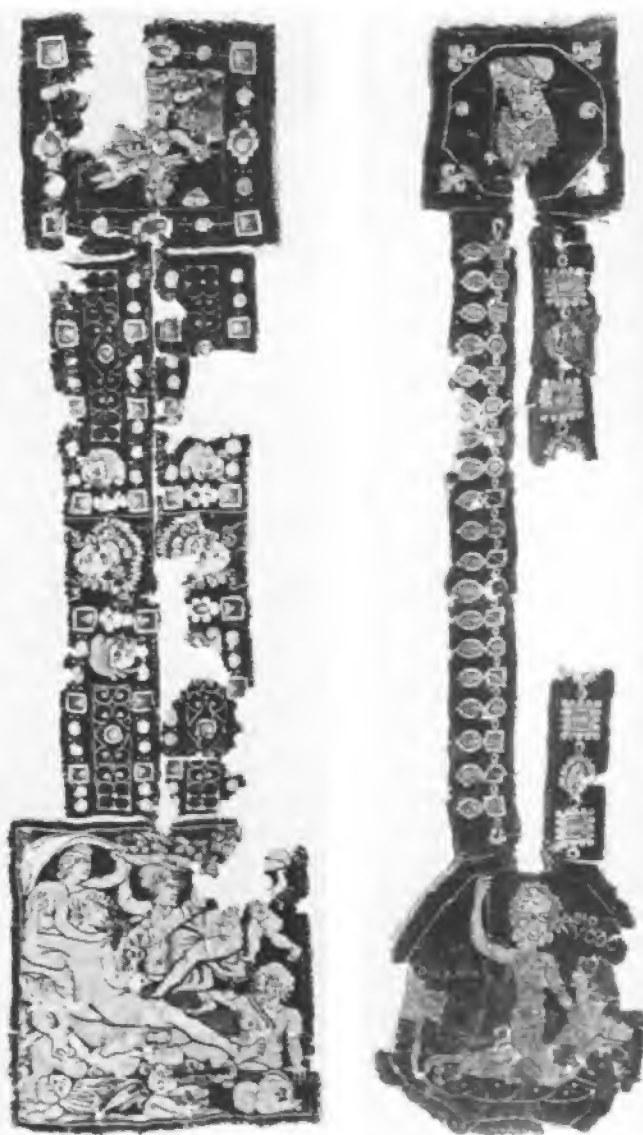
51 cm. (20 in.)

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Charles Potter Kling Fund, 46.402, 46.401

Like nos. 81, 120, 129, and 136, the woven pictorial representation on these two cloth fragments is an integral part of the construction of each piece. The design was not embroidered onto the material, but rather is a part of the tapestry weave. Because of this, although sections from both pieces are missing, the design is completely visible on the extant fabric.

The octagonal pendant of the smaller fragment depicts Dionysos' discovery of the sleeping Ariadne, both inscribed in Greek letters. A bust of

No. 125: left, large fragment; right, small fragment



Dionysos with his traditional thyrsus is depicted in the square pendant on the opposite end of this piece. These two pendants are visually connected by depictions of jewellike decorations, simulating necklaces of precious stones and gold. The iconography of the second fragment is problematical. The larger of these two rectangles may represent a sea thiasos, in honor of Amphitrite, Thetis, Aphrodite, or even Dionysos. The single figure of the sea creature in the opposing rectangle does not clarify the prior scene. These two pendants are also connected by pseudonecklaces of jewels, but in this instance the jewels are interspaced with heads.

The style is linear and two-dimensional. An extensive use of gold thread and minimal use of color enhance the decorative quality, an emphasis that harmonizes with the probable use of the pieces as appliqués. The traces of sewing threads present and the scrap of plain linen on the smaller work suggest that they were applied to garments. Thus, the smaller fragment might have been part of the costume worn by a follower of the Dionysiac mysteries, and the larger similarly utilized by the follower of either the same or an associated cult.

These pieces were acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts in 1946; their prior ownership is undocumented.

C. L.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Townsend, 1948, pp. 12–17, figs. 1–8; Wace, 1952, pp. 111–118, figs. 45–47; Weibel, 1952, pp. 77–78, nos. 11, 12; Chase and Vermeule, 1963, pp. 279, 281, figs. 284, 285; Geijer and Baja Thomas, 1964–1965, pp. 223–236, figs. 8, 9.

126 Lanx with Ariadne

Eastern Mediterranean, mid-4th century
Silver with silver gilt and niello
34.7 × 41 cm. (13½ × 16½ in.)
Augst, Römermuseum, 1962.252

The rectangular plate is composed of a series of elaborate borders that frame a small figural scene. Details such as the piercework scrolls, the undulating pelta motifs of the outer border, and the broad grooves that divide one design from another

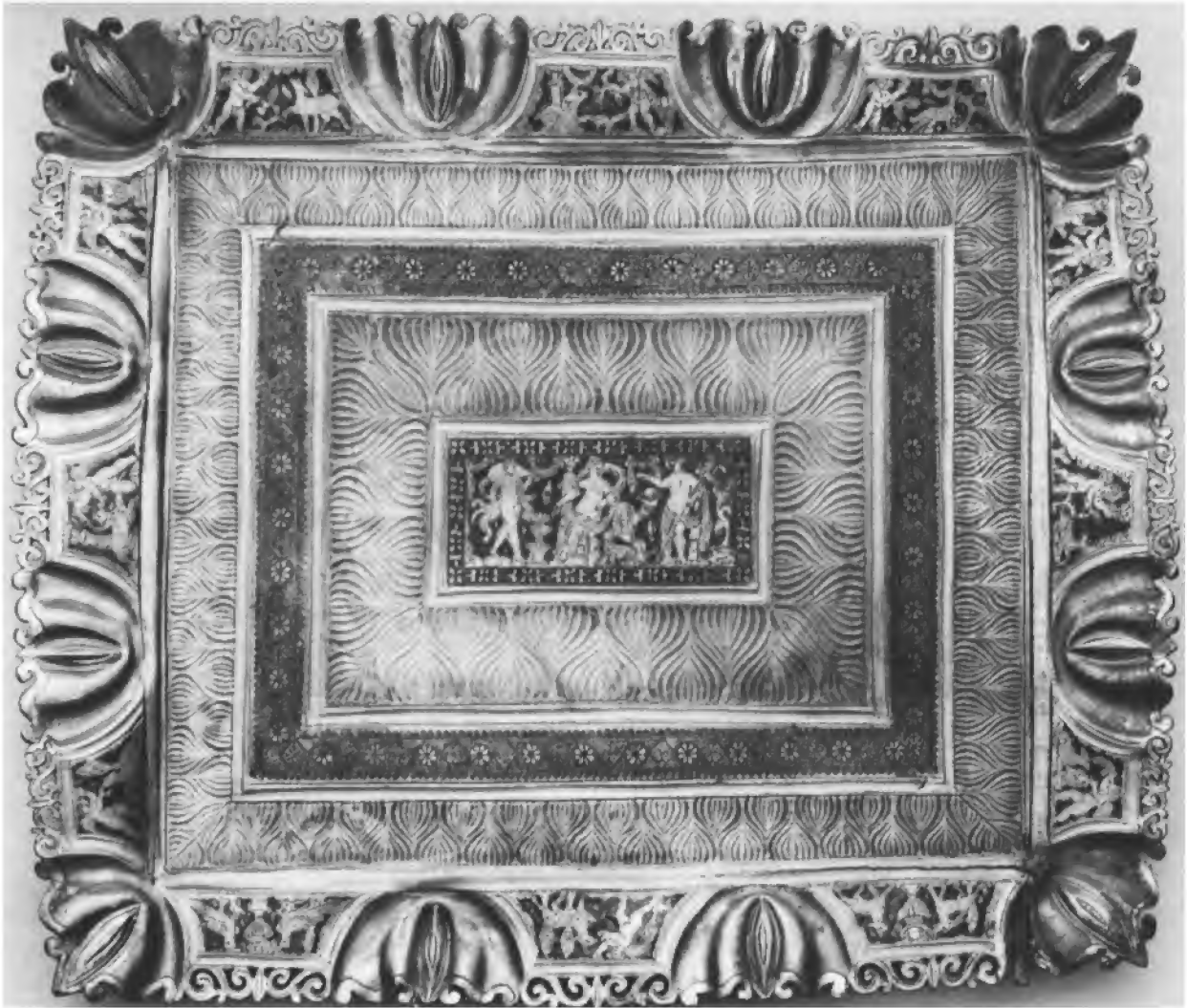
on the interior were probably cast in one piece. A rectangular foot was soldered to the back and decoration in various techniques was applied to the front. Dovetailed patterns of grooves detailed with stippling occur in two separate borders, on two distinct scales. Niello inlay is used in combination with geometric and floral incised motifs to accent the borders; niello is also used as a background color for the figures of the central panel and the twelve small panels of the outer border. The figures, the piercework, the broad grooves, and the details of the pelta motifs are gilded.

The small scenes of the outer border depict Erotes playing with sheep, goats, and, in one instance, with a panther on a leash in summarily indicated landscapes. Two of the twelve panels simply depict animals or birds flanking large vases. The central scene takes place in a similar environment: swags of drapery and a leaf garland hang from the upper border, while a plant, a panther, and a pedestal and column, both topped with vases, stand on an uneven groundline. A cornucopia, a stylized rock outcropping, and two vessels, possibly basins, float in midair. In the center, the partially draped Ariadne is seated on a rock, gazing at the figure of Dionysos, who leans on a column while holding a thyrsus in his left hand and gesturing toward Ariadne with his right. From the left Silenus approaches with animal-skin cloak, pedum, and full wineskin.

The plate is part of a treasure of 255 pieces of silver discovered in Kaiseraugst, Switzerland, in 1962. The objects were layered with hay in a container and buried for safekeeping just to the side of the ring road of the Roman fort of Kaiseraugst. The near perfect state of the silver vessels would indicate that the objects were manufactured shortly before their burial in the mid-fourth century. The size of the treasure and the iconography of the more elaborate pieces (e.g., nos. 208, 251) have caused scholars to associate the collection with the emperor Julian the Apostate or with a member of his retinue. Julian visited Kaiseraugst on several occasions between 355 and 361.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Laur-Belart, 1967, no. 3, pls. 9, 10; Instinsky, 1971, p. 9.



No. 126, lanx with Ariadne

127 Relief with Ariadne

Egypt (?), early 6th century

Ivory

40 × 13.8 cm. (15 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

Paris, Musée de Cluny, CL 455

The relief is damaged only slightly. The arm of the putto on the right and branches of the tree on the right have been restored.

The large central female figure stands frontally. She holds a thyrsus in her right hand and a bowl

in her left. She is dressed in a high-girt chiton which falls open to expose her right breast. Around her waist hangs a mantle and over her head is a veil. On the right side is a small figure of Pan. On the left a small female figure, who must be a maenad (cf. no. 128), wraps one arm around the bottom of the thyrsus, while holding what appear to be two small bells or castanets connected by a cord. Above, two putti hold a wreath over the head of the central figure.

The wreath is generally a symbol of marriage, especially when held by putti. The large figure is



most likely to be identified as Ariadne, the bride of Dionysos. The wreath became a symbol of Ariadne in the constellation Corona Borealis.

The style of the ivory is close to the Barberini diptych (no. 28) and the Aachen pulpit (Volbach, 1976, nos. 72–77), which suggests the date in the early sixth century. Certainly, stylistic details point to manufacture in Egypt. The work was found with other objects, which suggests that it was part of the decoration of a chair. It may have been accompanied by a similar plaque depicting Dionysos (cf. no. 122).

The plaque was found in a grave in Germany, ostensibly in the region of Trier. Part of the contents of this grave passed to the Louvre.

W. A. P. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach and Hirmer, 1961, no. 218; Volbach, 1976, no. 78.

128 Plate with maenad

Constantinople, 550–565

Silver

Diam. 13.7 cm. (5½ in.); 337.28 gm.

Geneva, George Ortiz Collection

A network of cracks interrupts the relief decoration of this small silver dish.

A dancing maenad is represented on the inner face. The figure steps and gestures to the right, while glancing back to the left. Her sleeveless garment, girdled below the breasts, swirls about her feet, and her mantle billows behind her, one end hanging in folds from her left arm. She dangles a bell from her left hand and holds an odd item in her right—modeled as though it were drapery, yet sharply outlined as a rigid, right-angled object—possibly a flail, often the attribute of a maenad. The linear treatment of the attribute is repeated in the outlines of the figure and its drapery, the internal detailing of the garment, the sharp facial features, and the representation of the locks of hair. Softer, broader grooves complement the linear details; stippling is also used for minor decoration on the garment and shoes and for the faint suggestion of plant life, indicative of an outdoor setting.



No. 128, plate with maenad

The back of the plate is characterized by a rinceau around the foot of the dish. Within the foot ring are five imperial control stamps, whose various portraits, monograms, and inscriptions can be placed within the reign of Justinian I. Certain details of the stamps suggest a date late in the reign, possibly after 550 (see Dodd, 1961, nos. 15, 17, A, B). The foliate ornament of the exterior of the plate finds a parallel in the ornament of the interior of another silver dish from the same period and the same imperial workshop (Dodd, 1961, no. 15).

K. J. S.

Unpublished.

No. 129, tapestry with Dionysiac busts



129 Tapestry with Dionysiac busts

Akhmîm or Antinoë, 5th–6th century
 Wool and undyed linen
 91 × 134.6 cm. (35 $\frac{13}{16}$ × 53 in.)
 New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift
 of Edward S. Harkness, 1931, 31.9.3

When this exceptional tapestry was reset and remounted in 1969, technical study revealed the proper placement for what is now the uppermost central medallion. As presently restored, the hanging consists of a field of three tiers of fifteen human heads in medallions formed and connected by an interlace of vine and leaf garlands. The panel of medallions is framed by a stylized leaf patterned border, still extant to the left and upper right of the central field. The greater portion of the left head in the uppermost tier is missing as are the two lower central medallions. These two missing medallions may have been deliberately cut from the tapestry in antiquity, or later.

Depicted are personages associated with the Dionysiac festivals: maenads, nymphs, a satyr, Silenus, and Pan are identifiable. This iconographical interpretation is further strengthened by the alternate placement of grape bunches and vine leaves between the portrait medallions. Notably absent from this grouping of the Dionysiac retinue is Dionysos himself. It is possible that his depiction may have been part of the central area now missing; if so, he would have been prominently placed surrounded by his followers.

A Late Antique work, this tapestry exhibits stylistic qualities associated with late Hellenistic art, particularly the attempt at achieving a plastic delineation of the facial planes by subtle shading, combined with a stylized decorative treatment in the handling of the border design. The carefully planned, well-balanced color scheme of blues, roses, tans, greens, and yellows further enhances the overall decorative quality of the work. This combination of naturalism and the decorative aspects of color and design is appropriate for this ornamental tapestry.

Said to have come from Akhmîm or Antinoë.

C. L.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Winlock, 1932, pp. 157–159, fig. 1; Brooklyn, 1941, no. 238; Ostia, 1969, no. 14.

130 A Mildenhall plate

Rome (?), 4th century
 Silver
 60.5 cm. (23 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
 London, The Trustees of The British Museum, 1946,
 10–7.1

While the exact technique of manufacture is debated, the plate is made of solid silver with the exception of the outer, hollow bead border. The piece is perfectly preserved. The figural and ornamental decoration is executed in low relief with engraved surface detail. Three circles of figural representation are surrounded by simple borders: the Oceanus head by small beads; the band of sea creatures by shells; and the largest band of the Dionysiac thiasos by stylized leaves and larger beads. The head of Oceanus in the center, with its wild hair and seaweed beard, is the personified image of the world ocean in which the Nereids, tritons, and hybrid sea monsters of the middle band make their home.

The outer band is peopled by participants in a Dionysiac revel. Maenads in flowing draperies and nude satyrs with animal-skin cloaks play the cymbals, tambourine, and double flute and dance with abandon, some carrying pederasts and others thyrsi. In the spaces between the figures are vases, cymbals, pederast, a basin, a syrinx, a mask on a pedestal, and a leaping panther. Four figures can be identified by type and attribute. The god Pan, half human, half goat, holds his syrinx and leaps over a skin filled with fruits. Dionysos, nude except for laced sandals and a cloak wound around his left arm, rests his left leg on the back of a recumbent panther, while holding a thyrsus and an object that is possibly a grape cluster. Silenus, holding a flail, offers Dionysos a bowl of wine. This subject relates to a fourth figure, Heracles, who, in drunken stupor, is supported by two satyrs, the lion skin and club represented at his side.

The combination of Dionysiac iconography with marine imagery has been interpreted as a reference to the afterlife, a premise based on the separate use of the motifs on Roman sarcophagi. A parallel for the combination, although differing in specifics, is found on a silver vase from the Cleveland Museum (no. 131), where its function, as in this



plate, can be understood to be primarily decorative. Materials comparable in both style and iconography to the Mildenhall plate exist in other finds of fourth-century silver.

One small detail provides a clear indication of its date: next to the leaping Pan, a maenad dances with a tambourine held over her head; unlike her classically coiffed companions, she wears her hair in a fourth-century style.

Part of the Mildenhall treasure of thirty-four pieces of Roman silver found in Suffolk, England, in 1942. Two smaller platters from the treasure are decorated with related Dionysiac imagery.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Toynbee, 1954, pp. 46–50, figs. 1a, 2, 4; Brailsford, 1964, pp. 5–6, 15–23, no. 1, pl. 1; Painter, 1973, pp. 157, 159, 166, no. 1.

131 Ewer with Dionysiac thiasos

Syria, 5th–6th century
 Silver with traces of gilding
 40 cm. (15 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
 Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase
 from the J. H. Wade Fund with the Addition of a
 Gift from Helen Wade Green, 57.497

The tall ovoid vase is stained and pitted over its entire surface. The decoration is divided into horizontal registers. At the neck, below a convex molding detailed as a leaf garland, runs a band of stylized acanthus leaves matched by a second at the foot of the vessel. Between these two border motifs are three registers of relief decoration involving marine, hunt, and Dionysiac imagery. The border motifs and the animal and figural decoration are cast in one piece with the body of the vase, and all detail is chased or engraved.

The hunting register, near the neck of the vessel, shows two hounds pursuing two hares, and a lioness and a bear attacking two stags from opposite directions. The marine register, at the foot of the vessel, features a bird with squid, a ray, and various other fishes. These two bands have limited indications of environments: the emphasis is on the distinct animal or marine shapes, clear in their isolation against a plain background. The Dionysiac revel in the center is treated in a similar manner, although the multiplication of participants and attributes produces a more complex composition. A nude male rests on a spear to the left of a column topped with a disc or sphere; a panther rears beside him. To his right is a basket of grapes. The figure is Dionysos, identified primarily by his postural type rather than by a specific attribute. Dancing around him are satyrs, one with a snake and one with the double flute (partially misunderstood as a pedum). Maenads are also in the dancing company, carrying torches and playing both tambourine and cymbals; one is accompanied by a second rearing panther.

The combination of Dionysiac revelry and marine imagery parallels that on the Mildenhall plate (no. 130), although the two objects differ greatly in style and execution. Objects of the treasure of Traprain Law (no. 389) offer parallels for the form of the vessel. These references



suggest a late fourth-century date for the Cleveland vase. Such a date, however, ignores the persistence of the vessel type over centuries and the different styles of figural decoration witnessed in Traprain and the Cleveland vase. As Wixom (1964) has suggested, the style of the ewer is far more closely related to objects of the late fifth and early sixth centuries. While the find-site of the vessel is said to be Syria and the place of manufacture hypothesized to be Antioch, data is lacking for a secure confirmation.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Milliken, 1958, pp. 35, 39–41; Volbach (2), 1962, pp. 25–26, 28, pl. iv, 7; Downey, 1963, p. 214, fig. 74; Volbach, 1964, p. 414, no. 480; Wixom, 1964, p. 472, fig. 39.

132 Ewer with dancing female figures and Dionysiac thiasos

Iran (Sassanian), 6th–7th century

Silver with mercury gilding

34.2, diam. 13.2 cm. ($13\frac{7}{16}$, $5\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. C. Douglas Dillon and Rogers Fund, 1967, 67.10a, b

The vessel is complete, with the exception of a small area around the feet of the female figure holding a bucket and mirror. Seven separate pieces of silver were used in the construction of the ewer (body and neck, pedestal foot, handle, knob on the top of the handle, lid, wire for suspending the lid from the handle, loop connecting the wire with the lid). The body of the ewer is raised and decorated with repoussé and chased designs. On the foot is a dotted Pahlevi inscription giving a personal name (Brunner, 1974).

Four draped females appear under arches formed by rosettes, which rest on columns decorated with vine scrolls. Each female holds a pair of objects or attributes. Because of their dancing poses and the types of objects they hold in their hands, the females have been compared to Western maenads or Bacchantes. The objects, consistently repeated on all Sassanian vessels with this type of scene, include birds, alone or pecking at a bunch of grapes, a panther and ewer, a dog, a small nude



child, plants, fruit, vessels, and a jeweled necklace. The inclusion of a mirror on this ewer is unique.

Ettinghausen (1972, pp. 3–10) has suggested that this Sassanian motif is derived from Dionysiac imagery and is connected with a fertility cult, and Shepherd (1964) has related the motif to the Iranian goddess of fertility, Anahita.

Although the inclusion of Dionysiac imagery in the scenes on this vessel, notably the pouring of wine from a jug to a panther, is undeniable, the attributes held by the dancing women seem to have been developed from another Late Antique source (Harper, 1971). Hanfmann (1951, I, p. 211) remarked on the similarity between the females on Sassanian vessels and the Horae. Such a relationship explains the presence of Dionysiac references in the Sassanian scenes, as well as the inclusion of other objects unrelated to the cult of Dionysos. Since the same attributes are not always paired on the Sassanian vessels, it is likely, as Carter suggested (1974, p. 200), that the females commemorate seasonal festivals rather than specific seasons or months.

The shape of the ewer is derived from Western types of the late fourth or early fifth century. Distinctive Sassanian features are the upper arm resting on the shoulder of the vessel and the strongly accentuated moldings below the neck and on the foot and the paired-line patterns on the drapery of the female figures. The nonrealistic indentations along the borders of the upper garments, at the edge of the rounded body forms, and the double beading of the necklace and diadem are stylistic features suggesting a date in the sixth or seventh century.

The vessel allegedly comes from Iran.

P.O.H.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Harper, 1971; Brunner, 1974, p. 118; Carter, 1974.

133 Diptych of Asklepios and Hygieia

Italy, early 5th century

Ivory

Each leaf, 31.4 × 13.7 cm. (12 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Liverpool, Merseyside County Museums, M 10044

Large pieces are missing from the left edge of the Hygieia plaque and the upper left corner of the Asklepios plaque. Holes drilled along the inner borders indicate that a tripartite hinge once connected the two plaques. They are slightly curved in cross section. There is no floral border at the top. Instead of being cut, inscriptions were painted in the tabulae and on the roll of the small figure of Telesphoros to the left of Asklepios.

Both Asklepios and Hygieia are depicted as statues standing on bases between pillars on which rest offerings and cult paraphernalia. In from the center of the top of each plaque hangs an oak leaf garland. Asklepios is presented in a form known from three preserved Roman statues (cf. Graeven, 1913, p. 227, fig. 1). Although the type is Hellenistic, the presence of Telesphoros dates the preserved statues to no earlier than the second century. Telesphoros was an ancient god of fertility and healing, and, as the son of Asklepios, became popular only in the second century. Asklepios is depicted loosely girt in a chiton. He holds a scroll in his hand while leaning on a club around which is wound a bearded (male) snake. The club rests on a boucranon, which, in this position, is otherwise found only in representations of Heracles leaning on his club. Yet, as suggested by Graeven (1913), the boucranon was added purposely to refer to offerings of oxen in the cult.

The statuary prototype of Hygieia is not known, but it, too, is of Hellenistic derivation. The tripod on which she leans refers to Apollo, who was often associated with the cult of Asklepios and Hygieia. The Eros of the lower left corner points to the function of Hygieia in aiding childbirth. The serpent, Hygieia's standard attribute, has climbed up the tripod and across her shoulders and is about to eat the egg that the goddess holds out for it with her right hand.

The strongly classical style of the diptych points to an origin in Rome. Delbrueck (1929) has conjectured that the models for these plaques may have been the Asklepios and Hygieia cult statues in the temple in the capital. The occasion for the making of the diptych may have been the celebration of the cult, which in late antiquity had to be paid for by private instead of public funds.

Originally in the Gaddi collection, Florence (eighteenth century); bought in 1806 by Count



No. 133, diptych of Asklepios and Hygieia



No. 134, diptych of Helios and Selene

Michael Wiczay of Hédervár, Hungary; passed to the Fájerváry collection in Eperies, Hungary, which was inherited by K. Pulszky, who sold the collection in 1856 in Liverpool; the diptych passed to Joseph Mayer who left it to the Liverpool Museum in 1867.

W. A. P. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graeven, 1913, no. 1, pp. 220–243, pls. III–IV; Delbrueck, 1929, no. 55, pp. 215–218, pl. 55; Bovini and Ottolenghi, 1956, no. 19 (1st ed.), no. 15 (2nd ed.); Volbach, 1976, no. 57.

134 Diptych of Helios and Selene

Egypt (?), early 5th century

Ivory

Each leaf, 31.5 × 12.5 cm. (12 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Sens, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 46

Both panels are well preserved, if slightly worn, and must have been made together. In size, shape, elements of design, and the echoes of classical themes, the panels relate very closely to each other.

Helios dominates the left panel as he rises in his chariot, drawn by centaurs over the sea in which three tritons are sporting. Yet his imagery reveals many Dionysiac infusions: Helios holds a thyrsus in his left hand, a kantharos in the right, while a satyr accompanies and supports him. Even the centaurs carry a brimming kantharos, full of wine. In the upper middle, the small equestrian, preceded by a whelk-blowing satyr, probably represents Dionysos triumphant, and the top of the panel is filled by the classic Dionysiac theme of winemaking. This association of Helios-Apollo and Dionysiac rites formed the basis of Orphic poetry, especially in its later emphasis on sin, suffering, death, and the final escape from evil through divine intervention.

The same cosmic frame of reference (land, sea, air) sets the stage for the other panel, dominated by the rising moon goddess Selene. Drawn upward in her chariot by two great bulls and accompanied by sea creatures, she soars over the sea deity Thetis. The bulls are led by a naked daimon with staff and whelk; beside him a nude female stands, holding a tray of offerings (?),

while above her appear two beings at ease, possibly Horae, flanked by olive trees. The figures of a winged Eros weaving a garland at the upper right and of Aphrodite in the shell at the upper left signal the epiphany of these gods. It seems, then, that the two panels represent the cosmos, sweetened by Dionysos' presence; two divine beings ascend from the universal sea to what appears to be land but is probably meant to imply paradise.

Although the purpose of this diptych is unknown, it follows the devotional patterns of Late Antique syncretistic religion. Volbach (1976) and others have related the iconography, the rounded, schematic forms, and the emphasis on textures to bone carvings and textiles from late Roman Egypt. It should be noted, however, that these panels have used the same zigzag composition evident in the lion hunt diptych no. 85, but in a cruder, more linear style.

R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, 1976, no. 61, pl. 33; Weitzmann (1), 1972, III, p. 21.

135 Medallion of Maximianus Herculeus

Rome, 306–307

Gold

3.3 cm. (1 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.); 20.76 gm.

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Theodora

Wilbour Fund in memory of Zoë Wilbour, 59.495

OBV: IMP(erator) C M(arcus) AVR(elius) MAXIMIANVS P(ius) F(elix) AVG(ustus). Bust of Maximianus in lion-skin headdress.

REV: HERCVLI COMITI AVGG(ustorum) ET CAES(aris) N(ostri) $\overline{\text{PR}}$. Heracles, nude, head turned left and filleted; holds club in right, bow in left hand, quiver on back; lion skin over left shoulder

Maximianus Herculeus served as Augustus with Diocletian and with him abdicated in 305 but returned to power as senior Augustus in 306. At the same time his son Maxentius also sought power, striking similar medallions in his own behalf. The reverse legend refers to two Augusti, Maximianus and Maxentius, and to one Caesar, Constantine (Carson, 1965, pp. 347–352); it thus



marks the fragile moment when the old guard was hanging on while the young antagonists were girding for control of the empire (see no. 4). The redundant references to Heracles by image, attribute, and legend invoke Maximianus' epithet, "Herculeus," signifying that Heracles was not only his model but also his companion-protector ("comes").

Roman gold medallions are rare, medallions of the Tetrarchy are very rare, and this medallion is unique, although it formed part of a famous hoard of early fourth-century medallions that recently came to light. The obverse is a superb example of Tetrarchic portraiture, depicting the fierce countenance of the aging Maximianus in a harsh treatment that emphasizes contour, texture, and density. The nude image of Heracles on the reverse draws heavily on the classical repertory

both in the easy, youthful stance and in the rich modeling which brings out the muscular strength of the body. This classical manner contrasts strongly with the obverse portrait and indicates the simultaneous existence of two divergent styles—one the hard style of contemporary Tetrarchic portraiture, the other the continued vitality of the classical tradition.

Believed to have been found in the Mediterranean Sea between Africa and Europe.

R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vermeule, 1974, no. 84.

136 Textile panel with labors of Heracles, and Dionysos

Egypt, 6th century

Wool and linen

22.5 × 22.5 cm. (8 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Subscription Fund, 1889, 89.18.244

The panel is missing the left side and top right corner. An almost identical panel in the Hermitage, Leningrad (no. O 11337 [Guerrini, 1959, p. 811]), has only slight damage at the top left, center left, and bottom.

Within the panel is a frieze of figures surrounding a small rectangle, which in turn contains



a medallion depicting Dionysos (right) in a chariot drawn by two panthers. He is accompanied by Ariadne (?) in the center, Heracles holding a club at the left, and a small figure, possibly a putto, over the panthers. Of principal interest is the outer frieze, which depicted twelve labors of Heracles, though not the canonical cycle. Those missing in our panel can be reconstructed from the panel in Leningrad. Clockwise from the top left are the Nemean lion, golden apples of the Hesperides, Erymanthian boar, Stympthalian birds, Cretan bull, Kyknos (?), Cerberus, mares of Diomedes, the stable of Augeas, Lernaean hydra, Cerynean hind, and Amazon. The labor tentatively identified as Heracles fighting Kyknos (cf. Brommer, 1971, I) replaces the battle with Geryon in the standard group of labors of this period, and the sequence of the labors is arbitrary. The presentation of the scenes is highly abstracted and, like many Coptic textiles of the Late Antique period, is more decorative than realistic.

The use of classical mythology in the Christian, Coptic community was common (nos. 112, 116, 121, 123). The labors of Heracles and the adventures of Dionysos, frequent themes of Roman sarcophagi, may have been chosen for their funerary significance, since the panel is from a funeral tunic or shroud.

W. A. P. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Friedländer, 1945, p. 41, pl. XIV; Ostioia, 1969, no. 10.

IDENTICAL PIECE IN LENINGRAD: Dimand, 1924, pp. 30–31, pl. 7, fig. 18; Matie and Liapunova, 1951, pp. 98–99, no. 35, pl. 18.3; Guerrini, 1959, p. 811; Brommer, 1971, I, p. 12, c, no. 2; Romanelli, 1971, p. 214, fig. 5 p. 213; Weitzmann, 1973, pp. 6–7, fig. 9.

137 Plaque with Heracles and the hydra

Color plate III

Rome (?), 4th century

Bronze with copper and silver inlay

18.8 × (top) 9.2, (bottom) 8.8 cm. ($7\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{5}{8}, 3\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

Princeton, The Art Museum, Princeton University,

The C.O. von Kienbusch, Jr., Memorial Collection,
71–35

Fragments are missing from the sides and top of the rectangular plaque, but the representation is

well preserved. It depicts the second labor of Heracles, in which the hero battles the hydra of Lerna. The hydra, the figure of Heracles, and his club are inlaid in various metals. The club and the five heads of the hydra are silver, the scales of her body are inlaid in copper and two shades of silver. (The bronze ground now shows through where some of the original inlay has been lost.) The figure of Heracles is inlaid in copper, with contours and internal modeling indicated by incised lines, some of which are filled with silver; his lion skin is modeled in the same manner.

Heracles kneels with his right leg on the body of the hydra; he grasps one of its heads with his



left hand, while brandishing his club with his right. The kneeling posture, adapted from the classical representation of Heracles' struggle with the Cerynean hind, is made visually plausible by the muscular coils of the hydra beneath the hero's right knee. The hydra encircles Heracles' left ankle and actively attacks him with two of its five heads. Two others writhe to the left while Heracles battles with the fifth. Far from victorious over the monster, Heracles is depicted as beginning his struggle, presumably by subduing one head at a time. The size and muscularity of the hydra combined with its bright coloration make it visually equal to the figure of Heracles.

As in pieces from Kaiseraugst (nos. 126, 251), the plaque is an example of the Late Antique taste for coloristic effects in metalwork. Gilding and niello inlay are the most common techniques used to achieve the effect. The metal inlay technique of the Heracles plaque results in a four-color design similar to that seen in the Heracles plate (Matthies, 1914, pp. 104–129, pls. VII–IX). Pieces of similar technique are known from North Africa. Numerous stylistic parallels exist for the bronze plaque. The standing figure that decorates the bowl of a large spoon (no. 316) closely resembles the Heracles figure. Details of physiognomy and a convention of internal modeling through engraved circular and oval forms, common to both, can be matched to a group of fourth-century pieces in various metals (see Wixom, 1970).

The Heracles plaque may be assumed to have been one of twelve depicting the canonical series of labors. The object to which the plaques were attached can only be conjectured.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weitzmann, 1973, pp. 6, 12, 24, 31, fig. 48; Kleinbauer (1), 1976, pp. 22–23, 27–29, pl. p. 26.

138 Statuette of Heracles and the Erymanthian boar

Egypt (?), about 300

Rock crystal

7.5 cm. (3 in.)

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 42.208



Relatively few works in precious stones survive from the antique period, although literary evidence indicates that individual works and collections of carved gems were highly valued. The Heracles statuette is carved from a solid piece of rock crystal and modeled by further carving and abrasion. All surface details, such as the boar's pelt and the eyebrows and mouth of Heracles, are created with incised lines. Although the right leg and left foot of Heracles are missing, it is clear from his posture that he is striding forward. The third labor of the hero, the slaying of the Erymanthian boar, is completed, and the victim is carried on Heracles' shoulders as if being displayed, with its hind leg held by Heracles' raised right arm and its head supported by his left. Heracles is beardless and his head is capped with two rows of stylized curls. The figure is nude and the overall proportions are stocky. The linear details, the proportional type, and the square face with its heavy jaws and large eyes have all been seen as parallels to Egyptian works datable to the Tetrarchic period, an era when the association of the imperial office holders with Heracles was stressed.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Segall, 1939, pp. 113–117, figs. 1–3, 5; Baltimore, 1947, no. 534, pl. LXXV.



139 Plate with Heracles and Nemean lion

Constantinople, 6th century

Silver

Diam. 60 cm. (23 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles,
2879

The circular silver plate is spotted with signs of chemical and physical damage; the rim is broken

at a point on its perimeter and small cracks and dents occur near the damaged area. On the interior surface of the plate, Heracles is represented performing his first labor, the killing of the Nemean lion. The depiction conforms to the classical representation of the one-to-one struggle between hero and beast, with Heracles triumphing by choking the lion. The scene takes place within a landscape setting. Heracles and the lion stand on a groundline punctuated with small details of vegetation. On the ground before them lie a club, bow, and quiver.

Behind and to the left, an altar or pedestal seems to hover in midair, supporting a vase. To the right, rising from the groundline, is a bent tree—a compositional device common to the silver of the late empire (e.g., nos. 72, 141, 428, 429).

Heracles is represented as a heavily muscled nude with a cap of hair in close curls. A thick neck, large eye, and heavy jaw distinguish the face, but even the face, marked by an exaggeration of detail, is dwarfed by the overall proportions of the massive body. The physique and posture of the hero conform to a postclassical concept. The head and upper torso appear to be rendered in profile to the right, the lower torso is frontal and the legs stride, again in profile, to the right. The right arm of Heracles disappears into the luxurious mane of the lion, whose face is almost comically distorted. The muscular stance of the beast's hindquarters is belied by the limp foreleg which rests on the thigh of Heracles, and by the crossed eyes, grimacing mouth, and protruding tongue of the victim.

The volumetric rendering of figures in low relief with linear definition and embellishment associates the plate with objects in silver from the reigns of Justinian (no. 232) and Heraclius (nos. 425–433). The style of these plates does not conform to an observed continuum of Hellenistic style, which in the later centuries is characterized by a "sketchy and cursive manner" (Kitzinger, 1958, pp. 4–7). The elements of distortion to dramatic effect seen in the Heracles plate are not shared by the others, but sufficient similarities exist to include the Heracles plate within this select group.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Matzulevich, 1929, pp. 52–53; Volbach (2), 1962, p. 32.

140 Bowl with Heracles and the Nemean lion

North Africa (?), 4th century

Red earthenware

Diam. 17 cm. ($6\frac{11}{16}$ in.)

Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum,
0.39676

For the pottery type, technique, and workshop, see no. 98.



The shallow bowl represents the contest between Heracles and the Nemean lion in a composition ultimately derived from Lysippus in the fourth century B.C. (cf. von Salis, 1956). The potter has emphasized the helplessness of the lion, caught in the grasp of the powerful nude Heracles, who has left his club and quiver on the ground below, his cape on the tree beside. The scene itself has a very long history in Greco-Roman art (Brommer, 1971, I, pp. 112–119) and forms an essential part of the labors of Heracles individually represented on a number of other similar redware bowls of the period (La Baume and Salomonson, 1976, no. 19), and on silver plates as well (cf. no. 139).

R. B.

Unpublished.

**141 Plate with Meleager and Atalanta

Constantinople, 613–629/630

Silver

Diam. 27.8 cm. ($10\frac{13}{16}$ in.)

Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum, (O) 1

The shallow plate features a prominent rolled rim and a foot ring attached to its exterior surface. The decoration of the interior of the plate is

executed primarily in repoussé, although certain passages, such as the spear held by the figure to the right, the hindquarters of the horses, and the groundline of the scene, are indicated by engraved line. Details of hair and costume are stippled on the surface, as is often the case with repoussé work, but the extensive use of outline gives the execution a linear, almost cursive, quality.

Beneath the arching branches of a tree to the left, four figures stand on an even groundline. A turreted structure is indicated in the far distance, and two hounds sniff and bark in the foreground near a hunting net. The two central figures are identified as Atalanta and Meleager at rest after a chase; they are flanked by attendants, one of whom approaches with a dead hare or other small wild animal. The most famous association of this hero and heroine occurs in the hunt for the Calydonian boar, but here they are shown in a different, far less specific context, although their identities as hunters are preserved.

The representation is one of many late depictions of classical motifs and figural types: stamps within the foot ring definitely indicate a date within the first quarter of the seventh century, early in the reign of the emperor Heraclius. The stamps would associate the plate with other works in silver from the same period, such as the situla from Vienna (no. 118), where a certain similarity of style and classical vocabulary can be observed. It should be noted, however, that the Meleager plate was

apparently made at the same time and in the same imperial workshop as pieces of markedly different styles, such as the David plates (nos. 425–433; see also Dodd, 1961, nos. 54B–56, 58–70).

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Matzulevich, 1929, pp. 2, 7–19, 44–50, no. 1, figs. 1, 2, pl. 1; Dodd, 1961, no. 57; Bank, 1966, no. 94; E. Simon, 1970, pp. 19–22, 47, fig. 21.

142 Tapestry with Meleager and Atalanta (?)

Egypt, 4th–5th century

Wool

84.5 × 110 cm. (33¼ × 43⅝ in.)

Washington, D.C., The Textile Museum, 71.90

This large fragmentary tapestry probably depicts an incident in the story of Meleager, the killing of the Calydonian boar. The hero stands to the right with part of the monstrous boar between his legs. To the left, Meleager's beloved, the heroine Atalanta, sits astride a charging horse and brandishes a sword at the animal above her. The deterioration makes stylistic discussion problematical. However, the existing fragments indicate that decorative, almost cubistic patterning was



preferred to naturalism or idealism. Dating rests upon this quality of abstraction and the similarity of the facial characteristics to Egyptian fourth-century works. The monumental size and pattern density of the piece indicate that it was used as a wall hanging. The Meleager and Atalanta theme was a recurrent motif in monumental tapestries.

C. L.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Varela, 1962, p. 27, figs. 7, 8; Thompson, 1975, pp. 210–211, fig. 1.

143 Plaque with Bellerophon and the Chimera

Constantinople (?), 5th century

Ivory

21.2 × 8.8 cm. (8 $\frac{5}{16}$ × 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

London, The Trustees of the British Museum,
56, 6–23, 2

The surface details of this openwork plaque, now much abraded, were carved in high, rounded relief; part of the frame at the lower right is restored and some interior pieces are broken away. Intended to decorate another object, it may have been set into a diptych or a piece of furniture.

Bellerophon, mounted on Pegasus, slays the Chimera, a ferocious monster with the head and body of a lion, a fire-spewing goat head on its back, and a serpent's tail. Bellerophon thrusts his lance into the lion's mouth, and the Chimera succumbs, falling onto its forelegs. Three trees indicate a landscape setting and fill out the network of supports reaching the frame.

The scene is bordered by a bead and reel on three sides, acanthus leaves at the bottom and top, and a diminutive horseshoe arcade across the top.

The iconography of the scene is atypical: not only is an indication of landscape unusual, but here Bellerophon rides towards the right and the Chimera faces left, whereas the standard late Roman formula shows both moving in the same direction. Significantly, these two aspects appear on the fragmentary peristyle mosaic in the Great Palace in Constantinople (Hiller, 1970, fig. 34). A picture in a middle Byzantine manuscript of Pseudo-Oppian's treatise on the hunt, *Cynegetica*



(Bibl. Marc. cod. gr. 479; Weitzmann, 1951, fig. 112), also shows the attack in a rocky setting with trees and the Chimera collapsed on its forelegs, but the figures move in the same direction. The similarities in these three images perhaps reflect a local variation of this scene, since all are seem-

ingly Constantinopolitan. There are enough differences, however, to obviate a single model.

The symbolic significance of Bellerophon killing the Chimera has been a subject of recent debate. As interpreted by Hiller (1969, pp. 278–280; Hiller, 1970, pp. 66–99), images from the fourth century and later ultimately allude to the emperor triumphing over his enemies. Brandenburg (1971, pp. 167–168), however, explains it in this context more convincingly as a symbol of virtue defeating evil, and, in general (Brandenburg, 1968, pp. 49–86), as a prophylactic symbol with allusions to a larger repertory of nature imagery. Huskinson (1974, pp. 73–78), in a review of the problem, concludes that the monuments must be treated individually to determine their contextual significance. Found on bronze casings for caskets (Buschhausen, 1971, cf. Index and A9), on con-torniates (A. Alföldi, 1943, pl. XLII, 1–4), and mosaics (Brandenburg, 1968, no. 14), the scene cannot be interpreted in the same way in every case.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hiller, 1970, p. 89, Catalogue D, VIII, 1, fig. 33; Volbach, 1976, no. 67.

**144 Lanx with Pegasus

North Africa; late 4th century
Red earthenware
30.5 × 34 cm. (12 × 13½ in.)
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, 46742

The fragmentary rectangular platter is recomposed from numerous pieces. The main scene, molded on the bottom of a beveled depression, is surrounded by a narrow rim with applied figures. A major segment from the upper right is missing, and a smaller one from the lower right. The drill hole on the lower rim held a lead rivet, indicating an ancient repair.

The main scene shows three females ministering to Pegasus, Bellerophon's steed, shown as a short and stoutly built horse with wings indicated by a finely incised fishbone pattern. One woman feeds him from a basket, or holds a bowl of water to serve as a mirror, one kneels beside a foreleg to secure a bandage, the third pours water from



a small neck-amphora to wash his tail. This group is accompanied by a small genius or Eros, carrying a palm leaf and holding Pegasus by the chain around his neck.

The border is decorated with arena scenes: venatores spearing panthers and a lion, and jumping animals.

The central scene probably alludes to the connection between Pegasus and the muses. Hippocrene, a spring struck from the earth by Pegasus on Mt. Helikon, was sacred to the muses and reputedly the source of poetic inspiration.

This type of heavy terracotta platter (cf. no. 209) imitates silver plates in shape and mythological subject (cf. nos. 110, 126), but unlike the silver prototypes, these were mass-produced for wide commercial distribution (Salomonson, 1962, pp. 72–73). Production of the ware ("sigillata chiara D") has been localized in North Africa during the last quarter of the fourth and first quarter of the fifth centuries (cf. no. 83). The discovery of a terracotta fragment with the Pegasus scene in Carnuntum, a town in Pannonia abandoned by 405, gives a terminus ante quem for this group.

Found in Edfu, Egypt.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Allais, 1959, fig. 4; Salomonson, 1962, pp. 72–73, pl. XXIII, fig. 1; Yalouris, 1975, fig. 78.

145 Plate with twin figures and winged horses

Iran (Sassanian), 5th–6th century
 Silver with mercury gilding
 4.9, diam. 21.4 cm. ($1\frac{7}{8}$, $8\frac{7}{16}$ in.)
 New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
 Fletcher Fund, 1963, 63.152

The plate is repaired and a small area of the background, above and behind the winged horse on the viewer's right, is restored in modern silver. As is characteristic of Sassanian silver plate, all parts of the design in high relief are composed of separate pieces of silver. These were inserted into slots cut up from the background shell. The edges of the slots were then crimped over the inlaid parts.

Two male figures, each nude except for a cloak drawn across the shoulder, stand on plinths and hold spears in one hand while in the other hand they grasp the jeweled reins of their winged mounts. The confronted horses bend their necks downward to drink from a jar supported by the half figure of a female. A row of leaves spreads outward from her waist, giving the impression that she is rising from the earth. Between the

wings of the horses, a small musician playing a stringed instrument sits cross-legged with his head turned in profile to the right.

Nudity occurs in Sassanian art only where the figures are derived from Western prototypes. The form of the horses' wings, the appearance of the youths' heads, the floral decoration of the plinths, and the drapery of the female accord well with images on Sassanian seal stones, stucco plaques, and silver vessels ranging in date from the fifth to the seventh century. These details do not support the date in the late Parthian period proposed by Koshelenko (1968, p. 269) and Ghirshman (1974, p. 166).

A possible interpretation is that the youths and their winged horses are an illustration of one of the twelve constellations created by the chief Zoroastrian divinity, Ahura Mazda—the Two Figures (Harper, 1965, p. 195). The scene, unique in Sassanian art, may be modeled on Late Antique illustrations of the Dioscuri. In the Iranian representation, however, the horses are winged, a variation of the Western prototype. The twins themselves, nude and with dots in the centers of their foreheads, are surely intended to be superhuman figures. In Zoroastrian texts the stars are associated with rain, water, and plants, and this may explain the personified figure of a spring from which the horses drink.

The depiction of these horses as winged has led Ettinghausen (1972) and Ghirshman (1974) to conclude that this scene is derived from representations of Pegasus and Bellerophon. The duplication of the subject on the Sassanian plate, however, requires some explanation. Mirror images were not commonly used in Sassanian art simply for reasons of design. It is probable that the artist intended to represent a pair of figures. Any interpretation of the scene should therefore explain the presence of twins. The controversy surrounding the meaning of this scene often occurs with Sassanian subjects adapted from Western motifs, and it is possible that in this instance, as in others, the iconography developed from more than one Western source.

Allegedly found in Iran.

P. O. H.



BIBLIOGRAPHY: Harper, 1965, pp. 186–195; Koshelenko, 1968, pp. 266–269; Ettinghausen, 1972, pp. 11–16; Ghirshman, 1974, pp. 163–167.

**146 Plaque with Dioscuri and Europa with Zeus as bull

Egypt (?), 1st half 6th century

Ivory

20.2 × 13.4 cm. ($7\frac{15}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Trieste, Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte

Parts are broken away at three corners and along the edges; the plaque was cut at the top, possibly for a later fitting. There are traces of gold, red, and green.

Within the wide frame climbing putti carry grapes and birds, bending to fit the undulating vines that run the length of each side. The corners are accented by large grape leaves.

The main field is divided horizontally into two zones of equal size. The upper scene represents

the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, wearing short tunics and Phrygian caps, and embracing; beside them disport winged putti, holding upright the spears of the heavenly twins. Below, dressed in a peplos, Europa embraces Zeus in the shape of a bull, echoing the motif of affection. Three winged putti play around the bull while a bearded man in a medallion (*imago clipeata*), quite likely meant to signify Zeus, looks on. Each scene is set before two scalloped shells, radiating upward.

The motif of vintaging putti, extremely popular throughout Roman times in symbolic and decorative functions, seems here to allude to the Dionysiac realm. Serving as a frame for two sets of embracing figures—one expressing *concordia amorum* (fraternal allegiance), the other an amorous encounter—the putti may serve to underscore the bond between the human and the divine shared by each of the pairs of figures. There may be, as well, an allusion to the astrological symbolism of the successive signs of Taurus and Gemini (E. Simon, 1964, pp. 289–291). The allusive intrusion of playful putti into the scenes is of Hellenistic origin.

The very deep cutting around the figures coupled with the shallow incision of details such as grapes, hair, and weakly articulated drapery seems to be a peculiarity of much sculpture from Egypt (no. 157). The quasierotic themes are known to have been especially favored there on reliefs and architectural sculpture.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, 1976, no. 82.

147 Plaque with Europa on the bull

Egypt (?), 4th–5th century

Ivory

5.9 × 5 cm. ($2\frac{1}{4} \times 2$ in.)

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 71.593

Both upper corners are irregularly broken from this slightly convex plaque; a strip along the bottom projecting ledge, Europa's left foot, and the bull's right horn are missing. Two holes near Europa's elbows once served for attachment to another object. The piece is carved in high relief, and the farthest projecting parts are considerably worn.



Europa sits jauntily on Zeus, who has transformed himself into a handsome white bull. She once held his broken right horn, and, with her other hand, holds the mantle which billows out behind her head. Her insouciant attitude, based on the poses of Nereids riding sea creatures (see no. 150), combined here with the deep drapery folds and fluttering hem around her legs, reduces the image to a compact decorative unit. This intention is conveyed as well by her soft, seemingly boneless body arranged within the design of responding curves and arabesque contours.

The story of Europa, cited in Hesiod by a scholiast, in Homer (*Il.* 12.24), and in Ovid (*Met.* 2.836–875) and other Roman fabulists, maintained a long, but seldom varied pictorial history. By far the most frequently represented scene is this one, the abduction of Europa from her native Phoenicia to Crete on the back of Zeus.

A projecting lip provides for the insertion of the plaque into a grooved frame; like the Ganymede plaque (no. 148), the plaque was probably part of a box.

The exaggerated relief, deeply cut folds, and amorphous anatomy suggest a date in the fourth or fifth century.

Formerly in the Molinier collection.

S. R. Z.

Unpublished.



148 Plaque with rape of Ganymede

Egypt, 3rd–4th century

Ivory

6.5 × 5.5 cm. (2 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 71.596

From this almost square plaque, the upper left corner and a part of the bottom edge are missing. A diagonal crack runs from mid-left to mid-bottom; but, except for the figure's right forearm, the surface is undamaged.

Ganymede wears his native peaked Phrygian cap, loose pants, and a mantle around his neck, and carries a pedum; behind him, a shield lies on the ground. He has just fallen to his knees and raises an arm in a gesture of defense and awe as Zeus, in the guise of an eagle, seizes him. He will be carried off to Mt. Olympus to become cup-bearer to the gods.

The rape of Ganymede, mentioned in Homer (*Il.* 20. 232–235) and Ovid (*Met.* 10. 155–161), was a popular motif throughout Greek and Roman art; this episode first appeared in the art of the fourth century B.C. (Sichtermann, n.d., p. 32), when its canonical form was also established (cf. Ganymede earrings, Richter, 1937, p. 293, fig. 4).

The eagle's outspread wings, usually exploited for their decorative potential, and the eagle's neck, curved in an elegant arc, were adapted to artistic and narrative purposes. The eagle visually domi-

nates Ganymede as he tenderly kisses the youth.

An incised outline defines the figures, which, although cut in rather high relief, are not smoothly modeled but sharply gouged. This plaque, with framing ledge, was set into a grooved mount, probably a box for toiletries or jewelry (cf. Weitzmann (1), 1972, III, no. 2).

The soft forms, the somewhat vapid expression, and awkward disjointed anatomy point to a date in the third or fourth century.

Reported to have been found near Alexandria.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dayton, 1953, no. 39.

**149 The Conçesti amphora

Black Sea region, about 400

Silver with gilding

42.5 cm. (16 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum, 2160/1

Three registers of figural ornament decorate the body of the large vessel, which is further elaborated with a beaded foot and three zones of floral molding at the neck. The figural registers are divided from one another by torque and wreath borders. Two handles in the form of centaurs formerly arched from the shoulder of the amphora to the convex molding on the neck. The handles were thought to be later additions and were subsequently removed, although they can be seen in this photograph. All decoration is worked in repoussé with details of the figures accented with gilding. Engraved line, stippling, and punchwork indicate fine details and surface textures on the reliefs; incised line is occasionally used to indicate limbs of figures. The three zones of figural decoration refer to the hunt, to the battle between the Greeks and the Amazons, and to the sea. The hunt scene on the shoulder shows the capture of a doe and a stag in a net enclosure and the taking of a wild boar with a pack of dogs. Each hunt is attended and framed by the figures of two hunters on foot, who wear short tunics and carry staffs; one attendant in the stag hunt wears a hooded cloak. The sea creatures of the bottom band are three Nereids mounted on sea monsters, an abbre-



viated sea thiasos commonly peopled by Tritons and various marine deities. The sea monsters are hybrids: a hippocamp, a sea lion, and one creature that is half fish and half long-horned goat.

The battle of the Greeks and the Amazons in the central register consists of eight figures grouped in three battle scenes. The Amazons wear caps, boots, and short tunics girdled below the breasts. Three charge to the right on horseback wielding double-headed axes and the distinctly shaped peltae. The fourth Amazon kneels in defeat at the hands of a Greek warrior, who, like one other, is in full military dress, carrying a spear. Another Greek, armed with a sword, goes into battle nude except for boots and a mantle; and the fourth Greek, clad in helmet and boots, brandishes a sword and shield.

As a group, the Greek warriors are larger than the Amazons, who, although mounted on charging horses, rise only to the height of their adversaries. The disproportionately large left arm of the

kneeling Amazon is paralleled in the varying proportional types of the male fighters. The short, stocky figural types of the hunters in the band above and the relatively classical figures of the Nereids in the band below find little reflection in the main battle register. Such disparities may reflect the relatively faithful copying of three different sources.

An attempt is made to establish an axial alignment of the three zones. The pair of the fallen Amazon and conquering Greek accords with the center of the stag hunt above and conforms to the break between two confronted Nereids below. The battle scene so emphasized may be that in which Penthesilea, queen of the Amazon tribe, meets her death at the hands of Achilles.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Matzulevich, 1929, pp. 132, 134, pls. 36–43; Buschor, 1943, pp. 7, 9, 13, 24, 26; Edinburgh, 1958, nos. 40a, b; Rice, 1959, pp. 287–288, pls. 6–7.

150 Tapestry with Nereids in Nilotic setting

Color plate IV

Egypt (?), 5th–6th century

Wool and linen weft on linen warp

212 × 162 cm. (83½ × 63⅓ in.)

Washington, D.C., The Textile Museum, 1.48

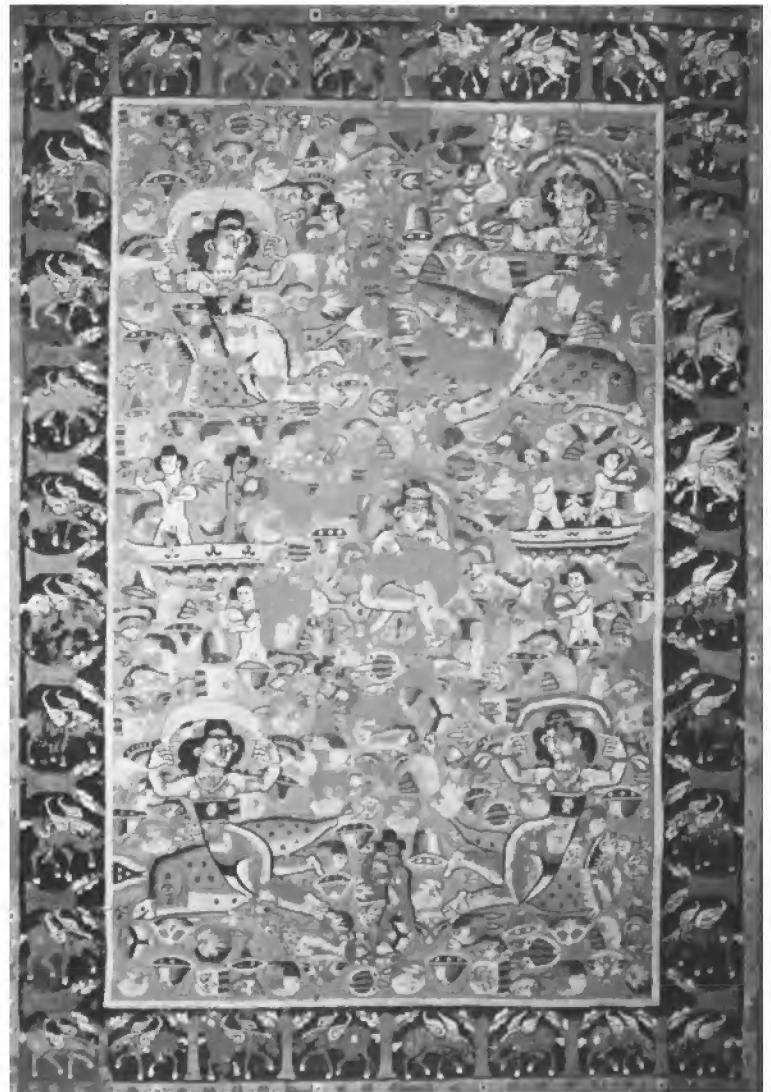
This tapestry hanging has suffered much from the deterioration of fibers caused by certain dyes. The winged horses in the border and areas of flesh, both made up of light colors, have been affected most seriously.

The stock of imagery comes from the vast repertory of river and sea life scenes of Hellenistic origin. The main field is a dense conglomeration of fish, lotus plants, and aquatic birds composed on a uniform deep red, meant to be water. Arranged in a quincunx are five Nereids, each supposedly riding on, but actually shown floating in front of, a sea creature; two are dolphins, two are sea horses, and the central one, severely damaged, may be another kind of hybrid. The Nereid in the center seems to have had her arms wrapped around the creature's neck; since they are no longer preserved,

it is unclear how she held the veil that billows above.

The four other Nereids, rendered on a larger scale, hold up their veils in very large hands and wear diadems, gold necklaces, and rosette-decorated dark blue chest bands, leaving the breasts bare. They look intently across at each other while moving in opposite directions. They have a distinct, tripartite hairdo, also seen on the eleven diminutive boys asymmetrically distributed throughout the swamp scene. The boys either stand in boats or rise from (behind ?) large flowers and hold up ducks, except one in the left boat, who holds a twisted bunch of reeds (?) and a circular floral diadem (?).

The inner field is framed by a broad border with schematically rendered trees forming a row of arches. In these arches stand winged horses with lowered heads, probably based on Pegasus drinking at the Pirene Spring, at Corinth, just before his capture by Bellerophon. The horses face each



other in pairs along the top and bottom and inward along the sides.

The rich and varied colors—including white, yellow, pink, and various shades of green and blue—against the deep red field produce a vibrating surface. The figures are both ponderous and awkwardly drawn, but the decorative scheme produces a lively and entirely captivating effect.

The overall distribution of elements recalls floor mosaics (e.g., Lavin, 1963, fig. 71). However, the specific motifs used here are common in other textiles (cf. no. 112; du Bourguet, 1964, nos. C76, C77), which, however, are much smaller and do not convey the same impression of rich abundance and exuberant life.

S. R. Z.

Unpublished.

151 Dancing Nereids and Eros on dolphin

Herakleopolis Magna (Ahnas), Egypt, early 5th century
Limestone
60 × 52 cm. (23 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
Trieste, Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte, 5260



Two less-than-seductive Nereids are shown dancing in the nude, adorned with large earrings and heavy necklaces with hair done up in tight curls. They wave scarves above their heads. Beneath them, a happy Eros sits astride a pleasant dolphin and brandishes a wand or torch, while above appears the apotropaic mask of a gorgoneion. This thoroughly pagan motif, drawn from the familiar classical repertory that symbolizes the fertile congruency of sea, wind, and sun, probably adorned a Christian building at Ahnas, where many similar Nereids have been found.

Symmetrically arranged, like the Nereid textile in Washington (no. 150), but without its subtlety, this naive, frontal sculpture in high relief is a fine example of "the soft style," centered at Ahnas in the early fifth century (cf. Monneret de Villard, 1923, figs. 18, 19, 22, 23); it is characterized by "soft, rubbery forms, schematized facial features, stylized hair, and considerable vivacity of movement" (Beckwith, 1963). Here, the vestiges of classical imagery have been absorbed by the local stonecutter, but not without a still lingering impact on his simple style.

R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Monneret de Villard, 1923, p. 42, fig. 21; Beckwith, 1963, pp. 19, 20; Essen, 1963, no. 80; Vienna, 1964, no. 49, fig. 23.

152 Cup with Nereids

Egypt or Syria (?), 4th–5th century
Glass
8.3 × 11 cm. (3 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Anonymous Gift, 1961, 61.208.1

This unusual stemmed goblet of clear glass is painted on the exterior; the picture is meant to be seen from the interior. Much of the applied paint has flaked off; the foot of the cup is a modern restoration.

The scenes and decorative motifs on this lotus-shaped goblet are outlined in a heavy but carefully controlled black contour, which was filled in with pink or white opaque paint. Four sepals and four heart-shaped leaves form a rosette at the bottom; the lip of the vessel is accented by a continuous



series of short wavy lines in the three colors of the cup.

There are three scenes: the best preserved is a Nereid with a bowl in her left hand, floating in front of a dolphin. Nude but for armbands, wrist and ankle bracelets, and a necklace, she is stiffly and disproportionately rendered (cf. no. 150). Clockwise, the other scenes are a Nereid shown from the back embracing a sea monster, half fish and half man; and a putto with a basket on his back, fishing with a pole along a shore indicated by an irregular vertical line. Fish appear on either side of this line facing in all directions, as on many floor mosaics. These scenes are related thematically by the common element of water, and compositionally by the overlapping of figures.

Glass vessels painted to be viewed through the fabric of the body are very rare. One small group is known to come from Cyprus (Smith, 1957, no. 344; Harden et al., 1968, no. 69); other more elaborate pieces come from Syria (Smith, 1957, no. 341) and Cologne (Fremersdorf, 1967, pp. 195–196, pls. 276–277).

Although no exact parallels can be found for this cup, the general shape seems to be favored in the eastern Mediterranean rather than in the West (Isings, 1957, Form 111, pp. 139–140). The motifs of Nereids, sea monsters, and fish, popular throughout the Late Antique period, are seen on

textiles found in Egypt and on floor mosaics all around the Mediterranean.

S. R. Z.

Unpublished.

153 Diptych with Roma and Constantinopolis

Constantinople (?), late 5th–early 6th century

Ivory

Each leaf, 27.4 × 11.5 cm. (10 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung, X 37, X 38

These diptych leaves were originally attached by metal hinges: rectangular recesses on the back received wax to be written upon with a stylus. The holes along the bottom, sides, and top were drilled at a later date, probably to mount the panels onto another object.

Each leaf is bordered by an egg-and-dart band that encloses an aedicula where stand personifications of the two great capitals, Rome and Constantinople. Roma is identified by the helmet and paludamentum. Her voluminous peplos is tied by a gem-studded belt below her breasts, leaving the right one bare. In her right hand she holds a staff, while her covered left supports an orb with a victoriola, offering Roma a laurel wreath and displaying a ship's prow (?).

Constantinopolis wears a veil, a high, jeweled mural crown, a three-stranded necklace, a long-sleeved tunic tied beneath her breasts by a belt exactly like that worn by Roma, and a palla around her hips. In her left hand she holds a cornucopia with fruit and grain and in her right a large cylindrical torch. A cupid clings to her right shoulder.

The surface is crowded with a variety of dense patterns: curls and waves in the hair, parallel or symmetrical drapery folds, zigzags on feathers and torch, and others. The contrapposto poses of the stocky figures are not confined in the aediculae, but overlap the columns, and appear awkwardly flattened. The artist has given up realistic spatial and corporeal relationships for a decorative and hieratic presentation.



The group of ivory diptychs to which this one belongs, made in the fifth and the sixth centuries, were used as prestigious gifts informing the recipient of some momentous occasion (cf. nos. 60, 165, 166). Delbrueck (1929, pp. 163–165) saw in

the paraphernalia of Constantinople—veil, cupid, and torch—and Roma's staff with pinecone (a thyrsus interpreted as an indirect Dionysiac reference) allusions to marriage. He cited the marriage in 467 of Alypia, daughter of

the emperor Anthemius (467–472) to Ricimer as the most likely event symbolized by these figures. The consulate of Anthemius' son, Flavius Marcianus, in 469, he considered the actual occasion for the diptych.

No one has challenged this interpretation, although Weigand (1930–1931, p. 40) took exception to Delbrueck's (1929, p. 165) attribution of the piece to an Eastern artist working in Rome. Considering it of totally Western workmanship, all later scholars agreed with this revision (Peirce and Tyler, 1932, I, p. 82; Weitzmann [1], 1964, no. 31; Noll [1], 1974, nos. 17, 18; Volbach, 1976, no. 38). However, the pieces closest to these, considering carving technique, style, and spatial relationships, appear to date from the early sixth century, and to originate in the East—the Barberini equestrian (no. 28), the diptych of Magnus (no. 49), and the archangel Michael (no. 481). In view of these comparisons, and the cogent similarities between this diptych and another ivory plaque in Milan (Volbach, 1976, no. 49), a Constantinopolitan origin, around 500, should now be considered more likely.

The painted inscriptions *TEPERANCIA* ("Temperance") and *CASTITAS* ("Chastity") are later additions, perhaps as early as the eighth or ninth century. There are faint illegible traces of writing on the backs of both leaves.

First published in Florence (1753) in the Riccardi collection, it later appeared in an inventory (1821) in Vienna.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, 1976, no. 38.

154 Statuette of the Tyche of Constantinople

Roman Gaul (?), 4th–5th century

Bronze

25.4 cm. (10 in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Fletcher Fund, 1947, 47.100.40

Over a simple undergarment, the hollow-cast Tyche figure wears a peplos girdled below the breasts and fastened on the shoulders by floral fibulae and buttons. A mantle is draped across the lap, and the costume is completed by sandals and

a crown representing a city wall. The left foot is supported by a low pedestal or footstool. The left arm extends forward, holding a cornucopia filled with fruits. The right arm extends forward as if grasping another, now missing, attribute. As recently as 1914, the figure held a spear, which was subsequently removed as an apparent later addition.

The statuette represents an enthroned city personification, whose identity has been the subject of debate. Rome, Ravenna, Constantinople, and Antioch have been mentioned, but a solution is suggested by the object itself. The positioning of the right arm would indicate that a staff or spear is the missing attribute; in addition, a small circular recess or socket in the base directly below the right arm probably secured the end of a



vertical staff. The statuette compares to the staff-bearing Roma of no. 155. A Tyche with both cornucopia and staff, however, is most commonly understood as Constantinople, whose personified image must postdate the founding and dedication of the city in 330. The early images, like this one, appear to combine some of the military attributes of the goddess Roma with general symbols of fertility and prosperity. Parallels to the broad figure and simple drapery style have been noted among bronze statuettes produced in provincial workshops in Gaul. The resemblances are striking, although the Gallic bronzes are customarily dated in the second or early third century. The popularity of the image of Constantinople would easily allow for Western manufacture.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baltimore, 1947, no. 205, pl. xxxv; Toynbee, 1947; Weitzmann, 1947, p. 404; Ostioia, 1969, no. 7.

155 Four statuettes of Tyches

Rome, mid-4th century

Silver with silver gilt

Each, 14 cm. (5½ in.)

London, The Trustees of the British Museum,

66.12-29, 21-24

Each of the four statuettes is cast in one piece with a heavy rectangular socket. They served as elaborate furniture ornaments attached, it has been suggested, to a *sedes gestatoria*. They represent major cities of the late empire: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch. The ornaments were attached by means of a pin which passed through aligned holes in the socket and the original fitting, although only one piece preserves the original pin and its attached chain. A large leaf is hinged below each figure. The four share an elongated canon of proportions and a basic facial type; they are plastically rendered, with draperies that reveal underlying postures; and all are detailed with decorative engraving and surface stippling. Gilding is consistently used on draperies, attributes, headdresses, hair, and hinged ornaments and ungilded silver on flesh, and small details such as footgear.



Rome

Three of the figures (Rome, Constantinople, and Alexandria) closely resemble one another. They are frontal in a seated contrapposto posture; each wears a simple tunic girdled below the breasts and a mantle. Antioch is seated on a rock outcropping, with right leg crossed over left and with upper torso inclined to her right. Below her legs, a nude youth in a stylized swimming posture personifies the River Orontes. She wears a voluminous mantle that covers the entire body and a tunic that shows only over the exposed right leg. The distinct treatment of this figure reflects that of the Tyche of Antioch, a now lost work of the Greek sculptor Eutychides commissioned in 296 B.C.

Antioch wears a mural crown and carries fruits



Constantinople



Alexandria



Antioch

and sheaves of grain in her right hand. Alexandria also wears a mural crown above a wreath of flowers and trailing ribbons and carries fruits and sheaves in both hands. The figure rests her forward left foot on a ship's prow, an indication of a port city. The attributes of these two figures refer to aspects of topography and to abundance. The statuette of Constantinople also bears fruits and grains and carries a patera for ritual libations, but these references are combined with a helmet indicative of military and political power. Rome is represented, according to a centuries-old tradition, as a military figure with attributes of a helmet, a shield, and a staff or spear.

Discovered in Rome in 1793 along with many

other silver objects known collectively as the Esquiline treasure, the statuettes are stylistically related to major pieces of the treasure (nos. 309, 310), which are in turn linked to such late fourth-century finds as the Corbridge lanx (no. 110) and the treasure of Traprain Law (no. 389). The great size of the Esquiline silver find is indicative of the wealth of its original owners. The iconography of these ornaments suggests the owners were politically powerful as well.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dalton, 1901, nos. 332–335, pl. xx; Toynbee, 1947, p. 144, pls. v, vi; Dohrn, 1960, no. 12, pl. 3.



156 Cup with Tyches

Cyprus, 431–647 (?)

Gold

16.8, diam. 12.2 cm. ($6\frac{3}{8}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift
of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.1710

This well-preserved footed cup or chalice is decorated with figures raised in relief and detailed with stippling and engraved line. Below the rim of the cup runs an incised Greek inscription that identifies the four female figures on the vessel as representations of ΠΩΛΗΣ ΡΩΜΗΣ + ΠΩΛΗΣ ΑΛΗΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΗΣ + ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΗΝΟΠΟΛΗΣ + ΠΩΛΗΣ ΚΥΠΡΟΣ (the cities of Rome, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Cyprus). The representations of Rome and Constantinople, opposite one another on the cup, hold large spheres in their left hands, while Alexandria and Cyprus repeat the posture with its extended gesture without the specific attribute. All four wear similar garments with two pieces of drapery

that billow like wings to either side of each figure. All four carry staffs held in their right hands and wear bracelets on each wrist. They share a similar stylized hairdo, with curls trailing down their shoulders and similar facial features of large eyes, long noses, and small mouths. All wear crowns modeled after city walls, as do most ancient Tyche figures.

The iconography of the cup may provide an indication of its date and place of origin. Of the four sites named and represented, one is not a city: the island of Cyprus with its capital at Constantia is here substituted in a quartet of major cities whose most common fourth member is the city of Antioch (see no. 155). After the Council of Ephesus in 431, the Metropolitan See of Cyprus dissolved its ties with the See of Antioch and declared itself to be independent. The representations on the cup may, therefore, be personifications of ecclesiastical provinces, descendants of classical Tyche figures. The inclusion of Cyprus suggests manufacture on the island after the Council of Ephesus but before the Arab invasion of 647.

The hair and facial features of the Tyches are executed with an irregular engraved line; their garments are similarly depicted. The distinctions between articles of clothing and folds of drapery have been reduced and reinterpreted as areas of linear patterns. The awkwardness of the representations has led to the assignment of the vessel to a late date. The vessel's presence in a treasure found in Albania may be associated with the Byzantine campaigns of the late sixth century in that territory against the Slavs and the Avars.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ross (1), 1964, p. 362; Ostioia, 1968, p. 203, no. 12; Ostioia, 1969, no. 23.

157 Relief fragment of reclining river god (Nile ?) and earth divinity

Herakleopolis Magna (Ahnas) (?), Egypt, 2nd half
5th century

Limestone

38.5 × 64.5 cm. ($15\frac{1}{8}$ × $25\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

New York, The Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin
Wilbour Fund, 41.891

Only a fragment survives of a large sculptured decoration that originally projected from the wall at the top of a niche; the upper border is carved shallowly in a vine motif. The peculiar treatment of the painted eyes and the greater depth of the relief at the outer edge are the sculptor's response to the great height and difficult placement of the original. Although some sensitivity was demonstrated in these adjustments, the carving is both linear and schematic, with the abrupt angularities and simplified patterns typical of Coptic sculpture from Ahnas in the later fifth century.

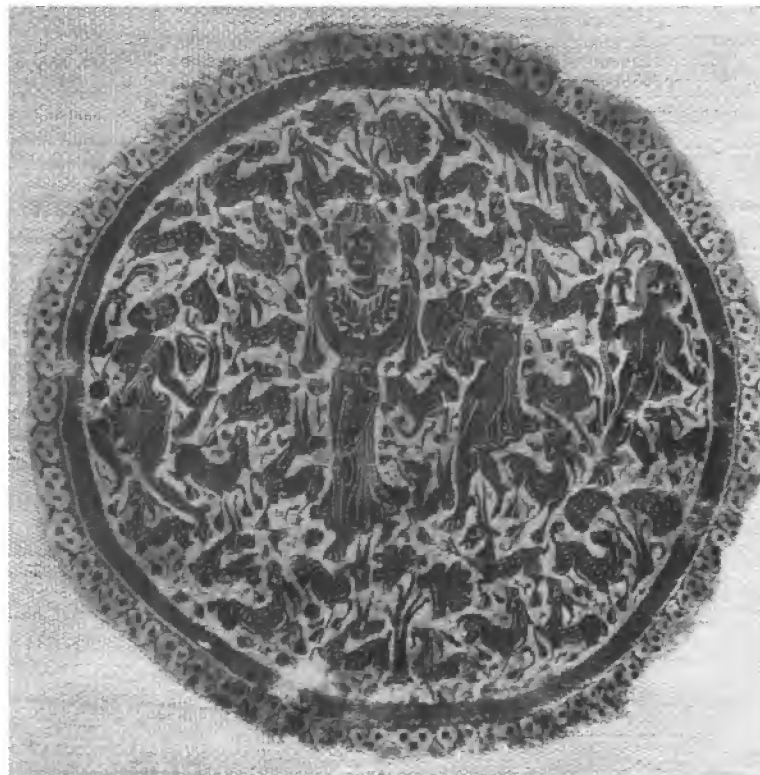
The bearded, diademed figure of a mature male, set against a background of lotus flowers, has been identified as a personification of the Nile, an age-old motif in Egypt. Less secure is the identification of the badly damaged bust at the left, which holds a gathering of fruits and flowers. Though one figure is usually thought to represent the earth goddess—perhaps in the specific guise of Euthenia, goddess of abundance—the absence of breasts, the crossed straps on the chest, and the bulla hanging from a ring around the neck suggest rather some genius or nature deity. The accepted meaning of the relief as a symbol of the life-giving power of the Nile would not be altered by this interpretation.

Such reliefs, frequently encountered in the Coptic monasteries of Upper Egypt, exhibit the conflation of preclassical and classical traditions in the service of the Nile cult, a continuum in Egypt. Although there is nothing explicitly Christian in the relief, it is likely that this and other comparable works (cf. no. 170) posit the replace-

ment of the old gods by the Christian god as bountiful Lord.

R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cooney, 1943, p. 17, pls. 15, 16; Hermann, 1959, pp. 30–69, esp. pp. 58, 59, pl. 3c.



158 Textile roundel with personifications of seasons (?)

Antinoë, Egypt, 3rd–4th century, or later

Wool and linen

Diam. 18 cm. (7 ¹/₁₆ in.)

Gruyères, Switzerland, M. Bouvier Collection

The piece is well preserved except for a tear at the bottom center. The subject is not clear. A female figure in the center holds fruit in a cloth. This type is commonly used in mosaics for the personification of the season Autumn, but it is also used for Gē (Earth). The figure to the right of her holds up two birds (?), a motif otherwise used in personifications of both Autumn and Winter. This central couple is flanked by two



figures who appear to be dancing. They each hold a sickle in one hand and vine shoots in the other. The figure on the left has an object (aryballos ?) hanging from his right arm and a sack hanging by his left side. Figures carrying sickles are commonly found as personifications of Summer and Autumn; the presence of vine tendrils indicates Autumn. Whether the sack of the left figure represents the harvesting basket often found in the representation of autumn labors is uncertain. The ground is filled with small trees and closely packed goats. Neither can be said to have special reference to autumn. Goats were associated with Pan and through him with the Dionysiac thiasos. In one section of a well-preserved Coptic tunic in Moscow (Moscow, 1967, no. 5, pls. 2-4), a woman is flanked by two men; in the ground at the bottom is a goat, elsewhere vines. Another piece in Paris (Pfister, 1932, pl. 2) depicts a series of Dionysiac figures dancing. One appears to hold a sickle much like the sickles in the present piece, though the proper Dionysiac attribute is a pedom. The most likely interpretation of our piece is, therefore, that a representation of Autumn has quite naturally been combined with strong Dionysiac elements—the ecstatic dancers and the goats. The identity of the central figure remains uncertain. She should be Autumn, but, under the circumstances, she may be a more generalized figure, such as Flora or Pomona.

The style of the work is still strongly classical. The original function was the decoration of a Coptic funeral tunic.

W. A. P. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Essen, 1963, no. 287.

159 Child's sarcophagus with seasons

Rome (?), early 4th century

Proconnesian marble

41.9 × 114.9 cm. (16½ × 45½ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Rogers Fund, 1918, 18.145.51

Cut from a child's sarcophagus, this slab is in two large pieces, with a roughly triangular restoration to the left of the aedicula. The animal in the restoration is worked separately and may be a reused piece of the cutaway casket. The upper edge is chipped above the third column from the left; the lower edge has modern cuttings for brackets or clamps to hold the slab upright for display.

The front is divided into five sections: a central gabled doorway and four narrow spaces defined by columns supporting arches, in which stand personifications of seasons. Imitating statues on pedestals, they face each other in pairs. The seasons, identifiable by their attributes, are, from left to right: Spring holding up a rabbit; Summer carrying a sickle and basket; Autumn with a bunch of grapes and basket; and Winter with ducks and a reed. Each is accompanied by an animal, also used as seasonal reference—a boar with Winter, a goat (?) with Autumn, a hunting dog with Spring.

The wide central section is filled by a tomb facade with apotropaic lion masks on the door valves, both slightly ajar. The facade is flanked by basket-carrying Erotes on pedestals with pairs



of winged genii carrying garlands above. The spandrels between arches are filled by theater masks.

The large corpus of season sarcophagi in the West ranges from around A.D. 200 to approximately the mid-fourth century; by mid-third century, a distinctly Italian variant had evolved, which combined the basic elements of architectural decor, originally of east Mediterranean origin, with the seasons; and, as on this slab, the tomb facade appeared on the front, rather than the right end, the rule with Eastern examples.

The symbolism of the seasons is multivalent; among many concepts, it may connote the perpetual cycle of time and change, a tendentious metamorphosis from spring (birth) to winter (death), ideas of fertility and renewal, as well as the gifts brought to the tomb throughout the year as memorial offerings. The full range of monuments and ideas has been treated by Hanfmann (1951, I) and Lawrence (1958) has discussed the formally related group of seasons represented in an architectural context.

The large scale of the figures, the reduction of space to one plane, and adherence to a symmetrical design emphasize the linear and coloristic effects of the carving. The jowly and summarily modeled flesh of these youths, the placement of drill holes, and the weak anatomical execution indicate a date in the late third or early fourth century. These procedures may be compared to other sarcophagi that are close in date (e.g., Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, nos. 5, 12, 67, 794b); an early fourth-century date is preferred because of the incised eyebrows (cf. Hanfmann, 1951, I, nos. 500, 515). Greater precision in dating is precluded by the sculptors' tendency to execute children's sarcophagi with less care than large ones, evident here in the misshapen columns and uneven surface of the background.

Purchased in Rome.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hanfmann, 1951, I, no. 490, fig. 56; Lawrence, 1958, pp. 275–276, pl. 73, fig. 6.



160 Relief with bust of Atargatis/ Tyche in the zodiac

Khirbet Tannur, Jordan, 1st–2nd century

Limestone

29.5 × 35.6 × 13.3 cm. (11½ × 14 × 5¼ in.)

Cincinnati, Cincinnati Art Museum, 1939.233

Well preserved but for a broken nose, this limestone relief originally included the figure of a winged Nike, now located in Amman (Glueck, 1965, pl. 47), which held it up with the rest of the missing zodiacal ring. Once part of the sacred sculpture adorning a Nabataean temple to Hadad and Atargatis, the female bust represents Atargatis, consort of the sky god, Hadad, and mistress of fertility, maternity, and love—a patroness of well-being. Her representation with the mural crown, derived from the Greek Tyche and symbolic of her guardianship of a city, indicates the deity's role as a protector of the Nabataeans and, by virtue of her celestial attributes, the very dimensions of her power.

The frontal bust projects an image of ritual force after the pattern of Atargatis representations known in the Near East. The crescent moon over her right shoulder relates her to Selene, the moon goddess, while the wandlike attribute that ends in a crescent and torch or ear of grain over the left shoulder serves as a traditional standard of Atargatis, possibly a mixed sign of astral power and of fertility. Of especial interest is the zodiac ring, which frames the bust in a tondo (*imago clipeata*), a familiar form in classical art, where it

is used as a device of exaltation. Here, the frame has been transformed into a celestial ring (*clipeus caelestis*) by the individualized signs of the zodiac, read in two sections that are divided directly over the head of the goddess. On the left: Aries (bust with ram), Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo (together with Amman fragment, bust with wheat stalk); on the right: Libra (bust with scales), Scorpio, Sagittarius (youth with spear), Capricorn (horned bust), Aquarius (bust with water vessel), Pisces (missing here, but preserved in Amman).

Stahlman believes that the ring presents schematically the positions of various planets and constellations on 23 March A.D. 5 (Cincinnati, 1970, p. 62). This calculation has been used to date the sculpture rather than to identify some celestial event charged with cult significance, possibly the equinox. The relief should be given a later date, probably in the second century, although precise criteria have not been established for the stylistic evolution of Nabataean art. The Atargatis relief exhibits certain formal properties—frontality, deep, even crude cutting, sharp contrasts of light and dark, and the piling up of attributes—together with an evident mixture of classical and indigenous motifs which are also found in works of hybrid sculpture from Roman Syria, the Hauran, Dura Europos, Palmyra, and Coptic Egypt. The wavering assimilation of classical forms and images into an indigenous artistic mode in the service of ritual is a common phenomenon in the Eastern provinces of the late Roman Empire. The celestial pretensions of Atargatis were not exclusive, while the image of this deity as patroness of all good things for mankind eventually matured into the great figure of Maria, Regina Caeli.

R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Essen, 1963, no. 18; Glueck, 1965, pp. 284, 396, 398–448, pls. 46, 47; Cincinnati, 1970, p. 62.

****161 Pyxis with Orpheus and hunt scenes**

Eastern Mediterranean or Italy, 5th–6th century
Ivory

15.5, diam. 8.5 cm. ($6\frac{1}{8}$, $3\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Carrand 22

Without its lid, this tall, narrow, and slightly

curved pyxis is perforated on its front by a semi-circular opening. This is closed by a beaded metal tab hinged to a metal floor tacked onto the pyxis. Like the related pyxis in Bobbio (Volbach, 1976, no. 91), it probably served as an incense burner.

Orpheus is seated and dressed in a short tunic, Phrygian cap, and boots. He plays the lyre, ambiguously suspended in midair, with a large plectrum in his right hand. Gathered around him are semihuman, wild, and fantastic animals with expressions ranging from curiosity to interest, attesting to the pacifying quality of Orpheus' divine gifts—the lyre, given by Apollo, and the music, taught by the muses. Around the rest of the pyxis are hunt scenes: three men mounted on horses and one on foot, all accompanied by dogs; the prey is a mixed group of lions, leopards, deer, and other, smaller animals (cf. no. 76).

The combination of Orpheus and hunt scenes



may be a natural outgrowth of the presence of wild animals in both, and secondarily an allusion to man's predominance over the animal kingdom, both culturally—through music—and physically—through mastery of weapons.

However, since the discovery of Christian catacomb frescoes with Orpheus in the seventeenth century, most late Roman images of him have been subject to crypto-Christian interpretations (Huskinson, 1974, pp. 68–73): Orpheus, like the Good Shepherd, is an allusion to Christ as an instrument of man's liberation from his wild nature; and, specifically, the image of Orpheus among both wild and tamed animals prefigures a paradisiacal salvation, emanating from Judaic imagery (Stern, 1974, p. 15). The pyxis, however, although possibly a cult implement, still eludes specific religious connections. It might best be placed in relationship to the Bellerophon ivory (no. 143), reflecting a poetic, intellectual ambience rather than a strictly religious one.

Orpheus floats on a spare groundline in an undefined space, much as mosaics show him. Usually considered a Western work of the fifth century, the ivory's heads and drapery resemble the Wiesbaden pyxis (no. 170). The animals and the density of the figures recall the two pierced Orpheus groups in Athens and Sabratha (Bonacasa, 1960, pp. 179–184, pl. 57, figs. 2, 3), which can be associated with the Bobbio pyxis by the presence of a monkey on the lyre. All of these works may share an Eastern provenance.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, 1976, no. 92.



162 Relief pitcher with Orpheus and Ares

North Africa, 3rd century

Red earthenware

24 cm. (9½ in.)

Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum,
0.39570

A group of similar relief vessels has been attributed to the pottery workshop of Navigius, active in Tunisia about 270–320, and several duplicates of the Mainz pitcher are known (Salomonson, 1969, p. 87, no. 213, fig. 122). Unfortunately, the purpose

of these vessels and the particular significance of Ares and Orpheus in the decoration of this pitcher are not precisely understood, although they are probably to be associated with grave deposits in expectation of personal redemption after death.

On one side, Orpheus, with his characteristic Phrygian cap, sits on a throne playing his lyre. A fat old Silen, holding a bunch of grapes, gestures at the left as Victory approaches from the right to crown Orpheus. In the lower panel Hermes appears, slightly separate from a maenad, two satyrs, and a pair of reclining lovers. The whole composition is loosely organized around the central figure of Orpheus.

According to Greek myth, Orpheus was the son of the Thracian king Oeagrus and the muse Calliope, thus dependent on Apollo. He was said to be a great lyric poet and magical musician whose songs could charm the beasts and calm the forces of nature. He descended to the underworld to restore his dead wife, Eurydice, to life without success, although he returned safely. Orpheus became the center of a Thracian cult that was often closely associated with Dionysiac ritual, though the reasons for this relationship are not clear. Orpheus' role as a psychopomp in the Eurydice myth may account for the presence of Hermes, the prime bearer of souls to the underworld in pagan mythology; the lovers may symbolize the happiness of the future life. The crowning of Orpheus by Victory indicates his eventual triumph as a pure spirit, a force of creative inspiration.

The nude, helmeted figure of Ares stands proudly on the other side, similarly crowned by Victory. Around him prance several Dionysiac celebrants, holding thyrsi; the identity of the reclining figure beside him is uncertain (Endymion ?), as further to the right a diminutive Aphrodite appears. Her presence is also invoked by the Erotes who hold a garlanded crown beneath Ares' feet, suggesting his capture by love. Because Ares has been quieted by the sweet music of love and Orpheus reduces strife as he subdues the animals, the cultic and mythological association of Ares and Orpheus seems to express the hope for the ultimate victory of blissful peace in the hereafter.

R. B.

Unpublished.



163 Pantheistic votive hand of Sabazios

Place of origin uncertain, 3rd–4th century

Bronze

20.5 cm. (8 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.); 850 gm.

St. Louis, The St. Louis Art Museum, 52.1956

Hollow-cast hands like this one have been associated with the Phrygian nature god, Sabazios, whose mixed cult spread from Thrace westward during the Roman Empire. Although their meaning

and use remain uncertain, such hands were probably dedicated in cult centers otherwise identified by reliefs inscribed with the name of the god; the hands suggest both the god's power to help and his commitment to do so. The position of the fingers in the benedictio Latina is a characteristic attribute of Sabazios. The central figure enthroned within the shelter of the great hand also represents Sabazios, in Phrygian costume of sleeved tunic, softly peaked cap, loose trousers, and boots. Both of his hands were originally raised in the same gesture of benediction as the hand that surrounds him, perhaps the best

preserved of all such votive hands (cf. ex. from *Herculaneum* in Naples, Tran Tam Tinh, 1971, no. 69, figs. 32, 33). It is a classic instance of Late Antique syncretism, fusing the powers of various divinities, especially Zeus above and Dionysos below.

The complex iconography encompasses the entire cosmos, beginning at the bottom with the fertile earth. On the back, a whole repertory of earthly creatures has been assembled: a grasshopper on a serpent, another smaller serpent, a scorpion (?), turtle, lizard or salamander, toad or frog, a rabbit (?). A table with votive cake (?), a basket of flowers, and other objects also appear. On the front, beneath the feet of the Phrygian god, are represented a ram's head, an offertory table (?) with pinecone, and below, in a cavelike opening, a mother bending over an infant. Surrounding the god, the large fingers bear attributes of the god's potency: the fifth finger has a grasshopper (head lost), while the two upraised fingers, as if reaching up into heaven, support a thunderbolt with snakes, held in turn by the talons of an eagle, which carries on its back a human figure (headless), possibly Hermes or Ganymede.

This pantheistic, ecumenical image testifies to the power of signs in late Roman religion. Although the cult of Sabazios was snuffed out by Christianity, the transcendent gesture itself lived on as a sign of divine benediction in Christian ritual, while the omnipotent hand survived in the form of bronze hands holding crosses cast in early Byzantine times (no. 557).

Acquired 1956.

R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Blinkenberg, 1904; Mitten and Doeringer, 1968, p. 311, no. 313.

164 The Parabiago plate

Rome (?), late 4th century

Silver with silver gilt

Diam. 39 cm. (15½ in.)

Milan, Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia

Representations of numerous mythological figures and their attributes are executed in relief on the interior of the plate, with details in punchwork

and engraved line. Traces of gilding remain on many of the figures. The plate is framed with a faceted rim and loosely divided into three zones, distinguished from one another by scale and subject matter. Across the center of the field, a large cart is pulled from left to right by a team of galloping lions. Its occupants are the goddess Cybele with staff, shield, and mural crown, and her lover, Attis, who carries the syrinx and pedum and wears the Phrygian cap and costume indicative of his Eastern origins. The cart is surrounded by three dancing Corybantes dressed in soft boots, brief tunics, and helmets, swinging shields and short swords. To the right a muscular nude male appears to rise from the earth, bearing an oval ring inscribed with zodiacal symbols. Aion, a personification of time, is represented as standing within the ring next to another temporal reference in the form of a snake coiling about an obelisk.

In the upper register, to the left, Sol rises in a quadriga preceded by Phosphorus, the morning star; to the right, Luna descends in a biga drawn by oxen as Hesperus leads the way. These activities are witnessed by eleven figures from the earthly realm who fill the lower third of the plate. The four seasons, represented as children, wear the costumes and carry the products appropriate to their individual labors and climates. To the left, male and female river personifications recline in postures adjusted to the curve of the plate. To the right, Tellus is represented with babes and a cornucopia indicative of fertility and abundance. In the middle are personifications of the salt waters, the bearded Oceanus with a rudder and a Nereid. Cybele and Attis are thus surrounded by figures of the sky, the waters, and the earth, many of which, like the seasons, are also understood as temporal, cyclical references.

The tragic liaison of Cybele and Attis was celebrated in Roman religion as an annual cycle of death and rebirth tied to the seasonal changes. The plate is an elaborate example of the imagery of the cult from the late fourth century. Technical details and stylistic parallels link the plate to other pieces of fourth-century silver, such as nos. 110, 155, 309, and 310. Such links also suggest a place of manufacture in the West, perhaps in the city of Rome. The plate was found in Italy in 1907 in a Roman burial ground at Parabiago, near Milan.

K. J. S.



BIBLIOGRAPHY: Levi, 1935; A. Alföldi, 1949, pp. 69–72;
Vermaseren, 1966, pp. 27–29, pl. xvii.

No. 164, the Parabiago plate

165 Diptych leaf of the Nicomachi

Rome, 388–401

Ivory

29.9 × 12.6 cm. (11 $\frac{13}{16}$ × 4 $\frac{15}{16}$ in.)

Paris, Musée de Cluny, CL 17048

The diptych leaf and its companion, no. 166, were apparently preserved together until the nineteenth century, when they were acquired by different museums. This panel, of the Nicomachi, shows numerous fractures along the grain of the ivory; several pieces of the plaque are now lost; the

face of the human figure and its left hand have been sheared off; and the torch in the figure's right arm is broken and missing in areas where it had obviously been carved in the round. However damaged the panel, the subject matter is relatively clear: a priestess stands before a round altar with sacrificial fire. She is dressed in a simple sleeveless garment that has slipped to reveal her right breast. The priestess holds two lighted torches, perhaps indicative of a nocturnal ritual, and she stands in front of a large pine tree from which hang cymbals or bells, references to the cult of Magna Mater.

The philosophical disposition of the senatorial patrons has been cited as an explanation of the classicistic style of the reliefs (most clearly visible in the handling of the draperies), which is comparable to that of the diptych of Probianus (no. 53) and of the Asklepios and Hygieia diptych now in Liverpool (no. 133). All of these works date to the beginning of the fifth century and may have been commissioned by patrons in similar social circles within the city of Rome.

While the style of this leaf and of no. 166 is clearly classicistic, it is just as clearly Late Antique. The relaxed posture of the priestess of this relief and the careful distinction of the light, clinging drapery of her upper torso and the heavy, hanging folds of her lower torso show an understanding of classical models. The posture of the priestess of no. 166, who steps into the background but presents her upper body in profile, strikes a note of quiet discord. Her posture is masked by elegant drapery passages, but her large-headed, slightly stocky proportional type is one from the Late Antique period. She is attended by a disproportionately small attendant, whose shoulder structure is not clearly understood or executed. The altar of the Symmachorum panel demonstrates a certain spatial ambiguity: while top and bottom moldings describe a rectangular solid rendered in perspective, a garland hangs across the altar as if it were a single, flat plane. In both panels, the illusion of pictorial space is created and simultaneously negated by the postures of the main figures, who, standing and acting within the confines of the panel, overlap the frames with portions of their draperies, their bodies, and their attributes.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach (2), 1962, p. 24; Kitzinger, 1967, pp. 2-3; Volbach, 1976, no. 55, pl. 29.

166 Diptych leaf of the Symmachi

Rome, 388-401

Ivory

29.8 × 12.2 cm. (11 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

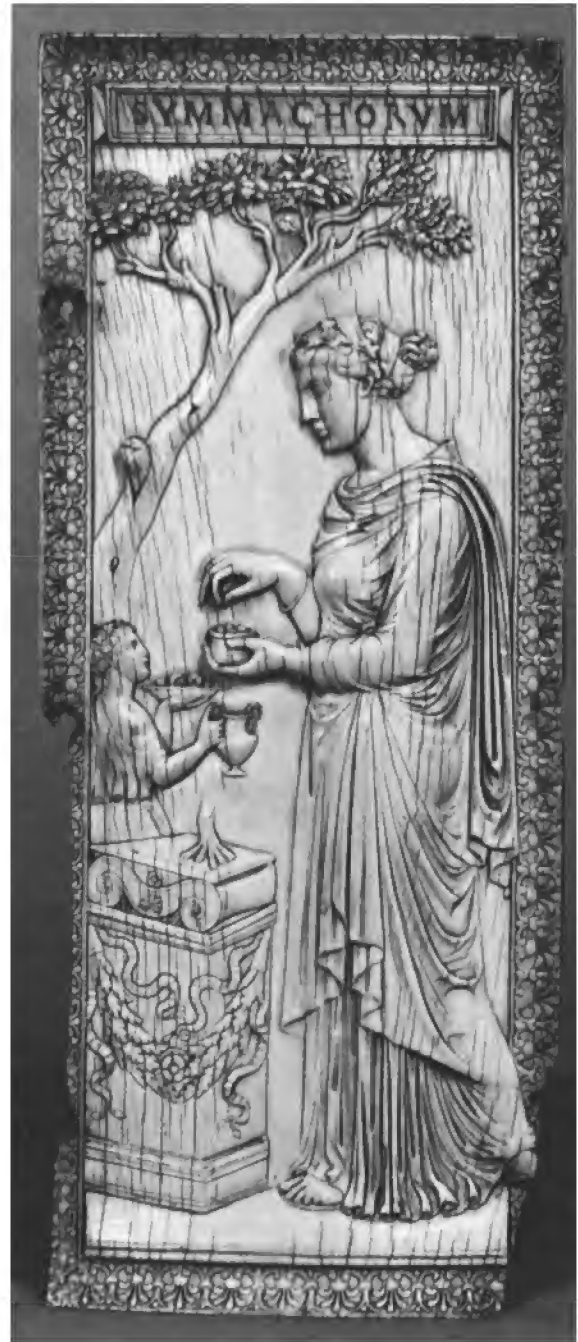
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 212-1865

The panel, once a diptych together with no. 165, has suffered damage to its ornamental borders, though the damage is minor in comparison to that of its companion.

The plaque represents a priestess before an altar, scattering incense over a small fire. She is accompanied by an attendant who holds a bowl of fruits and a kantharos. Both figures wear wreaths of ivy in their hair, a reference to Dionysos, while references to Zeus can be seen in the oak garland that decorates the altar and in the gnarled oak tree that fills the upper portion of the panel.

The alliance of the two families celebrated in the diptych is probably the marriage of the daughter of Q. Aurelius Symmachus to Nicomachus Flavianus, son of Virius Nicomachus Flavianus. This marriage is variously dated to A.D. 388, 392, or 394. Another possible date is suggested by the marriage of Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus, son of Q. Aurelius Symmachus, and a daughter or granddaughter of Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, which took place in 401. These marriages established legal ties between two Roman senatorial families closely associated through participation in the government of the empire and membership in Roman literary circles; individual members were known as historians, orators, rhetoricians, and editors of the texts of classical authors. Perhaps more important to the understanding of the diptych are the leading roles the families played in the attempt to preserve and defend the pagan rites of the state religion in the face of an increasingly powerful Christian Church. The letters addressed by Q. Aurelius Symmachus as urban prefect to the emperor Theodosius in 384 are a most eloquent testimony of this struggle.

The panel of the Symmachi represents a synthetic statement of a pagan rite with visual



Nos. 165, 166. *Nicomachi-Symmachi diptych*

references to two divinities within the same precinct. Closely associated with the patrons of the diptych and perhaps more in keeping with the imagery of the panel are the words of Symmachus: "...we ask for peace for the gods of our fathers, for the gods of our native land. It is reasonable that whatever each of us worships

is really to be considered one and the same. Not by one avenue only can we arrive at so great a secret" (*Relatio* 3 [Barrow, 1973, p. 41]).

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bloch, 1963, pp. 193–218, fig. 16; Kitzinger, 1967, pp. 2–3, fig. 1; Barrow, 1973; Volbach, 1976, no. 55.

****167 Figurine of Isis, or Virgin, lactans**

Beth Shean (?), Palestine, 4th–5th century
Molded terracotta
12.6 cm. ($4\frac{7}{8}$ in.)
Jerusalem, Israel Museum, P. 1281

This well-preserved hollow figurine was made in a double mold and the two parts joined. Traces of slip remain and the features of the face and hair are sharply defined. Seated frontally on a low bench, a female figure, nude from the waist up, offers her left breast to a child sitting across her lap. He is dressed in a knee-length tunic and looks away from the proffered breast, his hands raised.

Such a group is usually identified either as Isis, the Egyptian mother goddess, suckling her divine son, Horus/Harpocrates, or the Virgin lactans. For iconographical and theological reasons, a connection has generally been assumed between the images of the Isis lactans and that of the Virgin lactans, but that view has recently been challenged (Tran Tam Tinh and Labrecque, 1973, pp. 40–49). The Virgin lactans is a relatively rare subject in the Early Christian period, found almost exclusively in the art of later Coptic Egypt. The earliest are two limestone stelae in Berlin (fig. 69) and Cairo (Wessel, 1963, figs. 5, 6). In these images, however, the Virgin wears a maphorion and is accompanied by Christian attributes such as haloes and crosses. The partial nudity of the woman's figure here, her apparently Egyptian-style wiglike headdress, and the absence of Christian attributes makes it unlikely that she is a Virgin lactans. Whether or not she is a late version of an Isis lactans cannot be determined. The cult of Isis thrived throughout the Mediterranean basin during the Greco-Roman period and continued, even after Christianity had been adopted as the official state religion, to the end of the fourth century.

The figurine was found in 1922 during the excavations at Beth Shean in a tomb of Byzantine date (fourth-fifth century), but without a specifically Christian context. Another molded figurine of the same subject and stylistically very similar, found in the same site, is now in the University Museum, Philadelphia (Rowe, 1927, p. 43). Both



were probably votive offerings. Such figurines were certainly mass-produced, and, although the hairstyle of our statuette could imply an Egyptian provenance, it is more likely to have been made at Beth Shean, perhaps copied after an Isis lactans imported from Egypt, hence the confusion of types.

The lack of similarity to the third-century molded figurines from Beth Natif (Baramki, 1936, pp. 5–10) and the extreme conventionalization of the face and drapery suggest a somewhat later date, perhaps in the fourth or fifth century.

S. A. B.

Unpublished.

****168 Plate with syncretistic deity**

Alexandria (?), 5th century
Silver
Diam. 38.8 cm. ($15\frac{1}{4}$ in.)
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, J.70782

The solid-cast silver dish has suffered abrasion, surface pitting, and breakage on the right half of its interior surface. Modeled in relief and detailed

with incised line is a male figure seated in a landscape setting, surrounded by various attributes. The clean-shaven, partially draped figure is represented with a halo, wings on his heels, and wings to either side of a modius on his head. The youthful figure can be associated with Hermes. The modius is a common feature of various Egyptian deities, most notably Sarapis, but representations of Hermes in Egypt often show the Greco-Roman deity with attributes of the Egyptian cult. Any identification of the figure, however, must contend with other significant attributes. He sits on a globe, possibly an omphalos, and is attended by the griffin associated with Apollo. Below him are the shield and body armor of Ares and the hammer and pincers of Hephaestus. The lion skin of Heracles is draped on a tree to the left. Around the tree coils a snake to which the figure gives offering. The varied attributes suggest the conflation of several deities.

The composition of the silver plate resembles fifth- and sixth-century examples, while awkward passages, such as the representation of the figure's right shoulder, suggest a possible provincial origin. It was found in 1932, in one of 122 elaborate tombs at Ballâna, on the west bank of the Nile, Lower Nubia, with several other pieces of silver. The pieces compare, in their general forms and decoration, with products of Mediterranean centers rather than those of the tribes of the area, probably indicating that the silver was imported to the site.



The necropolis at Ballâna contained the tombs of the kings and nobility of the barbarian tribe of the Blemyes. Until the sixth century, when a neighboring Christian tribe, backed by the emperor in Constantinople, attacked and destroyed them, the Blemyes actively practiced the pagan cults of Roman Egypt. The mixed imagery of the silver plate seems appropriate to this cultural context.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Emery, 1938, I, no. 404, pp. 78–82, 273–274; II, pl. 65B; Kirwan, 1938, pp. 175–177.

169 Weight with Isis

Rome (?), 4th century

Bronze

12.7 cm. (5 in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edith

Perry Chapman Fund, 1962, 62.10.6

The bronze weight takes the form of a bust of the goddess Isis. Images of deities were used by the Romans as weights and, in later centuries, were replaced by imperial images (nos. 13, 327, 328). Both types of representations probably suggested divine or imperial sanction and thus served as a visual guarantee of an accurate weight or standard. A ring, cast in one piece with the bust, was used to suspend the weight.

The identification of the figure as Isis is secured by the distinct, many-tiered hairstyle with its rows of curls. Attributes associated with Isis, such as a situla, an ankh, or a sistrum are inappropriate to the bust-length representation. The drapery, which consists of a sleeveless garment fastened on the right shoulder with a brooch, and a mantle worn over the left shoulder, is not detailed with the "Isis knot," which forms a large loop between the breasts in many representations of the goddess. The dependence of the weight on sculptural models of larger scale is evident in the abbreviation of the arms, a convention of portrait busts. In addition, the weight stands firmly on a molded base which would conform to the sculpted plinth of a larger portrait.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Boston, 1976, no. 129.



No. 169, weight with Isis

170 Pyxis with Nilotic images

Egypt, 6th century

Ivory

8.5, diam. 12.6 cm. ($3\frac{5}{16}$, $4\frac{15}{16}$ in.)

Wiesbaden, Museum Wiesbaden, Sammlung

Nassauischer Altertümer, 7865

Despite breakage and missing pieces along the rim of the pyxis, the subjects represented are clear. Two scenes, distinguished from one another by subject matter, composition, and relative size of figures, establish two "sides" to the circular object. One scene, that of a feast, involves five participants reclining on couches, flanked by two attendants, who appear to enter from the sides, bearing serving dishes and gesturing toward the diners. Three of the diners hold large fluted dishes; the central figure also holds a duck on a platter

before her. The others focus their attention on this female dressed in simple costume and lavish jewelry. Strzygowski (1902) understood the scene as a feast of the cult of Isis. This identification is, in fact, dependent on the Nilotic references of the second scene.

Opposite the feast, two large figures are symmetrically disposed to either side of a river filled with lotus blossoms and inhabited by a crocodile. To the left, a female figure rests on a sphinx, while holding a fruited garland in both hands. Her association with the river, the sphinx, and the attribute of fruit, with its reference to fertility and abundance, would identify the figure as a personification of Egypt. Her male counterpart, recognizable as the personified Nile, reclines to the right,

No. 170: top, scene of feast; bottom, reclining figure of Nile



surrounded by playing children. He holds what has been identified as a cornucopia, but could also be interpreted as an oar or a ship's rudder, an attribute common to river personifications. The style of the carving has been associated with the Menas pyxis (no. 514), the New Testament panels from the Maximianus cathedra in Ravenna, and the ivory plaques from the Aachen pulpit (Volbach, 1976, nos. 72–77, pls. 41–44), pieces cited as products of Egyptian workshops of the sixth century.

Possibly from the Trier cathedral treasury.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Strzygowski, 1902, p. 47; Peirce and Tyler, 1934, II, p. 63, pl. 12B; Essen, 1956, no. 66; Essen, 1963, no. 135; Volbach, 1976, no. 105, pl. 56.

171 Intaglio with Sarapis enthroned

Place of origin unknown, 3rd century (?)

Amethyst

2.2 × 1.4 cm. ($\frac{7}{8} \times \frac{9}{16}$ in.)

Anonymous loan

The gem represents Sarapis enthroned and frontal, dressed in chlamys and mantle, staff held in his right hand, and his essential attribute, a modius, on his head; plants may have been shown at his



feet. This type is well known in Hellenistic and Roman art in all media and appears to derive from a late fourth to early third century B.C. invention, utilized by the Ptolemaic kings of Egypt for the cult they developed, centered in the great Sarapeion at Alexandria. Because of the conservative retention of Sarapis imagery in Roman minor arts, including gems, terracottas, the coinage, and even contorniates, this gem is difficult to date and to locate in a workshop. Only the coarse treatment of the drapery and beard suggest a date in the third century, since the frontal composition goes back to Hellenistic times (Kater-Sibbes, 1973 [no gems]).

Zeus, with his majestic imagery, provided the iconographic basis for the benign Sarapis. Sarapis also incorporated elements of Dionysos, Pluto, Asklepios, Osiris, Apis, Ammon, and others. Savior, protector of the distressed, healer of the sick, overseer of the food supply, patron of the Ptolemaic dynasty of Egypt, and generally benevolent, Sarapis, with his cult, was celebrated at Alexandria and Memphis in Egypt, but the cult spread throughout the Mediterranean during the empire, reaching northward along the Danube and Rhine. The then famous cry, "there is only one Zeus-Sarapis," an acclamation of his devotees, became anathema to the Christians, who appropriated its form, while destroying the cult in the fourth century.

R. B.

Unpublished.

172 Tapestry of Dionysos in Nilotic scene

Antinoë, Egypt, 4th–5th century

Colored wool on linen

58 × 55 cm. ($22\frac{13}{16} \times 21\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes, Section Copte, X 4792

This Egyptian textile is gorgeously enriched with red, pink, orange, blue, green, yellow, and light brown. Basically well preserved, the tapestry has sustained losses on the body, cape, and face of Dionysos, and part of the second body. The border neatly frames the scene in a self-sufficient composition, reminiscent both of mosaic emblemata

and of large framed miniatures in illuminated codices.

Dominating the panel is the soft, easy figure of Dionysos, almost nude but for the gold-edged blue cape on his left shoulder, orange boots, a floral wreath about his neck, and a leafy diadem on his head; he holds a thyrsus, decked with flowers, in his left hand. The god appears relaxed, leaning on a column in a pose invented by Praxiteles in the fourth century B.C. This pose complements the mood of the floral background, seemingly a hymn to spring, dramatized by the clear red, which sets off the god's head and illuminates his act of crowning himself. The right side of the panel, enlivened by plants, lotus blossoms, and birds, fluttering in spots of red, green, blue, and orange, recalls a very familiar and most ancient Egyptian motif, "Life along the Nile." A boat appears in this marshy world, carrying the figure of a nude child or young female, who holds cymbals and stands before a tripod bearing a vessel, perhaps a kantharos, traditionally associated with the Dionysiac ritual of the wine. The whole effect is joyous, an evocation of the Dionysiac appeal to the senses and, possibly, to his aspect as a reviving nature deity.

Textiles with Dionysiac subjects were enormously popular in late Roman Egypt, ranging from stereotyped, decorative ancillae to costume to independent images, like icons, intended for cult use. This panel fits into the latter category and may represent a conflation of the androgynous Greek god with the spring festival, localized in the Nile marshes. However, Picard-Schmitter (1962) has suggested that the scene represents a Hellenistic adaptation of the funeral rites of Osiris, the dying and resurrecting god whose rebirth heralds the coming of spring. Such an adaptation compares with the deliberate assimilation of Greek and Egyptian deities, achieved under Ptolemaic rule and exemplified by the composite god Sarapis (no. 171).

The town of Antinoë in Middle Egypt has been a major source of Egyptian textiles of the imperial period, but the dating of those textiles is an uncertain process. The Louvre has placed this panel in the sixth century. The rich palette, the extensive use of color modeling, and even shading in the two bodies, suggest, however, an earlier date, more in the direction of the Pan and Dionysos (no. 123) and the Nereid panel (no. 150), although

certainly of finer, more subtle execution than no. 150. Indeed, the brilliant colors of this Nilotic scene resemble painted glass and may be compared with fragments of glass intarsia recently discovered at Antinoë and dated to about 400 (cf. Müller, 1962). The mixture of plastic and decorative forms, set within a doubled banded frame, seems closer to textiles and mosaics (Antioch) that have been dated to the fourth or fifth century.

R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Picard-Schmitter, 1962, pp. 27–75; du Bourguet, 1964, no. B24; Paris, 1964, no. 170.



173 Relief with Mithras slaying the bull

Rome, 2nd half 2nd century

Limestone

62.5 × 95.2 × 17.8 cm. (24½ × 37½ × 7 in.)

Cincinnati, Cincinnati Art Museum, Gift of Mr. and

Mrs. Fletcher E. Nyce, 1968.112

Originally a rectangular block, the relief now has a major section from the upper right corner and

smaller pieces from the right edge and lower corner broken off. The surface of this grainy fabric has incidental cracks and gouges but is on the whole well preserved. The main scene cuts into the remains of a shallow relief preserved on the right side, indicating secondary use of the stone.

In the rocky setting of a cave, Mithras, in tunic, pants, Phrygian cap, and barefoot, is shown victorious over his enemy, the world-bull, after a long struggle. Forcing the bull to the ground as it loses strength, Mithras presses it down farther with his left knee, while stepping on its extended rear leg, pulls back the animal's head with his left hand under its chin, and plunges a dagger into its neck—the empty scabbard at his waist. A dog and a snake jump at the mortal wound to drink the vital and potent blood; a scorpion attacks the testicles, trying to stem the bull's strength. A youthful bust of Helios, with radiate halo and draped mantle, is behind Mithras' fluttering cape. A bust of Luna originally balanced Helios; a trace of the crescent on which her bust appeared is discernible along the edge of the break.

The bull-slaying episode, the most significant of Mithras' exploits, was also the one most frequently represented on the cult images in sanctuaries dedicated to him. In accomplishing the ritual sacrifice of the bull, symbol of all generative forces (the astrological Taurus marking the beginning of spring), Mithras releases for mankind its life-renewing blood. Within the cave, dark analogue to the open sky, the drama of death and resurrection (renewal of life) is acted out according to the directive from the superior sun god. The dog, sacred animal of the Persians and hunting companion of Mithras; the snake, symbol of the earth among the Greeks; and the scorpion, zodiacal symbol of autumn, the end of growth and a beneficent motif in some Near Eastern regions, point out the heterogeneous sources of Mithraism's iconography.

Such a variety of references reveals the accretions of theological speculation over wide spans of geography and time. Nonetheless, this cult relief is among the simplest of its kind. The dense, curly hair of Helios, the bland, smooth cutting, and



the planar treatment of the faces suggest a date in the second half of the second century.

From the Via Praenestina in Rome, where it was reused as a doorstep.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gordon, 1974.

174 Brooch with Mithras slaying the bull

Ostia (?), 3rd century

Bronze

Diam. 7 cm. (2¾ in.)

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1927.187

The thin, slightly convex disc has a hinged pin and catchplate on the back. Most of the figures are chased, but some details are incised only: the bull, the two bands around its belly, the sword, and Mithras' face, halo, and rays.

Within a dotted scallop and single line border, Mithras, dressed in short tunic, pants, closed shoes, and fluttering cape, with his left knee and foot on the bull's back, withdraws his sword from the bull's side. The scene is conflated, showing Mithras turning around to look at the message-bearing raven perched on his cape after he has already stabbed the bull. Another bird stands on the bull's tail, and a cock, on a rough groundline, appears in front of the bull's head; a dog, ready to drink blood from the double wound, a scorpion at the bull's testicles, and a crawling snake are shown below.

The raven is the messenger from the sun god delivering the order for Mithras to kill the bull; the cock and the bird on the bull's tail, either a nightingale or another raven, probably replace the more characteristic images of Sol and Luna, here in an unusual reversal of positions (Vermaseren, 1948). Mithras appears with a nine-rayed nimbus; the radiate nimbus, a standard attribute of Sol, is also seen on an image of Mithras from the Mithraeum at the Baths of Caracalla, with seven rays, the usual number (Vermaseren, 1956, no. 458).

A small number of brooches and fibulae have been found in excavations of Mithraea, and a few are represented on cult images. None, however,



shows the tauroctonus, making this a unique monument.

Found in 1899 in Ostia, the port of Rome, which had a large Mithraic community (Becatti, 1954). Formerly in Sir John Evans' collection.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vermaseren, 1956, no. 318.

175 Bowl with Mithras slaying the bull

North Africa (?), 4th century

Red earthenware

Diam. 18.5 (17¼ in.)

Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum,
0.39580

For the pottery type, technique, workshop, see no. 98.

This simple bowl represents two essential aspects of Mithraic ideology, focused upon the transcendent power of the triumphant deity, readily identified by his Phrygian costume. The motif of Mithras slaying the great bull (see nos. 173, 174) dominates the circular field and presents the image of the god, who plunges his dagger into

the bull's side, an act that simultaneously destroys and regenerates life. Beneath the bull, Mithras' faithful dog laps up the spilling blood, the blood of sacrifice—an act that, given the sexual potency attributed to the dog in the ancient world, must symbolize regeneration.

Below the central image of Mithras Tauroctonus appears a motif that is usually ancillary to this central theme (cf. Mithraic relief from Dieburg [Campbell, 1968, no. 1247, pl. xxii], another from Neuenheim [Campbell, 1968, no. 1283, pl. xxv, and pp. 12–14, 247–270, 282–284]). Mithras is shown carrying the dead bull on his back, representing the god both as a *Deus Invictus* and as a psychopomp.

Although the potter had to restrict the repertoire of Mithraic themes, he has preserved the fundamental imagery of death and transition, certainly prized by the Mithraic communicant at the moment of passage from one world to the next. Interestingly enough, the same iconography, though not the same type, has been preserved on another redware bowl, discovered in 1870 at Civit  Livinia near Rome (Salomonson, 1969, p. 30, fig. 37, p. 130, no. 13).

R. B.

Unpublished.



176 Plaque with the Danubian horsemen

Danube Basin, 1st half 3rd century

Lead

9.6 × 7.6 cm. ($3\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Rogers Fund, 1921, 21.88.175

This small plaque is covered with a thick layer of corrosion products, causing uneven discoloration and rendering some minute details indistinct. There are several surface cracks and an irregular hole below the upraised right arm of Helios; the upper left corner is curled forward, and all the edges are rough, with one notch midway along the right side.

An arch, with twisted snakes in the spandrels, is filled with a large number of figures arranged in four registers: on top, Helios, with a radiate halo and arms outstretched, stands in a quadriga. He carries an orb (and a whip ?), and his mantle flies out on both sides. Eight-pointed stars appear above the horses (cf. no. 61).

In the center of the next register stands a female figure dressed in a belted chiton (and himation ?) holding a cloth draped across her knees. Symmetrically arranged equestrian figures with wind-swept mantles salute her; the horse to the left stands on a fish, the one to the right on a human body. The scene is enclosed by a soldier with shield, spear, and helmet, and a woman with raised right arm.

The third register has three scenes: in the middle, three men are seated around a table, with their right arms extended toward an object, probably a fish, judging from replicas of this type. To the right, two nude youths, holding hands, face the central scene; to the left, a man flays an animal hanging from a tree, while behind him a taller man with a ram's head mask stiffly attends.

Along the bottom, a krater is flanked by a lion and a snake, and the row is filled out by a tripod table with a fish on top and a cock.

This small tablet is one of a large number of closely related cult images and ex-votos with a heterogeneous, often crowded, conglomeration of symbols and scenes. These artifacts constitute the only extant remnants of a syncretistic religion named after the Danubian horsemen, its most



distinctive and consistent feature and after the area from which most of these monuments come. The beliefs, rites, and social context of this composite cult cannot be clearly determined, but some sources of symbolism are easily identified, such as the worship of Helios (sun god in quadriga) and Mithras (krater, lion, snake, cock, sacred meal). Combined with the other images, which relate to celestial, terrestrial, and chthonic realms, they imply a complete cosmology arranged in an architectonic hierarchy, consistently set forth on most of the monuments. These plaques seem to be products of the frequent displacements of both the military and civilian populations during the third century along the constantly disputed Danube border. The hairdo of the woman in the second register recalls that of some later Severan women, suggesting production in the second quarter of the century.

There are twelve known replicas of this plaque, which implies one place of mass-production. Most of them were found in Yugoslavia (ancient Pannonia), near the Danube; one, now lost, was discovered in France. This plaque was bought in Rome.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alexander (2), 1931, pp. 148–150, figs. 1, 2; Tudor, 1969, no. 185.

177 Panel with sacrifice of Julius Terentius to the Palmyrene gods

Temple of Bel, Dura Europos, about 239

Fresco secco

107 × 165 cm. (42½ × 65 in.)

New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 1931.386

The Yale-French archaeological expedition to Dura in 1922 and 1923 discovered the Terentius panel among the votive paintings on the north wall of the pronaos of the Temple of Bel. This panel, apparently painted over an earlier votive, is carefully framed by red and yellow bands forming an oblong register, an established format for devotional imagery in the art of the ancient Near East. The figures in the panel are strongly outlined against a white ground, accented with red, pink, orange, yellow, and mauve washes. Although the painter made some attempt to develop the figures three-dimensionally, he created a flat conceptualized composition, largely determined by the frontal, hieratic character of his traditional models.

The panel divides into two unequal parts, separated by a vexillary, who stands left of center, holding up the standard that identifies the unit as the Twentieth Palmyrene cohort, an auxiliary force stationed at Dura on frontier duty. To the right, the members of the cohort have been arranged schematically in two rows, following the Late Antique convention for group compositions that equated "above" with "behind." Terentius, their tribune, stands prominently near the center of the panel at the head of their ranks, making an offering at a thymiaterion. He is also clearly identified by a Latin inscription: *IVL(ius) TEREIVS TRIB(unus)*. The soldiers behind him make the right-handed gesture of adoration, as does the leading figure in the upper row, identified by a Greek inscription as Themes, son of Nokimos, priest. The names are Palmyrene, which suggests that Themes may have been the official priest or chaplain of the unit because he has been singled out in addition to the tribune. Despite the damaged surface, the overriding static quality of the ranks preserves the sacred nature of scene and act.

In this polyglot context the representations that occupy the left part of the panel fit very well. On



the bottom, separated by a large rose symbolic of abundance, appear two similar, draped females, seated on rocks and readily recognizable as Hellenistic city personifications (see nos. 154, 155). Both are identified by Greek inscriptions: the Tyche of Dura, with the attributes of mural crown and a male personification of the Euphrates emerging from beneath her feet at the right, and the Tyche of Palmyra at the left, accompanied by a nude female below, probably personifying the oasis spring of Ephka, whose waters brought life to Palmyra. The halo, lion, and small altar shown beside the Tyche of Palmyra indicate that she also incorporates elements of the goddess Atargatis (no. 160), consort of Bel, master of the temple.

Three golden-nimbed figures in military dress holding various attributes dominate the upper left corner. Identified as the Palmyrene triad of male gods, patrons of war and of soldiers (see Kantorowicz, 1961), they anticipate the protective patronage later offered the Christian soldier by the military St. George. Iarhibol, the solar god, is on the left; Aglibol, the moon deity, on the right; and between them holding a globe appears Bel or Baalshamin, god of the sky, president of the triad of the great gods of Palmyra, in Roman costume.

These Palmyrene gods stand on bases like statues, as if images of their images. Thus, the Terentius panel manifests in perpetuity an offer of devotion given by the Palmyrene soldiers to the gods of their homeland, protective presences in Dura.

R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cumont, 1926, pp. 89–114, 363, 364, pls. XXV, XLIX–LI; Rostovtzeff, 1935, pp. 245–247; Rostovtzeff, 1938, pp. 71, 72; Colledge, 1976, pp. 228, 229, fig. 60.

Science and Poetry

Perhaps the most consequential innovation of Late Antique and Early Christian art was the codex form for the book, with its many folded smooth parchment leaves and ambitious miniature paintings. The traditional papyrus roll, like the romance papyrus in Paris (no. 222) or the Heracles poem in London (no. 205), already had diagrams and small pictures of modest quality. Yet the new medium attracted artists like those who, around 400, illustrated the Vatican Vergil (nos. 203, 224) and the Quedlinburg Itala (no. 424), artists who could compete with fresco painters and mosaicists and began to influence them, as they were in turn influenced by them. In contrast to these older branches of painting, book illumination developed two distinguishing characteristics: first, as a result of the greater intimacy of the illustrations with the written word, the illuminations more precisely illustrated the text and became more fixed in their iconography; second, because of the greater amount of space available, the scenes multiplied and developed the narrative mode, whereby one episode would be illustrated in many scenes in quick succession, so that the eye could glide from one to the other.

The impact of the illustrated book on later representational art after the first peak of book production in the fourth century must have been tremendous, but this is difficult to imagine today; because of the perishability of their material, natural wear, and often willful destruction, comparatively few illustrated codices have survived. That among the preserved illustrated classical texts the scientific ones outnumber the literary is due largely to their acceptability, on ideological grounds, to Christians, who highly esteemed such books for their practical applications. From the books still extant one point becomes clear—and this is most typical of classical civilization: the same splendid decoration and high standards of quality were lavished on scientific and literary texts alike.

The most luxuriously illustrated codex that has survived is the Dioscurides herbal in the Vienna Library (no. 179), which was written for an imperial princess in the sixth century in Constantinople. A whole set of panellike frontispieces precedes the text with its hundreds of full-page plant pictures of painstaking exactitude as well as of handsome design and coloration. We still can grasp the great impact this manuscript had on subsequent centuries through a seventh-century copy in Naples (no. 180) and a tenth-century copy in the Morgan Library, likewise the product of an imperial scriptorium (no. 181).

The same high artistic standards were also applied to zoological treatises, some of which are appended to the same Vienna Dioscurides manuscript, one on poisonous serpents whose bites are fatal (cf. the Nicander manuscript in Paris, no. 226) and another one on birds. Where birds of great variety are depicted on floor mosaics, the mosaicists apparently consulted such a treatise for scientific accuracy. Similarly, where we find a very naturalistic rendering of many diverse species of fishes on floor mosaics from Tunisia (no. 184) and Syria, especially Antioch, it is hardly to be assumed that the artist went to the fish market to sketch, but rather consulted a treatise on fishes, such as a cookbook. In addition to mosaics, sumptuous textiles (nos. 182, 183), fine glass (no. 185), and other media testify to the wide dissemination of this kind of scientific literature.

The tenth-century Dioscurides (no. 181) proves that medieval copies of scientific illustrations from late antiquity could be quite exact. Other medieval scientific manuscripts can also be assumed to reflect a high degree of faithfulness to Late Antique models. It is only through such copies of illustrated medical treatises that we learn of Late Antique compendia in codex form and their archetypes that may possibly date to the period of the papyrus roll. Examples of Hippocratic healing methods are preserved in a tenth-



FIG. 23 *Healing of dislocated bones, a treatise by Apollonius of Kitium.*

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, cod. Plut. LXXIV, 7, fol. 190r

century treatise by Apollonius of Kitium, which demonstrates the setting of dislocated bones (fig. 23), and a medieval Latin handbook on midwifery by Soranos of Ephesus, which pictures the different positions of the embryo in the uterus (no. 187).

Even such a technical subject as surveying was deemed worthy of luxurious illustration (no. 188), not to mention numerous specialized engineering treatises on mechanics, automata, and war engines (no. 189), like those of Heron of Alexandria and Apollodorus of Damascus and many others, of which a comparatively large number of copies has survived. Some didactic treatises touch the borderline between science and literature. Most popular were the so-called *Aratea*, named after the astronomer Aratus, whose constellation pictures continued to be copied into the Renaissance, when illuminations were replaced by woodcuts and engravings. A Carolingian manuscript in Leiden (no. 190) has copied a fourth-

century model so faithfully that, artistically, it could almost be mistaken for a Late Antique product.

To judge from their wide reflections in other media, hunting treatises must have enjoyed particular popularity. Whereas a profusely illustrated manuscript of Pseudo-Oppian from the eleventh century in Venice displays an extraordinary variety of hunting techniques (fig. 24), selected hunting scenes in late



FIG. 24 *Hunting scene from the Cynegetica by Pseudo-Oppian.*

Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, cod. gr. 479, fol. 64v

classical mosaics and silverwork (no. 251) demonstrate once more how valuable the miniature cycles were as a repository of iconography.

Of all the didactic poems of late antiquity, the one with the greatest impact on the Middle Ages was the *Physiologus*, because of its moralizing applications. A Carolingian copy in Bern still shows the flavor of the painterly late classical style (no. 192).

Since archaic times Greek art drew much of its inspiration for scenic representations from mythology as it was transmitted orally and through epic poetry. From the high classical period on, additional inspiration came from dramatic poetry and later from prose. But it was only in the book, first the roll and then the codex, that, by application of the narrative method, the number of mythological scenes was vastly increased.

The literary text most often copied in antiquity—and one would assume also its illustration—was

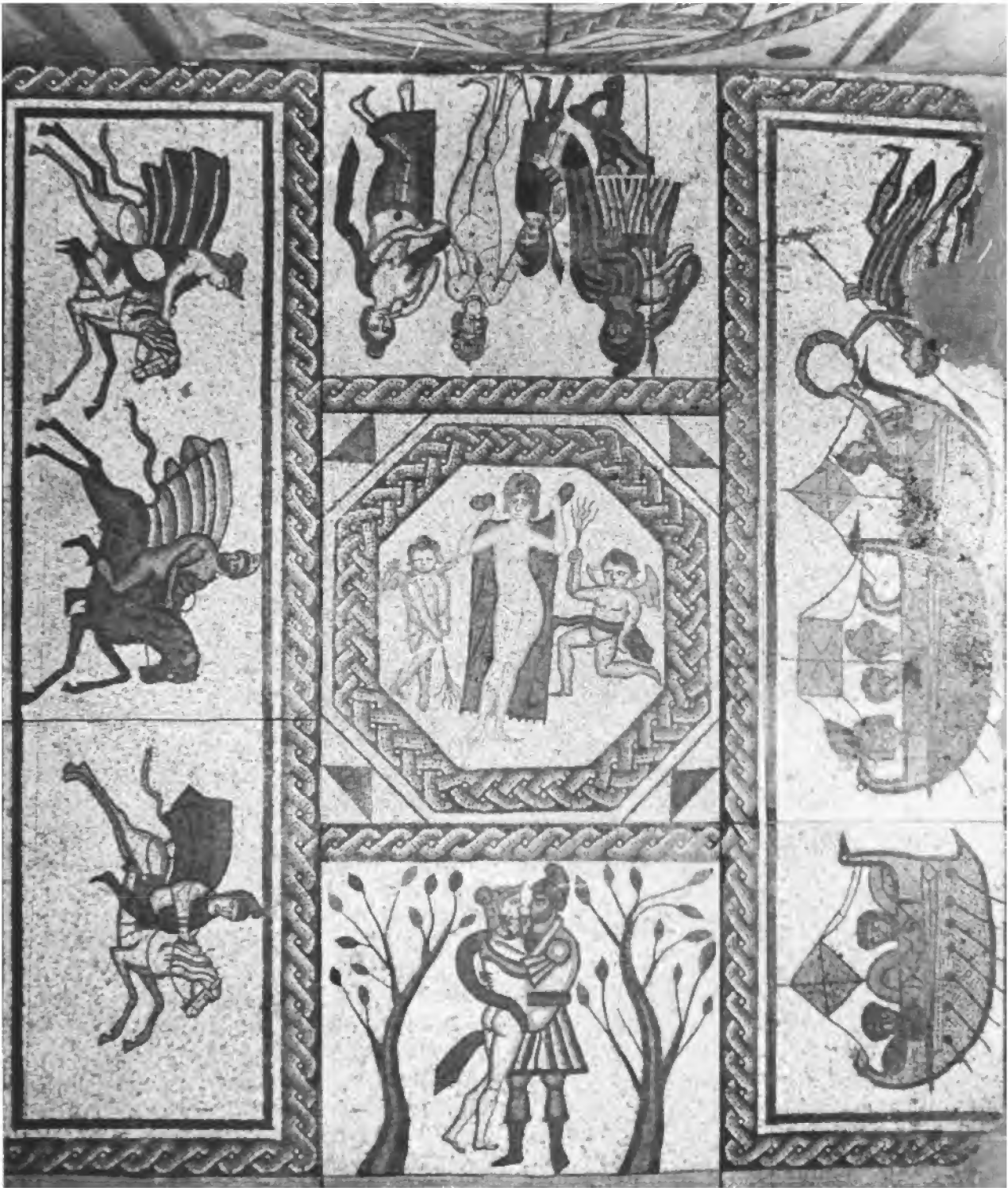


FIG. 25 *Mosaic with scenes from the Aeneid.*
Low Ham, Somerset, England

Homer's *Iliad*, and thus it is hardly an accident that of only this Greek epic has a fragmentary miniature cycle come down to us, now in Milan (no. 193). That such miniatures had previously existed in papyrus rolls is proven by a drawing in Munich (no. 194), whose subject, Briseis being led away from Achilles, attracted, among other artists, metalworkers, who incised it on various objects in bronze (nos. 195, 196). Scenes from the *Iliad* occur also on a silver plate (no. 197) and a textile (no. 198), though dependence on miniatures must in such cases not always be direct. It must be merely accidental that no illustrated *Odyssey* survived, but its existence can again be demonstrated by stray scenes in other media, like the popular story of Odysseus and the Sirens, known from numerous sarcophagi and from a bronze (no. 199). Nor were epic illustrations confined to the Homeric poems. The miniaturelike paintings on the

each other that we must assume that more than one start was made with *Aeneid* illustration. The fourth-century mosaic found at Low Ham in Somerset, England (fig. 25), attests that the illustrated *Aeneid* spread throughout the Roman Empire.

There also existed poems with illustrations of popular heroes, foremost Heracles and Achilles, who, as personifications of virtues, had survived in the Christian culture of later centuries. Representations of the deeds of Heracles were, of course, as old as Greek art itself, but it was not until the invention of book illumination that each of the twelve labors expanded into narrative cycles. A papyrus in London is the best witness of this expansion (no. 205). No illustrated *Achilleis* has survived, but its widespread impact on many media can be demonstrated by the continuous narrative friezes on a marble plaque (no. 207), silver (no. 208), terracotta (no. 209) and bronze plates (no. 210), an ivory pyxis (no. 211), and many others. We shall never know how many texts existed or how many of these had pictures, and it is no longer possible to determine with certainty the textual basis for many single pictures of epic character (nos. 214, 215).

The most widely read dramatic poet in antiquity was Euripides. Illustrations of his tragedies are best reflected in an incised bronze plate that has several scenes from the *Bacchae* as well as a depiction of the masks (no. 216). Scenes from *Phaedra* appear on a Byzantine silver plate (no. 217), as well as on a mosaic from Antioch (fig. 26), and one from *Iphigenia* in such an unlikely medium as textile (no. 218). A fresco depicting a scene from the *Alcestis* (no. 219) occupies the catacomb of the Via Latina in Rome, which has predominantly Christian scenes (nos. 419, 423), providing the best evidence of the coexistence of classical and Christian imagery in funerary art.

By far the most popular of the comic poets was Menander, and illustrations of quite a number of his comedies in mosaic have recently come to light on the island of Mytilene (no. 221). Menander's comedies served as models for those of Terence in the Latin West and the faithful copying of illustrated Terence manuscripts as late as the Carolingian period (fig. 27), and even thereafter is a strong indication of the tenacious survival in the Christian world of comic poetry, though derided by some Church fathers. Much pleasure must have been derived from reading

FIG. 26 Mosaic with Hippolytus and Phaedra.
Antioch



wooden shields from Dura (nos. 200, 201) tell stories that, like the battle against the Amazons, come from the *Aithiopis* of Arktinos or, like the Trojan Horse, from the *Little Iliad* of Lesches; the latter is also the source for the silver plate in Leningrad with Ajax and Odysseus contesting the weapons of Achilles (no. 202).

The greatest Latin epic poem, Vergil's *Aeneid*, luckily survives in two splendidly illustrated manuscripts, one in the refined style of Rome (no. 203) and the other in the rough style of some unknown province (no. 204). They are so totally different from



FIG. 27 Scenes from the Adelphoe of Terence.

Vatican Library, cod. lat. 3868, fols. 60v–61r

FIG. 28 Mosaic with Metiochos and Parthenope, from Antioch.

Worcester, Massachusetts, Worcester Art Museum

romances with illustrations (no. 222), and it must have been a learned patron who had a floor mosaic in his house depicting a scene from the romance of Metiochos and Parthenope (fig. 28). The dense, comic-strip-like illustration of such romances is still reflected in a medieval copy of the romance *History of Apollonius, King of Tyre* (no. 223).

Of particular importance with respect to its acceptance by the Christians is bucolic poetry, which started with Theocritus' *Idylls* and soon sprouted into a popular branch of literature in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The illustrations of the *Georgics* and *Eclogues* of Vergil in the two Vatican manuscripts (nos. 224, 225) are our best examples of miniature cycles that depend on the Greek tradition, like that reflected in some miniatures in the Nicander manuscript (no. 226). Pictures of the happy shepherd's life abound in every conceivable medium; four textile roundels (nos. 227–230) represent the closest dependence on a miniature cycle. Subjects of this kind on sumptuous silver plates (nos. 231, 232) and in gold glass (no. 233) no doubt delighted the cultivated art collector, Christian and pagan alike. Bucolic and idyllic scenes abound on sarcophagi (no. 237), where



it is not always clear whether the representations are pagan or Christian. The Christians so liked the spirit of bucolic life and art that a dining party of hunters or shepherds might be turned into a commemorative funerary banquet scene on a sarcophagus (no. 236) or in catacomb paintings. It is not only by chance that the earliest widespread image of Christ himself, that of the Good Shepherd (nos. 462, 463), emerged from this iconographic milieu.

The high regard held for poets, epic and dramatic alike, in the Greco-Roman culture is reflected in the large number of their statues, busts, and heads in marble and bronze. Late Antique art, however, following the general trend of the time, shifted more and more to the two-dimensional arts—frescoes, mosaics, and especially miniatures. While frescoes vanish rather easily, mosaics are somewhat more durable. The bust of Menander (no. 221) and the seated poet watching an actor (no. 239) are characteristic examples. The author, inspired by a muse or personification, was a suitable subject for the frontispiece of the author's work, as in the case of the Dioscurides no. 179. The popular subject of the writer and the inspiring muse occurs in a great many variants: a pair of ivories in the Louvre (no. 242) shows muses inspiring authors, and each group has the quality of a frontispiece miniature. The individual muse may even become the center of a composition

(no. 241), or the nine muses may be lined up independent of any author, as in the Moscow vase (no. 244), or led by Apollo, the leader of the muses, as in no. 243, where they are associated with Dionysiac figures from a play. Often found on sarcophagi is a figure of the deceased, who aspired to be appreciated as a *litteratus*, surrounded by the muses (no. 240). Here, it is by no means certain that the deceased was a pagan. Any educated Christian could adopt the motif of the inspiring muses without conflict of conscience. This motif actually became so attractive to the Christians that the four evangelists were frequently depicted writing their Gospels under inspiration, as in the earliest Greek evangelist portrait in existence, the Mark from the Rossano Gospels (no. 443). The inspiring figure is probably, in this case, no longer a muse, but more likely is a personification of Wisdom; however, since Sophia herself is the creation of a classical idea, the fact remains that Christianity is indebted for one of its most consequential artistic creations to the classical tradition. This indebtedness extends even further to the creation of the evangelist pictures themselves, which were not actual historical portraits, but such undisguised adaptations of classical poets and philosophers that most of the models can still be identified. In such creations classical imagery lives on in the Christian world.

KURT WEITZMANN

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Robert, 1881; Birt, 1907; Gasiorowski, 1928; Bethe, 1945; Weitzmann, 1951; Bianchi Bandinelli, 1955; Weitzmann, 1959; Weitzmann (1), 1970; Weitzmann (1), 1971.

178 Fragment of an herbal

Egypt, about 400

Papyrus

23 × 12 cm. ($9\frac{1}{16} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

London, Wellcome Institute for the History of
Medicine, R. 29111

Because this fragment of papyrus has writing and illustration on both sides, it must have once been part of a codex, with original dimensions estimated as having been roughly $9\frac{7}{8} \times 6\frac{5}{16}$ inches. On the recto is a representation of the symphyton, which looks superficially like a purple onion or cabbage. It is rendered in a lively fashion in shades of earthy brown, purple, and dusty green. Below it are six lines of partially preserved text, enough



to determine that this leaf does not belong to any yet known Greek treatise on plants. The illustration does, however, clearly resemble that of Sinfintos in Pseudo-Apuleius manuscripts, and may indicate some connection with that recension.

The format of the verso is the same: illustration followed by text. In his rendering of the flommos the painter betrays how humble his skills truly are. The plant is simply outlined in heavy brown, then filled in with a green or purple wash. One need only compare this representation with one in the tenth-century Morgan Dioscurides (no. 181) to realize how quickly naturalism was lost in some branches of the tradition. This fragment nevertheless exemplifies the less expensive manuscripts used in the daily practice of ancient and medieval physicians, manuscripts that in their time surely greatly outnumbered deluxe editions like nos. 179, 181.

This leaf was discovered by J. de M. Johnson in 1904 during the Egypt Exploration Fund campaign in Antinoë. It is reported to have been found among materials dating from the end of the fourth to the beginning of the fifth century, a date that agrees with the stylistic features of the fragment.

J. C. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Singer, 1927, p. 31; Weitzmann, 1959, pp. 11–12.

*179 Dioscurides, *De materia medica*

Constantinople, shortly before 512

Parchment

491 fols.; 37 × 30 cm. ($14\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod.
med. gr. 1

This is the most celebrated copy of an illustrated herbal. It was commissioned as a presentation copy for Juliana Anicia—daughter of Flavius Anicius Olybrius, who was emperor for part of the year 472—by the citizens of the city of Honoratiae in gratitude for her donation of a church in their town. The manuscript is now missing some of its leaves.



Fol. 4v of no. 179: *Heuresis and Dioscurides*

The codex begins with a series of richly framed portraits. On fols. 2v and 3v are twin groups of physicians and pharmacists, including Xenocrates, Galen, Crateuas, and Dioscurides, seated as if captured in a lively discussion. On fol. 4v Heuresis, the personification of discovery, holds up a mandrake to the author Dioscurides, while she gestures toward a mortally bedeviled dog, the animal used to extract the dangerous plant from the earth. In the following miniature, fol. 5v, Dioscurides is seated at the right, examining a text on his lap. In the center, the personification Thought or Design, Epinoia, holds up the mandrake for a painter to reproduce. These miniatures elegantly express the author's reliance on earlier sources, as well as his own contribution to natural science. On fol. 6v is the final portrait of Juliana—the first surviving dedication miniature. Again, personifications enrich the image; for example, Magnanimity and Wisdom flank the stiffly posed princess.

The text of the manuscript, while mainly devoted to Dioscurides' *De materia medica*, contains other works, such as Euteknios' paraphrase of Nicander's *Theriaka* and paraphrases of Oppian's *Halieutika* and Dionysios' *Ornithiaka*. Throughout,

the illustration of these texts reveals the growing artistic awareness of the decorative potential of the codex form over that of the roll—the original form of these writings. In the illustration of the herbal itself, entire pages are given over to superb representations of individual plants. Another example of this shift toward fully decorated leaves is the miniature on fol. 483v with twenty-four birds. Up to this point the birds illustrating Dionysios' *Ornithiaka* were painted within breaks in the text close to the passages they illustrated. On fol. 483v, however, the twenty-four are grouped together to take advantage of the whole leaf. The ostrich fits uncomfortably into the upper left corner of the grid, a carryover from an unframed miniature.

In the fourteenth century, used by the monk Neophytus of the monastery of the Prodromos of Petra, Constantinople; 1569, sold, through the offices of Augerius de Busbecke to emperor Maximilian II by the son of Hamon, physician to Sultan Suleiman II.

J. C. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gerstinger, 1970.

****180 Dioscurides, *De materia medica***

Eastern Empire, 7th century

Parchment

172 fols.; 29.7 × 14 cm. (11 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Suppl. gr. 28

As it is presently preserved, this manuscript is missing some of its leaves, but it still contains 409 individual plant miniatures distributed over 172 folios. In terms of textual makeup its nearest relative is the sixth-century Vienna Dioscurides (no. 179). Both manuscripts belong to the same text family, but instead of full-page plant miniatures, the leaves of this codex each contain writing and two or three individual plants. The uncial text itself is written in several narrow columns rather than across the full width of each leaf (cf. nos. 410, 442). This disposition of text and pictures recalls that of the earliest extant illustrated rolls, in which the columns of text, interrupted only by the unframed miniatures, proceed from one end



Fol. 42r of no. 180: violet

to the other. Thus, even though this codex is later than the one in Vienna (no. 179), it is more archaic in appearance.

Errors in the placement of miniatures occurred in the Naples Dioscurides in the course of its copying and decoration. Carelessness is also evident in the unevenness of the uncial writing and in the roughness of the miniatures. The plants lack the precision of execution and degree of naturalism achieved by the painter of the Vienna Dioscurides. Nevertheless, this surely is a deluxe manuscript, though it belongs to a period of decline.

Eighteenth century, Library of the Augustin Fathers of S. Giovanni at Carbonara; 1718, taken to Vienna by Charles VI; 1923, returned to the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples.

J. C. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Anichini, 1956; Bianchi Bandinelli, 1956.



Fol. 67r of no. 181: violet

181 Dioscurides, *De materia medica*

Constantinople, 10th century

Parchment

385 fols.; 39 × 29 cm. (15 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M 652

As in the Vienna codex (no. 179), Dioscurides' *De materia medica* occupies the major part of this collective volume, which also includes shorter texts, such as paraphrases of Nicander's *Theriaca* (no. 226) and *Alexipharmaka*—both dealing with antidotes—and a paraphrase of Oppian's *Halieutika*.

This example is richly illustrated with over 750 representations of plants and animals, and it is generally accepted that a great number of these miniatures were copied directly, or through very

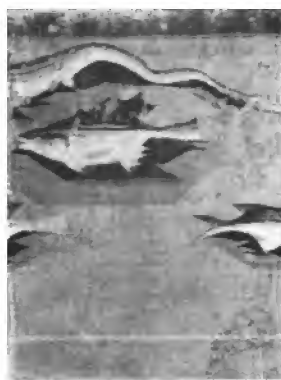
few intermediaries, from those of the sixth-century Vienna manuscript (no. 179). A comparison, for example, of the respective illustrations of the violet (*Viola odorata*)—a plant efficacious in the treatment of burning pains in the stomach and inflammation of the eyes—in the Vienna codex, fol. 148v, and in this one, fol. 67r, reveals that its design is exactly the same in both illustrations, though the painter was forced to compress his painting slightly to fit the space between chapters. (For the violet, cf. also no. 180.) It is also clear that the naturalism comes to be gradually drained from the illustrations in the process of copying and recopying. The New York painter is so careful to reproduce the exact curve of the six stems that they have become stiff and stilted, lacking the gentle sway of the stems in the Vienna codex, itself a copy of an earlier, similar work.

Despite these apparent shortcomings attributable to the process of bookmaking, the Morgan Dioscurides is still a triumph of painting and calligraphy that bears witness to the revival of classical learning at the tenth-century Constantinopolitan imperial court.

Sixteenth century, Manuel Eugenikos, Constantinople; about 1820, Domenico Sestini; 1820–1849, Marchese C. Rinuccini, Florence; 1849–1857, Payne and Foss, London; 1857–about 1860/65, Charles Phillipps; about 1860/65–1920, Thomas Phillipps; 1920, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

J. C. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: van Buren, 1973.



182, 183 Textile with fishes

Color plate V

Egypt, 3rd century

Wool and linen

Large fragment: 138 × 87 cm. (54 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 34 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Lyons, Musée Historique des Tissus, 908.I.116

Small fragment: 44 × 33 cm. (17 $\frac{7}{16}$ × 13 in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des

Antiquités Egyptiennes, Section Copte, Gu 1242

Reunited here are two parts of a textile hanging discovered in Antinoë at the turn of the century. A group of fish, all seen from the side, is depicted against a rich blue green background in a manner



that is very naturalistic, particularly in light of the medium. The designer even included shadows below the fish, as if they had been sketched from life swimming in a shallow pool. The Uzitta mosaic with fish (no. 184) and its relatives show the ease with which craftsmen could change backgrounds to achieve different effects. The designers of both works surely looked no further for inspiration than model books with accurate sketches prepared, not from life, but ultimately from manuscripts in which naturalism was the prime concern. The few examples of fish in the Morgan Dioscurides give some indication of this genre.

Discovered in Antinoë during the A. Gayet excavations, 1898–1906; Musée Guimet, Paris; Musée du Louvre, Paris, and Musée Historique des Tissus, Lyons.

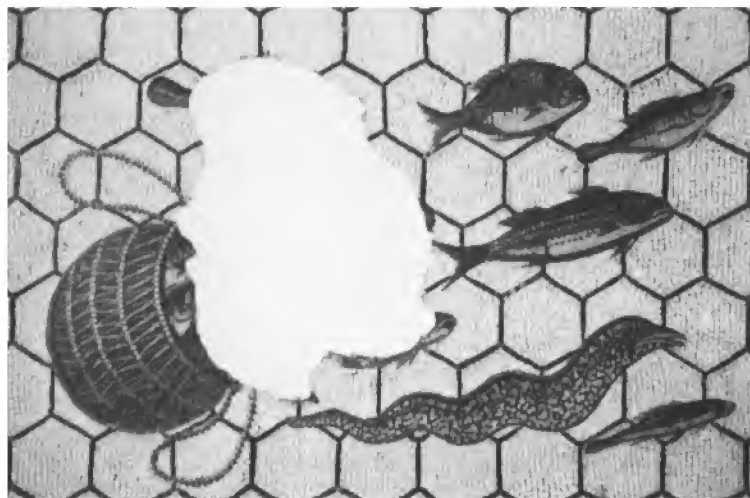
J. C. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Paris, 1964, p. 146; Volbach, 1966, p. 12, fig. 3 (here the Lyons piece wrongly assigned to Paris); du Bourguet, 1968, p. 65.

184 Mosaic with fish

Uzitta (?), Tunisia, mid–3rd century
111.1 × 164.1 cm. (43 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 64 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
Tunis, Musée National du Bardo

This North African mosaic shows at the left a basket filled with fish and at least eight more fish at the right. The regular background of interlocked hexagons—a floor pattern as familiar today as in antiquity—creates an impression similar to that of the popular asaroton-type mosaic; here the basket seems to have fallen to the floor and the fish spilled out. In fact, this type of basket was used for fishing and can be seen held in the water by a fisherman in a mosaic from Sousse, the ancient city of Hadrumetum just north of Uzitta, where this mosaic is said to have been found (Gauckler, 1910, II, no. 139). Another mosaic from Sousse (Gauckler, 1910, II, no. 148) more accurately reflects the original composition, of which this example is but one of several variants. In the Sousse representation, the basket is shown in the water with the fish, as if it were being drawn along to catch them.



The fish in all of these are naturalistically represented, much like those in early illustrated scientific treatises.

Said to have been discovered in the Tunisian city of Uzitta.

J. C. A.

Unpublished.

185 Beaker with marine creatures

Cologne region, 4th century
Glass
11.5 cm. (4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, 63, 53

Among the important glass finds of the late Roman and Early Christian periods made in the Cologne region is this glass beaker. Its applied decoration consists of three rows of different species of fish and a base of mollusks, a watery theme suitable for a drinking vessel. In material, form, and use of marine ornament, it closely corresponds to a number of other beakers, one of which was discovered in Trier (now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum). As Anton Kisa (1908, III, pp. 768–769) was the first to observe, the fish on these vessels are often quite realistic despite the difficulty of rendering in this medium. The craftsman has arranged them in a carefully considered program in rows according to their descending levels of habitation in the



sea. The transparency of the glass reinforces the underwater illusion.

The interest in naturalism is similar to that displayed by the creator of the Antioch mosaic of Oceanus and Thalassa, which illustrates thirty-seven different species of fish (Morey, 1938, pp. 29–31, pl. 4). These representations may have been copied from model sheets made from illustrated natural science treatises, like Oppian's *Halieutika*, or even a deluxe cookbook. The Morgan Dioscurides (no. 181), for example, contains a number of carefully rendered fish.

Said to have been recently discovered in the region of Cologne; 1963, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne.

J. C. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cologne, 1967, no. 271.

186 Fragment of a bowl with fish

Rome or Carthage, about 400

Rock crystal

5.7 × 9.4 cm. (2¼ × 3⅙ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Bequest of Mrs. William H. Moore, 1955, 55.135.7

Although this half of a dish—like the other rock crystal objects from Carthage now in the Metro-

politan (no. 315)—may have served in the Christian cult, its marine decoration relates it to the secular glass beaker from the Cologne region (no. 185). The fragment of a bowl, in the shape of a boat with a ribbed keel, is carved in relief with fish and shells. A similar bowl, carved with fish in relief, is now in the treasury of S. Marco, Venice, where it serves as a hanging lamp. This may have been the original function of both bowls (Volbach, 1971, pl. iv).

Rock crystal was believed to have magical qualities; the prayers of a supplicant who approached the temple holding a piece of it would be heard. Kidney ailments and many other diseases were believed to be healed by this stone, and these beliefs were adopted by Christians. The availability of rock crystal and its reputation as a talisman made it one of the most popular semiprecious stones in the Late Antique period.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bühler, 1973, nos. 115b and, for bibliography, 115c.



187 Soranos of Ephesus, *Gynaikeia* (Treatise on Midwifery)

Northern Europe, 9th–10th century

Parchment

17 fols.; 29 × 19 cm. (11⅜ × 7½ in.)

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 3701.5

The author of this work, Soranos of Ephesus, was born in Alexandria and practiced medicine in Rome during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian. Among his works are two medical treatises surviving in illustrated editions. This manuscript is

Derit & sic
conant fuerit quid
facient reseruat
replendit. e. &
corruat pedib;
si ead ducuntur
fuerit.

the earliest extant copy of the Latin translation made in the sixth century by one Mustio.

The treatise prepares the midwife for any difficulties that may arise during the course of childbirth. Essential are the schematic illustrations showing the adultlike fetus in the uterus, a flask shape with indications of the Fallopian tubes at either side. In each drawing the fetus is in a different position, and the accompanying text gives step-by-step instructions on how to deal with the delivery. The schematic quality of the depictions in this Carolingian copy are probably not far removed from that of the original, a Late Antique compendium of medical texts. Along with the Soranos treatise the manuscript also contains Latin translations of writings by other Greek physicians, among them Galen, Hippocrates, and Oribasius.

In the sixteenth century, belonged to Victor Giselin, a Belgian physician and humanist.

J. C. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Koehler, 1923, p. 7; Gaspar and Lyna, 1937, pp. 15–16; Weitzmann, 1959, pp. 19–20.



Fol. 55v of no. 188

*188 *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*

Italy (?), early 6th century

Parchment

166 fols.; 31.6 × 24.7 cm. (12 $\frac{7}{16}$ × 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 36.23 Aug. 2°

The *Corpus Agrimensorum* is a collection of writings on land surveying and property rights. The surviving examples vary slightly in their exact contents and their order but generally contain treatises and excerpts by such authors as Frontinus, Balbus, and Hyginus Gromanticus. The Wolfenbüttel *Agrimensores*, or *Codex Arcerianus*, as it is called, is actually two compilations—one illustrated, the other not—bound together. Some leaves have been lost, and the ink on others has greatly faded, but the *Arcerianus* remains a handsome manuscript.

The text of the *Arcerianus* is written in a single-column uncial with periodic breaks for diagrammatic illustrations. Often an imaginary grid drawn

from the two major surveying axes, the *cardo* and the *decumanus*, is superimposed over a section of terrain, usually seen in bird's-eye perspective. The drawings are enhanced by a delicate wash that picks out the forms of rivers and hills and walled cities drawn after the ancient convention. As in other scientific texts, these illustrations serve to clarify points raised in the text. The skill and care with which the illustrations are executed, however, indicates that though the thrust of the writing is practical, this copy was never taken into the field. It even seems too well made to have been used as a school text. The patron's interest may, rather, have lain in the wealth of juridical information contained in the corpus.

In addition to the intercalated miniatures, fol. 67v bears a full-page author portrait executed in a pure drawing style. It shows an uninscribed author, presumably an agrimensor, clad only in a mantle and seated on a marble bench under a baldachin; in one hand he holds a scroll, while with the other he makes the ancient finger-counting gesture.

Sixteenth century, Erasmus of Rotterdam; after 1536, Johannes a Lasco; before 1559, given to Gerhard Mortaigne; Johannes T. Arcerius, Utrecht; Peter Scriverius; 1663, bought from Scriverius by Duke August the Younger of Brunswick; 1807, on order of Napoleon taken to the Bibliothèque Impériale, Paris; 1816, returned to the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

J. C. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Butzmann, 1970.

189 *Poliorcetica*

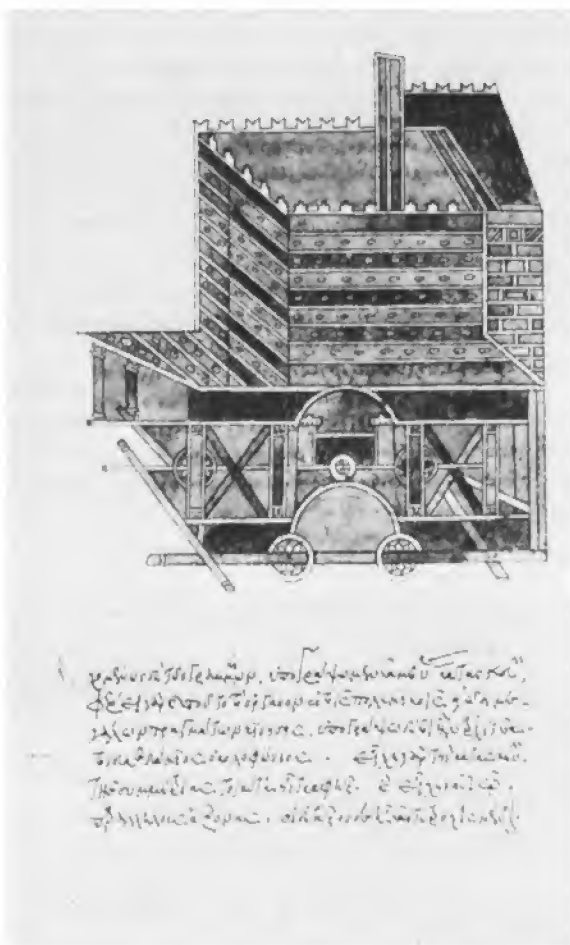
Italy (?), 16th century

Paper

219 fols.; 36.5 × 25.5 cm. (14 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. gr. fol. 3

Fol. 19r of no. 189: *helepolis*



The ascendancy of the codex in late antiquity enabled the formation of handy compendia of related texts. A late copy of one such collection is this *Poliorcetica*, which contains writings by Biton (third century B.C.) and Apollodorus of Damascus (first century A.D.). The subjects discussed range from weaponry and the construction of siege machines to more theoretical topics of tactics and history.

Manuscripts like this *Poliorcetica* give us precious information about the history of ancient warfare as well as illustrations that reflect the earliest phase of book illumination. On fols. 15–22 is Biton's treatise *De constructione bellicarum machinarum et catapultarum* addressed to the Hellenistic king Attalos I of Pergamon (269–197 B.C.). The detailed descriptions and the explicit references to diagrams indicate that this text was illustrated from the time of its composition in the third century B.C.

On fol. 19r, for example, is the drawing of the *helepolis*, which Biton says was made for Alexander the Great by Poseidonios. It consists of an undercarriage riding on two oak axles with oak wheels. Resting on the braced undercarriage—which protects the men moving the engine—is a large wooden tower fitted with a movable plank to throw across city walls. Armed men waited inside the tower until it had been pushed up to the city, then threw out the ramp and fought their way over the walls. The illustration shows the *helepolis* resting next to a masonry wall with the plank extended.

We owe the existence of many of these *poliorcetic* texts, this one probably among them, to the practical and antiquarian interests of the Italian Renaissance tacticians and humanists who kept alive a tradition they received from Byzantium. One of the treatises in this manuscript is the *Tactica* of the Byzantine emperor Leo the Wise (886–912). Paradoxically, however, the illustrations have become flat and lifeless, failing to evoke that real sense of the machine preserved in some of the earlier Byzantine examples, like the eleventh-century Vat. gr. 1164. Nonetheless, this and other illustrated *poliorcetic* manuscripts give us important insights into the art of warfare and book illustration in antiquity.

Given to the Leiden Library by Isaac Vossius.

J. C. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dain, 1946, pp. 36–37; Meyier, 1955, pp. 4–6.

190 Aratea

Lorraine, 2nd quarter 9th century

Parchment

99 fols.; 22.5 × 20 cm. (8 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{7}{8}$)

Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. cod. lat. qu.

79

One of the most famous works of the exact sciences in antiquity is the *Phaenomena* of Aratus of Soloi (fourth to third century B.C.), an astronomical treatise dealing with the locations and configurations of the stars. Aratus was not, in fact, an astronomer, but the court poet commissioned by Antigonos II Gonatas (about 320–239 B.C.) to versify the earlier treatise of Eudoxos of Knidos (fifth–fourth century B.C.). The so-called *Aratea* were in all likelihood illustrated with mythological figures for the constellations for the first time by Eratosthenes of Cyrene in the late third century B.C.

The strength of the sophisticated, Hellenistic style of the thirty-five, originally thirty-nine, miniatures of this *Aratus* suggests that the Carolingian painter had access to an illustrated exemplar dating to the fourth or fifth century A.D. It

Fol. 30v of no. 190: Andromeda



was during this period that the artistic potential of the codex was first exploited. In each of the simply framed, full-page miniatures, the monumental constellation image appears behind gold squares indicating the arrangement of the individual stars in the heavens. On fol. 30v is the superb representation of Andromeda, half-nude and chained to the rocks. The composition is a familiar one from ancient painting, lacking, however, the sea dragon and Perseus on whom she waits for her salvation. The reclining figure of Eridanus on fol. 68v also suggests, in its upward glance and gesture, an excerpt from a fuller ancient composition. Other constellation illustrations include the Capricornus of fol. 50v and the combined image of the Serpentarius standing on the back of the Scorpion on fol. 10v.

The elegant, fully assimilated classicizing style of this *Aratus* indicates more than just the close copying of a Late Antique period model. The text, barely more than captions to the illustrations, is probably the first example of a composite made from two different Latin translations, that of Germanicus Claudius Caesar (first century A.D.) and that of Avienus (late fourth or early fifth century). Two other manuscripts with classical texts have been attributed to the same Carolingian center of production. Lotharingia, associated with the court of the emperor Louis the Pious, was obviously of prime importance for the transmission of illustrated classical texts in the later Middle Ages. One is the Vatican *Corpus agrimensorum Romanorum* (Vat. Pal. lat. 564); and the other is the London *Aratus* (British Library, Harley cod. 647), which contains a third Latin translation, that of Cicero.

1573, bought by Jacobus Susius from a painter in Ghent; 1600, used by Hugo Grotius for the *Syntagma Arateorum*; seventeenth century, library of Queen Christina of Sweden; Isaac Vossius; Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek.

J. C. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Thiele, 1898; Koehler and Mutherich, 1971, pp. 79–83, 108–116.



191 Engraved finger ring with signs of the zodiac

Eastern Mediterranean, 4th–6th century
Gold
6 mm., diam. 2 cm. ($\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{3}{4}$ in.)
Anonymous loan

The ring has twelve sides, each bearing in intaglio one of the signs of the zodiac. It is a direct descendant of a type popular in the Roman imperial period, when, however, the signs were engraved on gems, as on an amethyst in the British Museum (Richter, 1971, no. 202). Polygonal rings, although usually octagonal, can be found throughout antiquity. This ring, however, probably dates to the Late Antique or Early Christian period, when engraved gems had become less popular. In favor were metal rings with carved or inlaid faces, like the sixth-century one with Christian scenes in Dumbarton Oaks (no. 446). While on that ring the figures are filled with niello, those of this ring are delicately carved in detail, more like earlier Greek and Roman seal rings.

The ring is a miniature version of the monumental circular band decorated with the twelve signs that often appears in Roman art supported by a figure personifying Time or Eternity (see the Parabiago plate, no. 164).

J. C. A.

Unpublished.

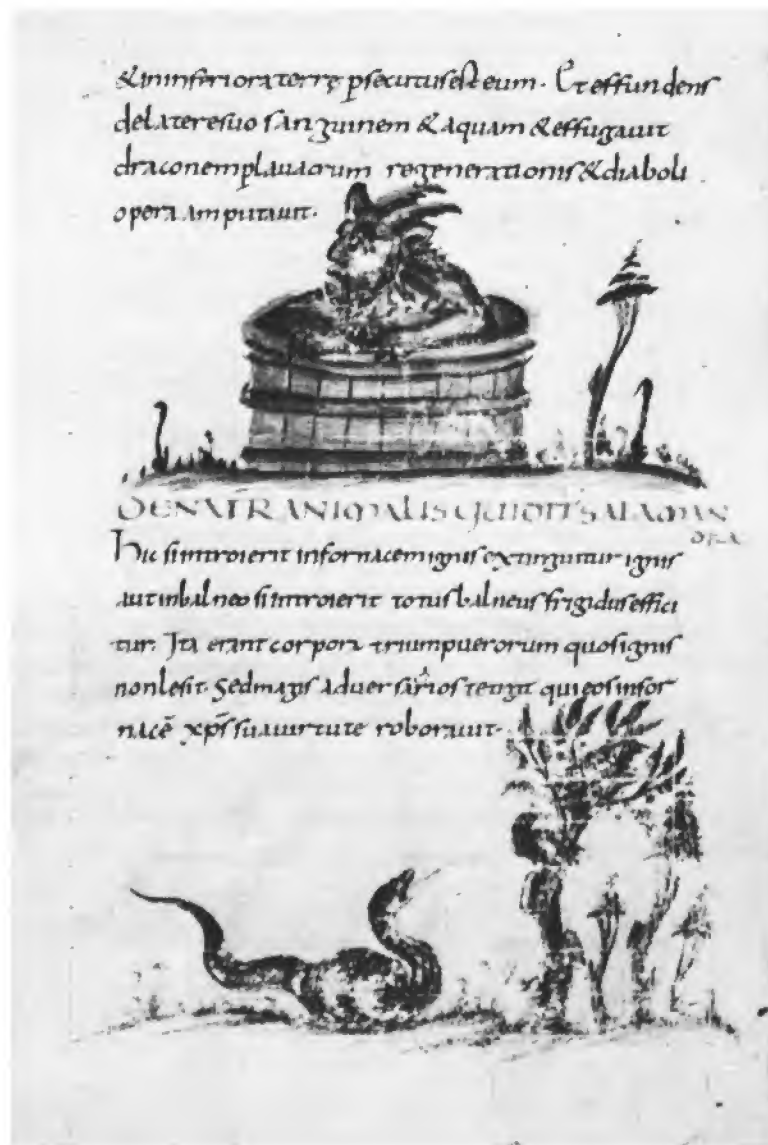
192 *Physiologus*

Reims, 2nd quarter 9th century
Parchment
131 fols.; 25 × 18 cm. ($9\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{16}$ in.)
Bern, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 318

The *Physiologus*, composed around A.D. 300, belongs to the tradition of the ancient natural science treatise. It is divided into short chapters outlining the habits and idiosyncrasies of various animals. Although some of the information, as well as some of the illustrations, occur in other, more scientific compilations, like the Dioscurides (nos. 179–181), the *Physiologus* seems to the modern reader a curious mixture of natural history, naive folklore, and Christian allegory.

The miniature cycle of this *Physiologus*, surely a faithful copy of a fifth-century model, is the most impressive of its type to have survived. All leaves with miniatures were removed from the manuscript when it was rebound in 1946 and are now kept separately. On fol. 12, two entwined serpents drinking from a well form the illustration to the creature's "third" characteristic: when it goes to a well to drink, it leaves behind its poison. The text

Fol. 17v of no. 192: salamander and serpent



concludes that men should similarly leave behind their will to do evil before entering a church. The verso of this leaf shows the "fourth" characteristic of the serpent, as well as two illustrations of ants. Other illustrations include: the unicorn on fol. 16; on fol. 17, the stag in pursuit of the serpent, and, on the verso, the salamander cooling a tub of bath water and the tree Peridexion harboring a group of doves from a serpent; on fol. 20v, the Acato stone used to locate pearls; on fol. 7, Jacob and the lion of Judah, the king of the animals. Finally, on fol. 22, the miniature of a horse and rider illustrates a chapter from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (12.1), written in the late sixth or early seventh century and at some time added to the *Physiologus* text.

Fifteenth century, Bachelier family, Reims; sixteenth century, Pierre Daniel, Orléans; 1603, received by Jacques Bonger from Daniel, Paris; 1623 given to the Bern Burgerbibliothek.

J. C. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: von Steiger and Homburger, 1964; Aachen, 1965, pp. 299–300.

193 The Ambrosian *Iliad*

Alexandria (?), 2nd half 5th century

Parchment

11.3 × 22 cm. ($4\frac{7}{16} \times 8\frac{5}{8}$ in.); original measurements with frame: about 26.5 × 31.5 cm. ($10\frac{7}{16} \times 12\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, cod. F. 205 inf. 1019

In its original form this *Iliad* was a parchment codex containing the complete text of Homer's poem, written in a fine majuscule script and embellished with as many as 200 illustrations. During the medieval period, the illustrations were cut from the codex; only fifty-two are preserved. Even in its present condition the Ambrosian *Iliad* is the most important illustrated Greek literary text to have survived from antiquity. On the evidence of both figure style (Weitzmann [1], 1954, pp. 260–263) and script (Cavallo, 1973, pp. 81–85), it has been attributed to an Alexandrian scriptorium of the second half of the fifth century. The pictures depend on a long tradition of *Iliad* illustrations,

some going back to the narrative cycles of papyrus rolls (cf. nos. 194, 205, 222). When the parchment codex gained popularity, such simple pictures were expanded into larger framed paintings, with new possibilities for the use of color and space. The following miniatures demonstrate some of the picture types.

Miniatures XX and XXI (Book 5). Two battle scenes have been enclosed within the same frame. The only clue as to which events are shown is the figure of the wounded Sarpedon reclining under an oak tree in the lower scene (verses 684–698). The various groupings of Trojans and Greeks are probably descended from models in earlier narrative cycles in papyrus. Above the battle hover Athena, Zeus, and Hera. In the upper scene a Greek stands out; he must be Menelaos striding "out among the champions helmed in bright bronze, shaking his spear" (562–563). The muted colors—orange, blue, green, purple—are characteristic and recur somewhat monotonously in the other miniatures. These chaotic, almost textured battle scenes have been compared to earlier Roman reliefs, including battle sarcophagi (Bianchi Bandinelli, 1955, pp. 125–128).

Miniature XXXIV (Book 10. 372–464). Two scenes are incorporated within the same frame. At the left Odysseus and Diomedes have seized the Trojan spy Dolon, who wears a wolf-skin disguise; at the right, Dolon is killed. Behind the figures are pale bands of lavender and blue, and above hovers the personification of Night. The emphasis here is on the action. The two scenes are probably derived from older models in the "papyrus style." They are not faithful to the text in details, as, for example, the dismemberment of Dolon, who is merely decapitated in Homer. The stiff, rather dramatic poses are typical. A preparatory drawing for Odysseus in the second scene can be seen just to the right of the painted figure.

Miniature XXXVII (Book 11). Three scenes are here combined. In the first, Achilles stands in the stern of his ship, watching the battle, which turns against the Greeks (598–615). With him is Patroclus, whom he sends to the tent of Nestor. In the second scene, Patroclus stands in the entrance of the tent conversing with Nestor, who sits beside the wounded Machaon (643–802). In the third scene, on a smaller scale, Patroclus treats the wounded Eurypylus, while to the right stands a third figure (wrongly inscribed "Patroclos" by



Miniature XXXVII (Book 11) from no. 193

the medieval commentator). In the two lower scenes a larger seated figure is flanked by two others, mostly on a smaller scale; such compositions are often in use in later Roman art for royal or imperial subjects (cf. no. 64).

Miniature XLVII (Book 16. 220–252). Achilles pours a libation to Zeus, praying for the glory of Patroclus' mission and for his safe return. He is depicted in the guise of a Roman magistrate, or even an emperor; barefoot, he wears the toga pulled up over his head and stands before an altar. The sacrificing Achilles is known earlier (Bianchi Bandinelli, 1955, fig. 153); here the flattened, angular figure has been considered typical of Alexandrian figure style in the Late Antique period (Weitzmann [1], 1954, pp. 261–263).

The Ambrosian *Iliad* was evidently in Constantinople in the later Middle Ages, when the inscriptions identifying the subjects of the miniatures were added (de Wit, 1932). In 1608, Cardinal Federico Borromeo purchased it at Naples for the Ambrosian Library.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: De Wit, 1932; Calderini, 1953; Weitzmann (1), 1954, pp. 241–264; Bianchi Bandinelli, 1955; Bianchi Bandinelli, 1971, pp. 86–96; Cavallo, 1973.

194 Drawing of Briseis and the heralds

Egypt, 4th century

Papyrus

13.2 × 16 cm. (5 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 6 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Pap. gr. 128

The fragmentary drawing was once part of an illustrated roll of the *Iliad*. The only original contour is the top; a column of text probably lay below the picture. The drawing is in brown ink; three figures and a scrap of a fourth survive. A woman is led to the right by two men; she and the first man look back at something now lost. Weitzmann ([1], 1954) recognized that the scene illustrates a passage in the first book of the *Iliad*: Agamemnon has decreed that Achilles must give up the concubine Briseis; the heralds Talthibius and Eurybates come to take her away, "and the woman all unwilling went with them still" (330–348). Although the drawing is sketchy, it is nonetheless valuable evidence for the illustration of the *Iliad* in papyrus. Moreover, the scene is very similar to a poorly preserved miniature in the Ambrosian *Iliad* (no. 193), in which Briseis stands



between the heralds and looks back longingly at Achilles. The scene was borrowed by artists working in other media (nos. 195, 196). All of these scenes belong to the same picture recension, which is derived from illustrated texts of the *Iliad* similar to the Munich papyrus. The provenance of several members of the recension in Egypt suggests that the cycle originated there. The Munich papyrus itself comes from Egypt; it entered the library in Munich in 1913.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hartmann, 1930; Weitzmann (1), 1954, pp. 246–247; Weitzmann, 1959, pp. 32–33; Weitzmann (1), 1970, p. 54, fig. 42.

195 Plaque of Achilles, Briseis, and the heralds

Place of origin uncertain, 4th century

Bronze with tin plating

23.2 × 10.9 cm. (9 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

London, The Trustees of the British Museum, 1772.

3–3.XII

The bronze plaque is corroded and broken around the edges. The drawings were engraved, then plated with tin. In the uppermost register a herald addresses the enthroned Achilles, his hand lifted in the gesture of speech. Achilles listens intently, his left hand resting against his head. In the center, the concubine Briseis is led away by the two

heralds, who hold her arms and look at her with concern. Below is a pile of armor. The scenes illustrate consecutive moments of the Briseis episode in Book 1 of the *Iliad* (cf. no. 194). The incised drawings are lively and expressive; the artist's interest in the psychological states of his characters is apparent in pose and gesture. Scale is distorted for emphasis, as with the hands. The first scene appears in slightly different form on the Doria bucket (no. 196), and the second scene recurs there and in the papyrus fragment (no. 194).



All of these works ultimately depend on the same cycle of *Iliad* illustrations.

The function of the bronze is uncertain; another object of similar shape is the Leda plaque (no. 215). The Briseis plaque was once in the collection of Sir William Hamilton, British ambassador to the court of Naples (1769–1800), and so was probably found in Italy. It has been in the British Museum since the late eighteenth century.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Walters, 1899, no. 883; Bulas, 1929, p. 81; Weitzmann (1), 1954, p. 255; Bianchi Bandinelli, 1955, p. 118, fig. 173.

196 The Doria bucket

Egypt (?) , 5th century

Bronze

23.5, diam. 31 cm. (9 $\frac{1}{4}$, 12 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.)

Rome, P.ssa Orietta Doria Pamphilj in Pogson

Doria Pamphilj, 559

The bucket, or situla, is relatively well preserved but would not hold water; the surface is in places corroded. The designs on the sides were achieved in a variety of techniques: most contour lines were traced; the stippling of flesh and the small circles on shoes, hair, and drapery were produced with a variety of punches.

The figurative scenes, which are separated by spiral columns, illustrate two episodes concerning Achilles and his concubine Briseis (Hom. *Il.* 1. 318–348, 24. 643–676). The first is spread across three intercolumniations: Achilles is seated at the left, playing the lyre; next to him stands a figure who may be Patroclus. Achilles looks toward Briseis, who is being led away by the two heralds Talthymbius and Eurybates. In the next bay is Agamemnon, who had ordered Achilles to give up Briseis and who gestures here as though to welcome the returning heralds. Like Priam in the following scene, Agamemnon is shown with the type of nimbus appropriate for kings. The second scene illustrates a later moment: Briseis has now returned to Achilles, and he to the fighting. Hector is dead, and his father, Priam, has come to ransom his body (cf. no. 210). The old man is asleep in the entrance to Achilles' tent, with his herald

below him; at the left stands Achilles, once again playing the lyre. Briseis, led by a servant, tiptoes toward him as if trying not to awaken Priam.

The arrangement of the group of Briseis and the heralds is similar to the analogous scenes in the Munich papyrus (no. 194) and the bronze plaque (no. 195), and it is clear that they belong to the same iconographic tradition. Briseis even wears the Phrygian cap as in no. 194. However, the second herald here, whose movement and gesture seem unmotivated, was substituted by the artist for the original pushing herald; a figure similar to this herald appears on the bronze plaque (no. 195) addressing Achilles. From such substitutions we can see that the artist tended to reuse established figure types rather than invent new ones. These changes do not always enhance the sense of the narrative; the psychological understanding of the bronze plaque is also missing here. Although the scenes on the bucket are ultimately based on the *Iliad*, they also contain elements more directly derived from a lost *Achilleis*, the illustrations for which are found in the works grouped around a silver plate (no. 208). The non-Iliadic elements on the bucket are the group of Achilles and Patroclus, the seated Agamemnon (who is not mentioned as receiving Briseis by Homer), and the scene with Priam. Homer says merely that Priam slept in the



porch of Achilles' tent and that Achilles slept that night with Briseis. The *Achilleis* poet embroidered the situation, emphasizing romantic qualities; this is shown by the little Eros who flies toward the lovers. There are no parallels for this scene. The quality of the incision is reminiscent of that on the bronze plaques (nos. 195, 215) in the fullness of the limbs and in the vivacity of drapery and movement. Yet because of the short strokes of the tracing tool, the line is nervous and less harmonious. Space is treated more two-dimensionally; rosettes in the interstices between figures emphasize the decorative quality of the surface. The roughness of the style and the tendencies toward abstraction suggest that the situla is Egyptian (cf. no. 198); parallels in metalwork, textiles, and ivory indicate a date in the fifth century.

A tradition holds that the piece may come from Caesarea in Palestine; it has long been in the Doria collection in Rome.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weitzmann, 1959, pp. 249–251; Carandini, 1963–1964.

197 Plate with Achilles and Briseis

Place of origin unknown, 4th century

Silver

Diam. 70 cm. ($27\frac{9}{16}$ in.); 10.3 kg.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 2875

This very large plate, or *missorium*, has a low foot. The surface is filled by a mythological scene surrounded by a border of pomegranates. There is a long tear between border and central scene from the upper left to lower right. This has been repaired by rivets from the back. Extensive damage at the raised knee of the nude figure at the lower right has also been repaired in modern times. There are traces of gilding on the stool at the center and on the hair and helmets of the figures at the right. Two modern coats-of-arms are engraved on the back of the plate.

The mythological representation contains references to at least three critical events in the participation of Achilles in the Trojan War. In the center the beardless man, his garment fallen from

his chest, must be Achilles. He is seated frontally but turns to the right to a bearded man in a short chiton. On the left is the most easily identifiable group: Patroclus leads Briseis from Achilles' tent (Hom. *Il.* 1. 326–356). Chabouillet's (1858) interpretation of the scene as the reconciliation of Agamemnon and Achilles (*Il.* 19. 184–337) has been rejected convincingly by Levi (1947, I) and Carandini (1963–1964). Yet in the *Iliad* Agamemnon's heralds do not speak to Achilles. It is therefore impossible that the bearded man with whom Achilles speaks is a herald; his manner of dress and his bearing are hardly humble. The heralds are, in fact, certainly the helmeted figures farther to the right. A scene commonly conflated with the departure of Briseis is the arrival of the embassy of Phoenix (Hom. *Il.* 9. 162–657). Thus, on this plate, Achilles is addressing Odysseus, who spoke for the embassy. The table on the extreme right, with a vase and other objects, must refer to the banquet held on this occasion. The other figures around Achilles should be Phoenix and Ajax and the Myrmidons, Achilles' companions. The strange nude man seated at the lower right remains unexplained by this conflation. Around his waist is slung a sword. A similar nude figure on a silver vase of early imperial date found at Bernay in France and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Carandini, 1963–1964, p. 16, fig. A) is connected with the death of Patroclus. The scattered weapons at the bottom probably refer to the general theme of battle, yet a silver plate in Leningrad (no. 202) of a later period depicts Athena presiding over the distribution of Achilles' arms after his death. On the left of no. 202 is a large nude Ajax, who can be compared with the seated figures of this plate and the Bernay vase. On the right of no. 202 is Odysseus in a pose comparable to the figure identified as Odysseus on this plate. In the lower segment of no. 202 are a helmet, cuirass, and boots, the armor of Achilles. These may simply have been multiplied and varied on the plate here. Thus, this plate contains references to the three events in the participation of Achilles in the Trojan War: the leading away of Briseis, the embassy of Phoenix, and the death of Patroclus. A possible reference to a fourth event, the death of Achilles, may be seen in the armor.

The plate is difficult to date with precision but resembles in ornament and style other silver plates of the fourth century. Its place of manufacture is



unknown, but it was found in the Rhône near Avignon in 1656. It was long known as the Shield of Scipio, because the scene was thought to depict that famous Roman. Among the largest known of its kind, the plate indicates the size and luxury of antique silverwork commissioned by pagans and Christians alike.

W. A. P. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chabouillet, 1858, no. 2875; Babelon, 1900, no. 2875; Levi, 1947, I, p. 48; Carandini, 1963–1964, pp. 15–16, pl. III, fig. 7.

198 Textile with Thetis at the forge of Hephaestus

Egypt, late 6th–early 7th century
Wool and linen

12.4 × 13.3 cm. (4 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 2140–1900

The square panel once decorated an article of clothing made of undyed linen; frame and figura-



tive scene are inwoven in dark purple wool. The subject has recently been recognized as the visit of Thetis to the god Hephaestus, as narrated in the *Iliad* (18. 368–616). Thetis, seated at the right, lifts her hand in a speaking gesture; Hephaestus leans forward over his forge, his right arm lifting his hammer. At the left is a nude youth, probably Achilles, holding a short sword. Thetis has asked Hephaestus to forge new arms for her son, whose armor has been captured by the Trojans. The god has finished the shield, now suspended from a tree, and has begun work on the helmet. There is a rough vigor in the large heads and expressive gestures, characteristic of late Coptic textiles.

Several incongruities in the scene indicate either weakened understanding of the myth or, less likely, a hidden meaning. Although at this moment in the story Achilles ought to be in the Greek camp before Troy, mourning for Patroclus, the Egyptian artisan has introduced him here, evidently for the sake of compositional balance. The non-Homeric shield device of a head wearing a Phrygian cap is more curious. Such imagines clipeatae, though without Phrygian caps, had earlier been used to represent the immortal dead, and the shield here may allude to Achilles' coming death in battle. The article of clothing that the panel embellished was worn by the dead—for it comes from a cemetery—and so the scene may have a symbolic meaning: like Achilles, the dead person will achieve immortality (Lewis [1], 1973, p. 317). It has also been suggested that the figure of Thetis

can be understood on another level as Aphrodite or Cybele, and the shield device as Attis or Eros (Dwyer, 1974). The provenance of the panel is unrecorded; it entered the museum in 1900.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lewis (1), 1973; Dwyer, 1974.

199 Sculpture with Odysseus bound to the mast

Asia Minor (?), 4th century

Bronze

21.6 × 17.1 cm. (8½ × 6¾ in.)

Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 67–20

The various parts of this bronze sculpture in the shape of a ship were cast separately, then assembled. Below the ship is a flangelike surface; under this is part of the base, now broken, and behind is a rough handle. Although the bronze was initially called a lamp, it does not have spouts or fill hole; the presence of a base suggests that the piece was



a small-scale sculpture, of a sort also known in marble (cf. no. 369).

The subject is taken from Book 12 of the *Odyssey* (154–200). Circe has warned Odysseus about the fatal allure of the Sirens; his crew (here reduced to the helmsman) obey his order to stop their ears with wax and row on, while Odysseus has himself tied securely to the mast and alone experiences the perilous music. The scene has a long tradition in Greco-Roman art, but in one respect the bronze is most unusual. In the writings of the Church fathers, the story of Odysseus' encounter with the Sirens was frequently given an allegorical Christian interpretation (on the patristic sources, Rahner, 1963, pp. 328–386); the ship was equated with the Church, the mast and yardarm with the cross, the helmsman with God's Logos. Odysseus became the type of the true Christian, who, by binding himself voluntarily to the cross, immeasurably strengthened himself for the hazardous voyage of life. The Sirens naturally represented the shoals of temptation. That we should see the bronze in this light is indicated by the dove perched atop the mast; its presence shows that the ship will be wafted by the Holy Spirit safely into port, even as Odysseus sailed past the Sirens and came home to Ithaca (Ross, 1970, p. 32). The bronze thus illustrates the endowing of an old theme from pagan literature with a specific Christian meaning, although Roman sarcophagi with the same subject must be understood as pagan, not Christian allegory (Klauser, 1963, pp. 89–100). The stocky figures with large heads point to a date in the fourth century, as does the form of the ship.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ross, 1970, pp. 32–33; Huskinson, 1974, p. 80, pl. ivb.

*200 Watercolor copy of a painted shield with Amazonomachy

Dura Europos, Syria, mid–3rd century

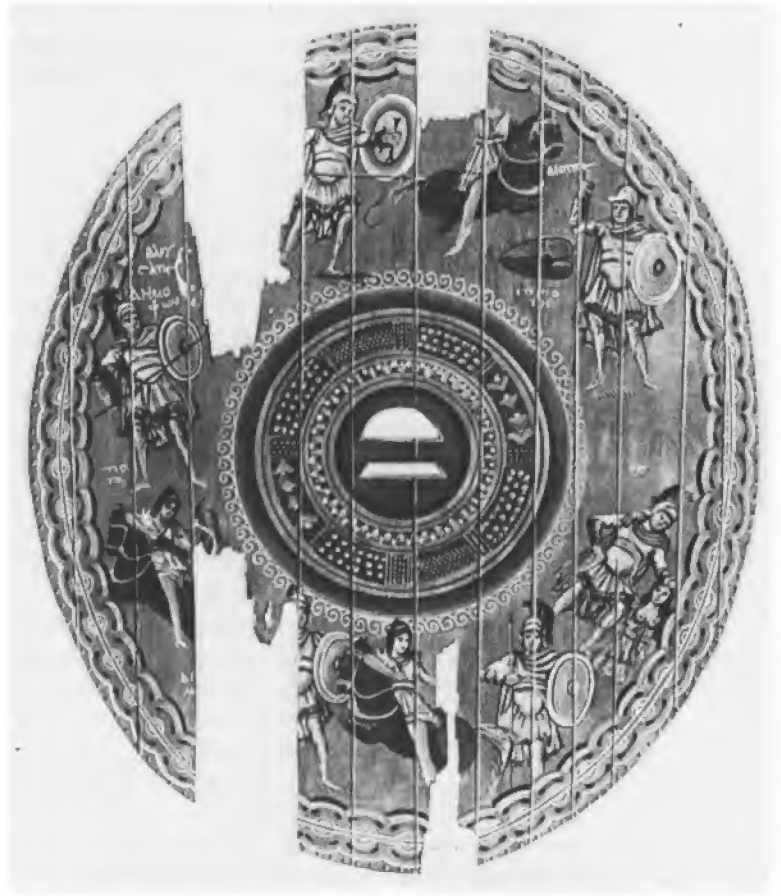
Paper (original shield, wood)

Original: 113.5 × 97 cm. ($44\frac{11}{16} \times 38\frac{3}{16}$ in.); copy:

79.8 × 64.9 cm. ($31\frac{7}{16} \times 25\frac{9}{16}$ in.)

New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery,

1936.127.26



In 1935 several painted wooden shields were found in the joint American-French excavations at Dura Europos, the Roman military site in Mesopotamia. They had been discarded unfinished shortly before the final abandonment of Dura in A.D. 256. Watercolors were made of the painted scenes by Herbert J. Gute, and these, rather than the very poorly preserved shields, were made available for exhibition. The shields are made of poplar and are slightly convex; they resemble the shields in the scenes painted on them. Both sides were painted, but only the exteriors could be cleaned.

The subject of the paintings is the battle of the Greeks and Amazons which took place in the final stages of the Trojan War. The figures are placed around the oval field in groups of two and three. At the bottom is a wounded Amazon, flanked by two Greeks; to the right, Penthesilea kneels before Achilles, her breasts bare; he grasps her hair and prepares to run her through with his sword. A moment later in the story, too late, he will be

moved to pity and love by her beauty. Above is a Greek warrior; the object to his left may have been an Amazon shield. At the top a Greek fights a mounted Amazon. Of the two groups on the left side of the shield, one Greek and one Amazon survive; the Greek is identified as Demophon, an Attic hero who participated in the sack of Troy, while the Amazon bears the exotic Eastern name of Barysatis.

The mounted Amazons are all of the same type, twisting around to fire "Parthian shots" at the enemy behind them. The battle of the Greeks and Amazons was described in the *Aithiopis* of Arktinos of Miletus, one of the lost poems in the "epic cycle." Although scenes that illustrated the poem do survive, it cannot be determined whether the combats of the shield belong to this narrative cycle. The inscriptions suggest that this may be so; yet the figure groups are known in Greco-Roman reliefs from a period before the beginnings of manuscript illustration. There was a well-known model for the use of the Amazonomachy as a shield device: on the shield of Phidias' great cult statue of Athena Parthenos in Athens.

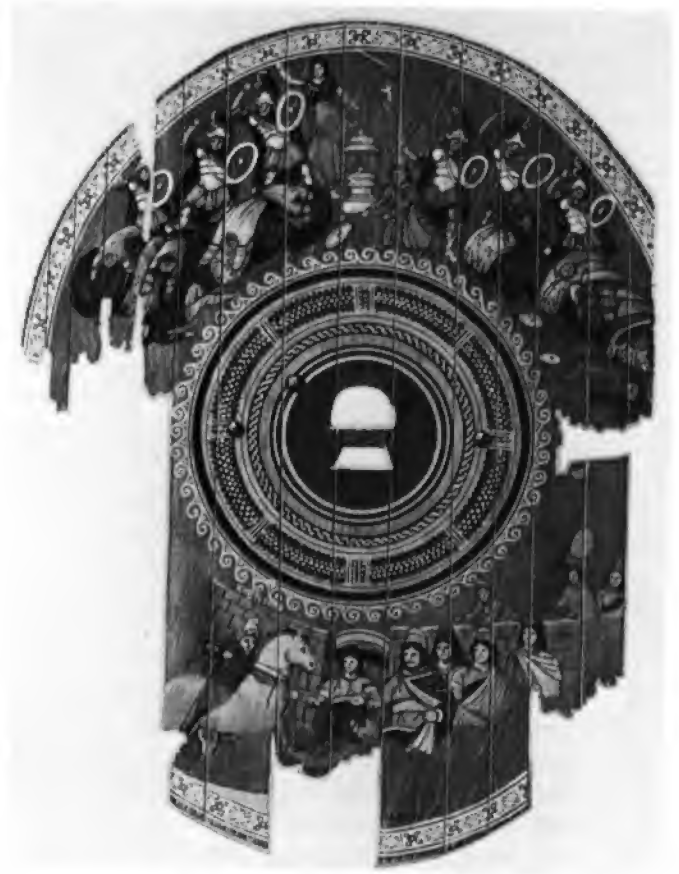
M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brown and Hopkins in Rostovtzeff, Brown, and Welles, 1939, pp. 349–363, pls. XLI–XLV; Morey, 1942, p. 71, fig. 61; Bianchi Bandinelli, 1955, p. 104, fig. 240.

*201 Watercolor copy of a painted shield with the sack of Troy

Dura Europos, Syria, mid-3rd century
Paper (original shield, wood)
Original: 107 × 95 cm. ($42\frac{1}{8} \times 37\frac{7}{16}$ in.); copy:
77.5 × 66.5 cm. ($30\frac{1}{2} \times 26\frac{3}{16}$ in.)
New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery,
1936.127.27

This shield is similar to no. 200, with which it was found. The scenes shown are: below, the entry of the wooden horse into Troy, and, above, the subsequent massacre of the Trojans. The lower scene takes place before the city walls: the horse stands at the left; facing it are Priam and his councilors wearing Phrygian caps. The woman framed by the city gate is Cassandra, whose gesture



indicates that she sees through the Greek trickery. Above, the Greeks have emerged from the horse and are attacking the Trojans, who were at banquet. The Trojans had been reclining against two long bolsters (*stibadia*), over which their bodies are now draped. Plates are scattered on the floor; in the center a Trojan, probably Priam, kneels before a Greek. All of the figures are turned toward the viewer, as in no. 200, with distorting effects in some groups; such frontality is typical of painting at Dura and is owed to Syrian influence. The scenes on this shield and no. 200 are derived from Greek models, but, as with the scenes of Dura synagogue frescoes (no. 341), which also depend on external sources, they have been adapted by local artists.

The legendary events illustrated on both shields supposedly took place after the end of the *Iliad* and were the subject of now lost poems in the so-called epic cycle; evidence for their illustration has been recognized in several monuments (Weitzmann, 1959, pp. 43–50). The scene of the Trojan horse is related to the corresponding scene in the

Vergilius Romanus (no. 204), which is probably descended from the same archetype. The upper scene is related in the same way to miniature 14 of the earlier Vatican Vergil (no. 203).

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brown and Hopkins in Rostovtzeff, Brown, and Welles, 1939, pp. 326–349, pls. XLI–XLV; Perkins, 1973, p. 34.

****202 Plate with the judgment of the arms**

Constantinople, about 600–650

Silver

Diam. 26.6 cm. (10½ in.)

Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum, 0 279

The plate is almost perfectly preserved. Although this type of plate was previously thought to be made of two sheets of silver soldered together, a recent investigation of the David plates (nos. 425–433) has made it clear that this relief was worked entirely from the front. Detail was then added by tracing and chasing.

The subject of the central scene is the judgment of Athena over the arms of Achilles. The goddess is enthroned in the center and below her are the arms of the dead hero. The two claimants to the armor flank her. At the left is the stalwart Ajax, who had rescued Achilles' body and armor from the Trojans; at the right is the wily Odysseus, calling attention to his claims. Looking down from a rocky ledge above is a small herdsman. The scene on the plate reflects the version of the story narrated by Lesches of Mytilene in the *Little Iliad* (see also Hom. *Od.* 10. 547). There Athena served as a judge; after her intervention in favor of Odysseus, Ajax became enraged and attacked a herd of cattle, thinking in his fury that they were his comrades. In his remorse he killed himself. The herdsman who peers down on the scene alludes to these tragic consequences.

Yet the scene is not entirely consistent. Thus Athena here addresses Ajax, although she should award the arms to Odysseus. Weitzmann (1960) has, in fact, been able to show that the composition consists of figure types borrowed from other nar-

rative scenes. The composition of judge flanked by claimants reflects the influence of Roman legal procedure on the iconography; the judgment of the arms had been used for centuries as a rhetorical exercise in legal training, so it is not surprising to find the scene conceived as though taking place in a courtroom. The Byzantine artist has sacrificed narrative consistency in favor of characterization and has composed the scene so that it would be easily understood by his contemporaries. The style is classical but there are telltale ambiguities, as in the awkward position of Ajax's arms, the two-dimensional incised decoration on Athena's shield, and the overall flatness of the relief.

The plate was probably made in Constantinople; it belongs to the large group of Byzantine silver plates with relief scenes in classical style (see also nos. 217, 425–433). It was found in 1780 by children playing in the bed of the River Kama in eastern Russia. Before coming to the Hermitage in 1925, the plate was in the collection of Count Stroganoff, Paris.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Matzulevich, 1929, pp. 54–58; Weitzmann, 1960, pp. 47–48; Bank, 1966, p. 341, pls. 65–66.



QUIDIACIRINIQUSUEININIAINUNTIUSSEIT
 STANILONGISADNIXIHASTISESCUTATINENTIS
 CASTRORUMETICAMTIMIDIOTUMNISUSITUNAMITITIU
 EURALISCONFESTIMALACRESADMILITRORANT
 REMIACNARTERTIUMQUIMORALFOREETIAMUSIULUS
 ACCITITREIDOSACNISUMDICEALIUSSIT



TUASICHXALACIPUSUDILQAMIBIDUSNIQUIS

Fol. 73v (miniature 49) from no. 203: Ascanius and Trojan council

203 The Vergilius Vaticanus: *Aeneid*

Rome, 1st quarter 5th century
Parchment
76 fols.; 21.9 × 19.6 cm. (8 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod.
Vat. lat. 3225

Two illustrated manuscripts of Vergil from the Late Antique period have survived (see also no. 204). The Vergilius Vaticanus, the older of the two, includes both the *Georgics* (no. 224) and the *Aeneid*; less than a fifth of the original manuscript is preserved. The illustrations consist of framed pictures, usually inserted into the text but sometimes taking up a full page. Although there is reason to suppose that a nucleus of the illustrations depends on an earlier cycle (Weitzmann [1], 1970, p. 106), we do not know when the first Vergilian picture cycles were created. When the poet's text deals with themes from Greek literature, Greek pictorial sources were used, but there are also many Late Antique elements that entered the picture cycle as it was recopied and elaborated. The Vergilius Vaticanus was illustrated by two or more painters; parallels with mosaics (e.g., no. 213) point to a date in the early fifth century. The manuscript probably comes from the same scriptorium, perhaps in Rome, that produced the Quedlinburg Itala (no. 424). The variety of pictorial concepts is illustrated by the following three miniatures.

In miniature 14, the sack of Troy (2. 254–267), the Greeks have left behind the wooden horse, pretending to sail for home. Some of their comrades have emerged from the horse and have begun to massacre the Trojans, who had been at banquet reclining against crescent-shaped bolsters. The combination of bird's-eye and lateral views is a convention typical of this manuscript, derived from Roman paintings and reliefs. The scene probably has the same Greek source as the sack of Troy on a relief of the first century (Weitzmann, 1959, p. 60); a related scene occurs on the shield from Dura Europos (no. 201). The prototype for these pictures illustrated a lost Greek epic poem—either the *Little Iliad* or the *Ilioupersis*.

Miniature 26 is a full-page picture of the death of Dido (4. 642–662). The queen has mounted her

funeral pyre by the ladder at the left and now reclines on her marriage bed, holding Aeneas' sword, with which she will kill herself. We look into a room drawn in perspective, with receding walls and coffered ceiling. Spatial incongruities in the scene include the position of the pyre and the placing of the door. The pyre, moreover, should be out of doors, according to Vergil.

Miniature 49 shows Nisus and Euryalus in the Trojan camp (9. 230–313). The two soldiers have volunteered to break through the enemy lines and summon Aeneas. They have addressed the Trojan council, presided over by Aeneas' son Ascanius, and their daring spirit is praised by the old soldier Aletes, seen below. We look into the camp from above, as in miniature 14. The scene is quite symmetrical: Ascanius is flanked by Nisus and Euryalus and balancing groups of soldiers. The figure beside Aletes was added for the sake of symmetry and is not called for by Vergil. Similar compositions occur on historical reliefs from the second century on.

In the Renaissance the Vergilius Vaticanus belonged to distinguished collectors, among them Pietro Bembo and Fulvio Orsini. The latter bequeathed it to the Vatican Library in 1600.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Fragmenta*, 1945; Bianchi Bandinelli, 1954; de Wit, 1959; Weitzmann, 1959, pp. 59–60; Buchthal, 1964.

204 The Vergilius Romanus: *Aeneid*

Color plate VI

Place of origin uncertain, late 5th century
Parchment
309 fols.; 33.2 × 32.3 cm. (13 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod.
Vat. lat. 3867

The second of the two Vergil manuscripts in the Vatican Library has an almost complete text of the *Eclogues*, *Georgics* (no. 225), and *Aeneid*. The nineteen miniatures were for centuries considered inferior products; but recently their rough,

expressive style has been better appreciated. The *Aeneid* miniatures are all full-page and framed. As in provincial art in general, there is less interest in three-dimensional space than in a neatly laid-out surface. The figures lack classical structure and proportion; faces are mostly expressionless masks, with staring eyes, seen either in three-quarter or profile views. The linear drapery obscures the bodies; gestures are often exaggerated for emphasis. Two pictures exemplify these qualities.

In miniature 13 (fol. 100v) where Dido and Aeneas are shown banqueting (l. 697 ff.), the artist has created a crystalline image. Under an awning, Dido and Aeneas recline on bolsters. Before them is a crescent cushion decked with ribbons and a round table bearing a silver plate with a fish. Below are two attendants. The scene is rigidly symmetrical. The Trojan at the right is unidentified; like a similar added figure in miniature 49 of the Vergilius Vaticanus (no. 203), he is required by the compositional schema and does not appear in the text. The colors are particularly striking, though not at all classical; orange and yellows daringly encompass the lavenders of cloaks and cushions.

In miniature 15 (fol. 106), Dido and Aeneas have taken shelter in a cave, after the goddess Juno contrived a thunderstorm to bring them together (4. 160 ff.). The artist depicts their em-

brace, more discreetly than the text would have it. Their horses are tethered outside and above are two guards, one of whom protects himself from the rain with his shield. The tapestry effect is especially apparent here; there is little depth or overlapping, while the picture field has an almost uniform density.

Through comparison of miniature 13 with a similar scene in a Constantinian sarcophagus in Modena, Rodenwaldt (1934, p. 295) attributed the manuscript to northern Italy and dated the prototype to the fourth century. Yet the date and provenance of the Vergilius Romanus are still much disputed, largely because of the unclassical style for which there exists no good parallel. An origin in Gaul has also been proposed. Since none of the ten *Aeneid* pictures illustrates a passage that also appears in the Vergilius Vaticanus, the picture cycles cannot be compared. The Vergilius Romanus may have been taken to northern Europe by Charlemagne (Bischoff, 1965); it was at St. Denis until the fifteenth century, when it came by uncertain means to the Vatican.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Picturae*, 1902; Weitzmann, 1959, pp. 60–61; Bischoff, 1965, pp. 46, 61–62; Carandini, 1968, p. 348; Rosenthal, 1972, pp. 54–57, 60–63.

Fol. 100v (miniature 13) of no. 204: Dido and Aeneas banqueting



205 An illustrated poem about Heracles

Egypt, 3rd century

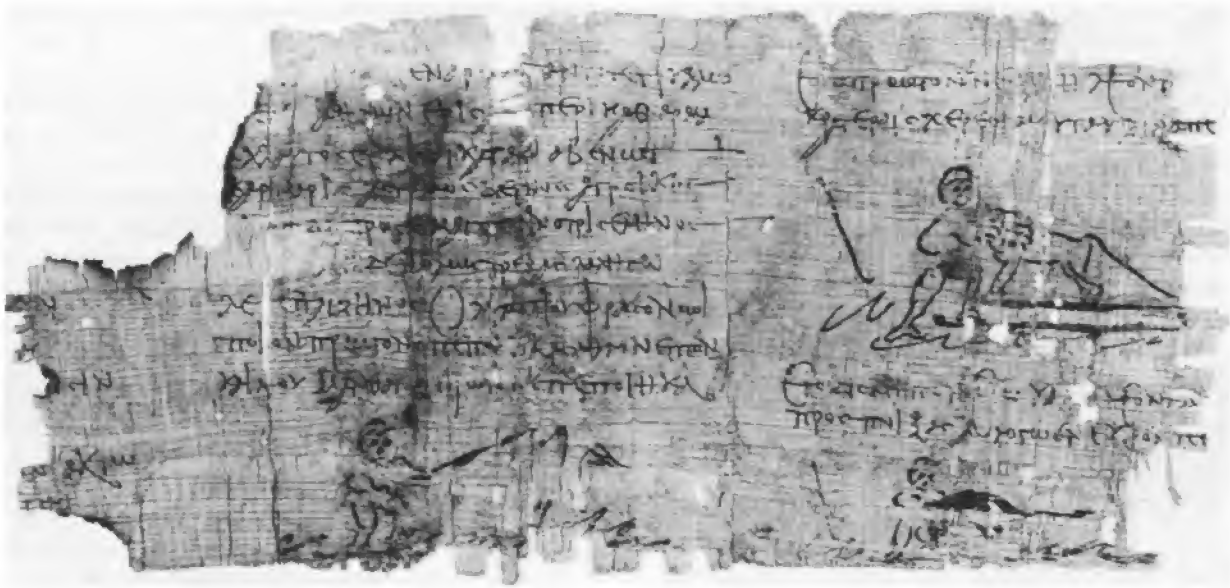
Papyrus

10.6 × 23.5 cm. ($4\frac{3}{16} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

London, The Egypt Exploration Society,

Oxyrhynchus Papyri 2331

The fragment comes from a papyrus roll; two legible text columns survive with their illustrations. The subject is a doggerel poem, in the form of a dialogue between Heracles and an unidentified second person. They discuss the hero's first labor, the killing of the Nemean lion, and it seems probable that the rest of the poem dealt with his other labors. On the analogy of better-preserved literary papyri, we can assume that the lower part of the papyrus is missing. The



illustrations are as sketchy and simple as those of the papyrus no. 222. The contours are defined by a heavy line, drawn quickly; colors (green and yellow) were applied freely.

In the first scene, Heracles is cutting his club. In the lines immediately above, the second character addresses the hero: "Say, O son of Zeus, tell me about the first labor that you did!" The reply is "Learn from me what I had done first of all." The illustration shows the hero holding the club against his left thigh; his left leg is raised. At the right is the wild olive tree from which he cut the club. The text explaining the action of the picture must have followed. For the cutting of the club, see no. 206. In the next scene, to the right and above the first, Heracles has set the club down and wrestles with the Nemean lion. The text explains that he killed the lion with his "strong arms"—for it was otherwise invulnerable. The lion is shown on slightly higher ground, as in other Egyptian depictions of the scene; the iconography is similar to the ivory plaque no. 206, although the figures are reversed. The last scene is hard to make out. The text above mentions that having strangled the lion he laid it out dead; the miniature has been interpreted as either showing Heracles with the lion skin which will henceforth become his attribute (Weitzmann in Roberts, 1954) or the hero standing before the dead lion (Kenfield, 1975).

Along with the Paris romance fragment no. 222,

the Heracles papyrus is one of the most important pieces of evidence for the nature of illustrations in Greek literary papyri. These are seen to have a minimum of scenery and no background; they concentrate instead on the narrative action of the characters and are inserted into the text at appropriate places. The cycle here must have been very dense, as can be seen from the two scenes in column two. It is on such evidence as this that we can hypothetically reconstruct illustrated papyrus models for cycles of illustrations that survive in other media (as, for instance, in the Achilles cycle of nos. 207–213). Found at Oxyrhynchos in Egypt.

M.B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weitzmann in Roberts, 1954, pp. 85–87; Page, 1957; Maas, 1958; Weitzmann, 1959, p. 53; Kenfield, 1975.

206 Two plaques with Heracles

Egypt (?), 4th century

Ivory

A: 8.2 × 5.1 cm. (3¼ × 2 in.); B: 8.2 × 4.6 cm.

(3¼ × 1⅞ in.)

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 71.12, 71.11

Parts of the grooved border and background are missing in both plaques, which may have been part of a larger set. The subject of both is the hero Heracles. In plaque A, the young Heracles vigorously trims the branches from his club, which is propped on his knee. According to the mythographer Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2. 4. 11), he cut the club at Nemea, where the first of his twelve labors—the killing of the Nemean lion—took place (see plaque B). The fashioning of the club is quite a

be dispatched by strangling. In most other versions of the contest Heracles has sensibly set the club down.

Classical figure style is alive in the balanced figure of Heracles; indeed his head (especially in B) recalls archaic Greek models. However, the heaviness of the limbs and the roughness of the modeling indicate a late Roman date. Stylistic parallels occur in an ivory in Dumbarton Oaks (Weitzmann [1], 1972, III, no. 8) and in the bronze plaque no. 195; both are from Egypt, as are probably the Baltimore plaques. They may have decorated a casket or piece of furniture. The two scenes occur together again in no. 205, where their consecutive sequence in the narrative is established.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weitzmann, 1973, p. 5, figs. 5a-b.



No. 206: left, plaque A; right, plaque B

rare motif in ancient art; only two other versions are known, on a Roman gem in Berlin (Furtwängler, 1896, no. 6859) and in a scene on the Heracles papyrus no. 205.

On plaque B: Heracles and the Nemean lion. He has the lion's head in a necklock under his left arm; in his right he wields his new club. The lion's right hind foot is propped on Heracles' knee, but he has lifted its body off the ground and is clearly in control. There are parallels for the composition in Roman reliefs and terracottas (von Salis, 1955); the club, however, must be an addition of the ivory carver. It contradicts the myth, for the Nemean lion was invulnerable and could only

207 Disc with scenes from the life of Achilles

Egypt, 4th century

Marble and mosaic

Diam. 103 cm. ($40\frac{9}{16}$ in.); W. relief band: 15 cm.

($5\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Rome, Musei Capitolini, 64

The low marble plate is enclosed within a square slab, also of marble. The basin of the plate and the corners of the marble slab are decorated with geometric mosaics. The only part of the plate now visible is the low relief band on the rim. The plate is cracked in several places and the first and seventh scenes have been partially restored.

The relief scenes tell the life story of Achilles, very much in the manner of the silver dish (no. 208, where the parallels for the scenes are noted). Counterclockwise from the lower left are scene 1: Thetis sits against her bed; at the right her newborn son Achilles is washed by the nurse in a fluted bowl. Scene 2: Thetis leans forward, dipping the small Achilles into the River Styx; at the right is a river nymph. Scene 3: Thetis hands over Achilles to the wise centaur Cheiron to be educated. Scene 4: Achilles hunts a lion. Scene 5: the story shifts to Skyros. At the right Odysseus grasps

a sword with a hilt in the shape of a head; the trumpeter sounds an alarm. Achilles is tricked into revealing his identity; he has picked up the arms, while at the left Deidamia implores him not to leave. Further to the left are her sisters; at the far right is a male figure leaning against a hydria; a river god is out of place here, and this character may be a misunderstanding of an original seated King Lykomedes. Scene 6: the story shifts now to Troy. Two warriors, evidently understood as Achilles and Hector, fight before the Skaian Gate; the fallen warrior is out of place, and it seems probable that another combat scene has been conflated with the duel of Achilles and Hector (cf. no. 210). Scene 7: Achilles drags the body of Hector behind his chariot; Priam looks down in horror from the city wall; and in front of the chariot is a Victory holding a palm branch and wreath (cf. no. 210).

The narrative is brisk and clear, with the lively gestures typical of manuscript illustration. The figures are simple and robust; eyes are shown frontally and detail is limited. The plate belongs to a large group of Late Antique marble dishes with reliefs (on these dishes, Kitzinger, 1960, pp. 22–28). The formal similarities with silver plates of the type of no. 208 indicate that these have metal prototypes. The Capitoline dish has been attributed to Egypt, where a good number of similar pieces have been found. In the early thirteenth century it was incorporated into the ambo of the church of Sta. Maria in Aracoeli, in Rome; the fine tessellated work in green, blue, gold, white, and porphyry is owed to the Cosmati. The pulpit was later disassembled, and the slab with the dish was donated to the Capitoline collections by Pope Benedict XIV.

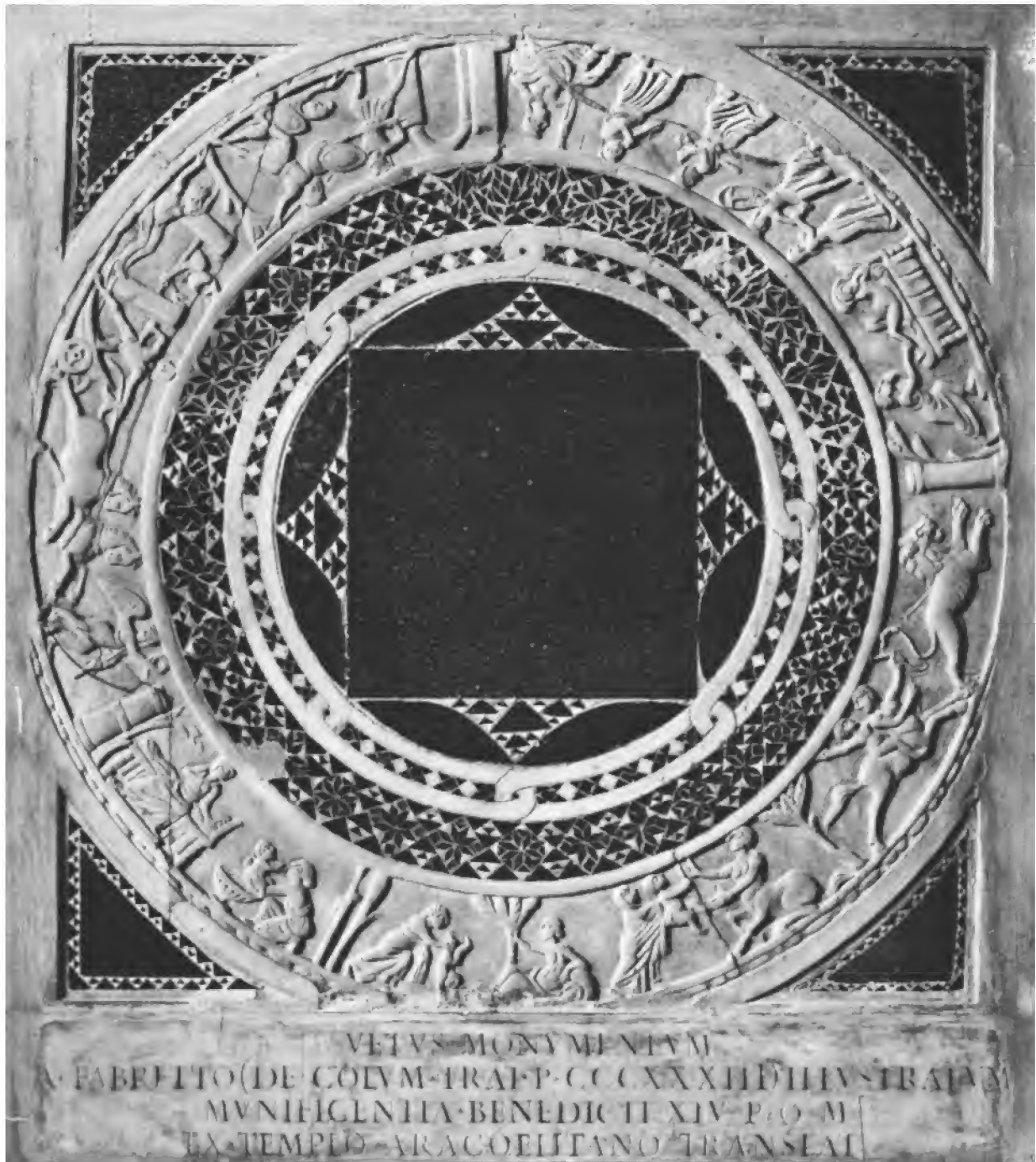
M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stuart Jones, 1912, pp. 45–47; Snyder, 1923; Guerrini, 1958–1959; Weitzmann, 1959, pp. 55–56.

208 Plate with scenes from the childhood of Achilles

Thessalonike (?), mid-4th century
Silver
3.8 cm., diam. 53 cm. (1½, 20⅞ in.)
Augst, Römermuseum, 62.1

The elaborate relief decoration of the almost perfectly preserved octagonal plate was first hammered out in repoussé; details were then added by tracing and chasing. In the corners are eight heads in pairs; Thetis and Achilles alternate with Diomedes and Odysseus. The circular relief band contains ten scenes separated by spirally fluted columns; an eleventh scene serves as a tondo. The narrative begins at the bottom and “reads” counterclockwise. Scene 1: the birth of Achilles: Thetis reclines on a couch; the nurse (cf. no. 207) addresses her with lively gestures, while Achilles sits precociously on the floor, calling for his bath. A fluted basin is at the right (cf. nos. 207, 213). Scene 2: holding her son by his heels, Thetis dips him into a river in the presence of a pair of river nymphs, who personify the Styx and the Kokytos (see Hom. *Od.* 10. 514). At the right the nurse stands ready with a bowl and towel (cf. no. 207). Scene 3: Thetis presents Achilles to the centaur Cheiron to be educated; at the left is the nurse with a basket, containing Achilles’ belongings (cf. nos. 207, 209, 210). Scene 4: dinner in the cave; Achilles sits above the remains of a boar and lion. Cheiron holds a leopard (cf. no. 209). Scene 5: hunting a boar and leopard; Achilles is about to throw the javelin (cf. nos. 207, 209). Scene 6: in the presence of the nurse, Achilles studies the alphabet; on the wax tablets are inscribed A, B, Γ, Δ, Ε. Scene 7: Achilles practices with the discus. The lyre, propped against a column, shows that he is also studying music. Scene 8: leavetaking; Thetis and the nurse have come for Achilles, who reluctantly says goodbye. Scene 9: Thetis takes Achilles, disguised as a girl, to the island of Skyros, to be brought up among the daughters of King Lykomedes, far from the dangers of warfare. Achilles (or Pyrrha, as he will be called) greets the king. Scene 10: the king’s daughters are spinning; Achilles plays the lyre as one daughter, Deidamia, listens intently. A woman enters at the left. Scene 11 (tondo): Achilles is tricked into revealing his identity (cf. nos. 207, 209, 211, 212). Diomedes and Odysseus have come to take him to Troy; the trumpeter sounds the call to arms, while Achilles impetuously seizes the weapons set out for him. Deidamia clutches him for they have become lovers. Achilles stands in the vortex of opposing tensions; this scene, symbolizing the moment of choice, was a frequent subject in ancient art.



No. 207, disc with scenes from the life of Achilles

The narrative has numerous parallels in other works (nos. 207, 209–213), including a late Roman chariot with bronze reliefs (Stuart Jones, 1926, pp. 179–187). Several of the narratives take the

story up to the Trojan War and Achilles' death. Weitzmann has shown that this rich picture cycle must be derived from the illustrations of a lost literary work on the life of Achilles (Weitzmann,

1959, pp. 54–59). The silver plate surpasses the other members of this picture recension in the fullness of detail and the coherence of its narrative. Scenes 1 through 10 are in the brisk style of papyrus illustration; the tondo scene may have a similar source but was also influenced by elaborate versions of the subject in major painting and on sarcophagi. The narrative of the plate is easily followed: although the figures are heavy and their faces inexpressive, they speak a lively language

of gesture, which facilitates our recognition of characters and story. Incised on the bottom of the plate is the name of the maker, Pausilypos of Thessalonike, demonstrably a master silversmith.

The plate belongs to a silver hoard discovered in 1961–1962 at Augst, Switzerland (see nos. 126, 251). This hoard, buried after 351, was initially associated with the departure of Julian the Apostate for the East in 361. In this case the plate may have belonged to the emperor, who



venerated Achilles as a model of heroic virtue. However, recent studies of the coins from the hoard have suggested that it was buried slightly earlier, during the revolt in 350 of the ill-fated Magnentius.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Salomonson, 1962, p. 80; Strong, 1966, p. 197; Cologne, 1967, p. 338, fig. H 9a; Laur-Belart, 1967; Instinsky, 1971, pp. 7–9, pls. 1, 2; Manacorda, 1971.

209 Fragments of plates with scenes from the life of Achilles

North Africa, about 400–430

Redware

Est. original plate about 42.6 × 35.5 cm. ($16\frac{3}{4} \times 14$ in.); fragment A (12378b) 17.3 × 23 × 2 cm. ($6\frac{3}{16} \times 9\frac{1}{16} \times \frac{3}{4}$ in.); fragment D (12383) 8 × 14 × 1 cm. ($3\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Athens, Benaki Museum, 12378b(A), 12377a(B), 12377b(C), 12383(D), 12384(E), 12379(F), 12378a(G), 12385(H), 12381(I), 12416(J)

The ten fragments belonged to rectangular redware plates. The flat rims were decorated with figurative relief scenes (fragments A through I), and there was also a larger rectangular scene at the center of the plates (A, J). The rim reliefs depict consecutive episodes in the life of Achilles from his birth to the ransoming of Hector's body. A: at the left is Thetis, evidently in labor; she is fanned by a servant and under the bed is a bowl in which

the newborn baby will be washed (cf. nos. 207, 208, 213). The next scene on the same fragment is abbreviated, perhaps misunderstood: Thetis kneels, dipping Achilles into the Styx, but he is curiously wrapped in swaddling clothes (cf. nos. 207, 208). At the right Thetis takes Achilles to Cheiron, whose cloak flies out behind him (understood as wings?; cf. nos. 208, 210). B: a fresher impression of the birth scene. C: mealtime; Cheiron offers Achilles a rabbit (cf. no. 208, scene 4). D: hunting; Achilles astride Cheiron. The figures at the right may belong to E: the locale is now the court of Lykomedes on Skyros; the disguised Achilles plays the lyre in the presence of two of the king's daughters (cf. no. 208). The next episode begins at the right and continues on fragment F: Deidamia kneels, as Achilles reveals his identity by seizing the arms; Odysseus gestures at the right. G: Thetis rides over the sea in the company of Nereids (or Tritons?); a Nereid (see H) swims in front, holding a helmet. The subject is the return of Thetis from the forge of Hephaestus, with new armor for Achilles. H: at the left is the helmet; at the right are two groups of three persons (for the second, see also I). The subject here is uncertain; the scene must precede Priam's embassy to Achilles (J), and most of the figures are women. They may represent Hector's mother and sisters, at the moment of Priam's departure for the tent of Achilles. J: only the figure of the supplicating Priam is preserved; on A there is a part of Briseis. A better-preserved plate in the Musée National du Bardo at Tunis (Salomonson, 1962, pl. xxiv, no. 1) was made with the same mold and shows that the



No. 209: left, fragment A; right, fragment D

subject of the central relief scene is the famous encounter of Priam and Achilles, when the old king comes to beg for the body of his son Hector (cf. also no. 196, scene 3).

The redware relief plates are the modest craft products of North African workshops of the early fifth century (Salomonson, 1962, pp. 87–90). They imitate silver models (cf. the Corbridge lanx, no. 110), and the molds used for the relief scenes were no doubt originally taken from such metal archetypes. However, the indistinct relief scenes of A through I must have been made from molds that were themselves taken from moldmade terracotta plates and not from the crisper metal models. Although the scenes are often abbreviated and unclear, they can still be seen to reflect the same iconographic model as the silver plate no. 208 and the other related works. The individual figures were made in separate molds, so it was easy enough for the artisan to leave out elements if space was insufficient. Other redware plates have Christian subjects, and, in a few cases, the Achilles cycle seems to have been influenced by Christian motifs, as in the scene of the presentation of Achilles to Cheiron; Thetis leads the little boy by the hand, just as Hannah leads Samuel to Eli in an illustrated Byzantine Books of Kings.

The Benaki fragments were all purchased in Alexandria.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weitzmann, 1959, pp. 56–57; Salomonson, 1962, pp. 73–81; Hayes, 1972, pp. 211–217.

****210 Plate with life of Achilles**

Egypt, 6th–7th century

Bronze

Diam. 56 cm. (22 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Cairo, Coptic Museum, 903 a–g

Seven fragments of a large shallow bronze plate survive; the center and parts of the figurative scenes and rim are missing. Several techniques were used for the decoration: repoussé for the figures, tracing for their contours, and tracing and punching for the floral ornament. On the narrow raised rim is a zigzag pattern; on the broad

rim, a vine motif with alternating ducks, eagles, acorns, and leaves.

The bowl is taken up with a narrative cycle of the life of Achilles (cf. no. 208). Scene 1: Thetis delivers Achilles to the centaur Cheiron. Scene 2: a unique depiction of target practice; Achilles scores a bull's-eye as Cheiron looks on. Scene 3: the lion hunt. Scene 4: the fight between Achilles and Hector before the wall of Troy; only Achilles, armed with spear and shield, is preserved here (cf. no. 207, scene 6). Scene 5: the dragging of



Hector's body; the upper parts of Achilles and his horses can be made out (cf. no. 207, scene 7). Scene 6: the weighing of Hector's body against gold; Achilles and Priam look on. This scene is unique in the narrative cycle.

The scenes on the bronze plate belong to the same picture cycle as the other works associated with no. 208, but they have been simplified. Thetis, in scene 1, is nimbed—surely an example of Christian influence (see also no. 209). In some cases significant details are altered—for instance, Priam is shown as a youth, contradicting the sense

of the story. The artist is, however, alert to the expressive nuances of the narrative, as can be seen in the lively contours of Achilles in scene 2 or in the poised figures of scene 6. In the somewhat rubbery figures little has survived of classical models; the style can be compared to the earlier Coptic relief (no. 214). The plate is dated in the sixth or seventh century and is thus the latest member of the group of works descended from an illustrated Greek *Achilleis*.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Strzygowski, 1904, p. 257; Guerrini, 1958–1959, pp. 44–53; Weitzmann, 1959, pp. 57–58.

211 Pyxis with Achilles on Skyros

Syria (?), 5th century

Ivory

10.5, diam. 11.5 cm. ($4\frac{1}{8}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Xanten, Katholische Kirchengemeinde "St. Viktor,"

B 1 (Hölker)

The pyxis is well preserved, although the surface is worn; both the lid and the bottom have been repaired with silver clasps. The lid is decorated with rinceaux and rosettes. The two scenes on the body of the pyxis depict episodes in the life of Achilles on Skyros (for the story, see no. 208). In

the first, Odysseus approaches Achilles, bearing gifts; the disguised hero is playing the lyre, as in the scene on no. 208, but here Deidamia leans familiarly against his shoulder (cf. the figure of Briseis on no. 209). At the right, two of Deidamia's sisters are spinning. The subject of the second scene is the trick that induced Achilles to give himself away. Odysseus is at the right; his trumpeter sounds the alarm. Achilles picks up the arms. Deidamia holds out the infant Pyrrhos, to excite Achilles' pity and persuade him to stay. At the far right is a third, unidentified Greek. The two scenes are evidently derived from the same *Achilleis* on which nos. 207–213 are based. This pyxis belongs to the large group of Late Antique ivory pyxides, a good number of which have pagan subjects (cf. nos. 115, 170). The carver's interest is in dramatic gestures and vivid poses, rather than in careful rendering of proportions. Although the pyxis has recently been attributed to Constantinople (Neumann, 1958), the closest stylistic connections are with the Murano diptych (Volbach, 1976, no. 125), and with a group of related Christian pyxides (cf. nos. 405, 518–520); these have been most frequently associated with a Syrian atelier.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neumann, 1958; Essen, 1963, no. 110; Volbach, 1976, no. 96.

No. 211: *Odysseus, Deidamia, Achilles*



No. 211: *Deidamia holding Pyrrhos; Achilles*





****212 Bottom of bowl with Achilles on Skyros**

Rome (?), 4th century

Gold glass

Max. diam. 10.9 cm. ($4\frac{3}{16}$ in.)

Pesaro, Biblioteca e Musei Oliveriani, 3841

The scene in gold leaf was incised with a pointed tool on the bottom of a glass vessel, then covered by a thin layer of fused glass. The subject is the recognition of Achilles on the island of Skyros (see no. 208). In the center is the hero, holding shield and spear, flanked on either side by a daughter of King Lykomedes. Above is the Latin inscription *ACHILLES*. The iconography resembles that of no. 208, where the recognition scene is also used as a tondo, but there are differences: here, Achilles is nude; Deidamia touches his head; and there is a second, kneeling sister. These elements, as well as the billowing shawls of the two girls, all occur in representations on Roman sarcophagi (Robert, 1897, III, 1, pl. XVIII, no. 29); another fragmentary example of the scene in gold glass, both earlier and finer, is in the Vatican (Engemann, 1968–1969, p. 11). The odd headpiece of Achilles recurs on a gold-glass portrait (Morey, 1959, no. 6). Though vivid in action, the figures

are disproportionately drawn, with oversize heads; the artist has flattened them by incising lines across overlapping elements (cf. Achilles' spear). The style points to a date in the fourth century. Gold-glass images were frequently used as seals for Christian burials in the catacombs of Rome (cf. nos. 388, 472, 503, 507, 508); the Achilles glass may have had such a function, although its provenance is not known. The recognition of Achilles on Skyros appears frequently on the sarcophagi, where it symbolizes the choice of glory and immortality; hence a funerary use for the gold glass seems likely.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Morey, 1959, no. 284; Engemann, 1968–1969, pp. 10–11.

***213 Mosaic of the birth of Achilles**

Nea Paphos, Cyprus, 5th century

The mosaic was found in 1970–1971 during the Polish excavations at Nea Paphos on the south coast of Cyprus. It is located in the central reception hall of a late Roman palace; except for a large lacuna in the center and a smaller one along the bottom, it is in good condition.

The subject is the birth of Achilles. In the center Thetis reclines majestically on a couch. A nurse labeled *Anatrophe* ("Education") kneels at the left, holding out the newborn babe. Under the couch is a basin of water, in which he will be bathed, and at the left side of the scene a woman called *Ambrosia* (misspelled "*Anbrosia*") approaches with a pitcher. Next to Thetis is the somewhat smaller figure of *Peleus*, the father, enthroned and holding a scepter. Behind him and further to the right are the three *Moirai*, or Fates: *Clotho*, holding the spindle and distaff with the thread of life; *Lachesis*, with the tablet in which is inscribed Achilles' life; and *Atropos*, holding the scroll of eternity.

All of the figures look outward at the beholder, even the little Achilles. Their gazes are severe, almost expressionless. The drapery is angular and simplified. Spatial relationships are suppressed,



and the figures seem to float against the neutral background, their feet hovering above the undulating groundline. This Late Antique style is also seen in a mosaic from Soueidié, near Ba'albek, where the subject of one scene is the birth of Alexander (Chehab, 1958, pp. 46–50). Archaeological evidence points to a date in the early fifth century for this mosaic.

This is the fullest surviving version of the birth of Achilles; Peleus, the Fates, and the woman Ambrosia are not found elsewhere, although the central group of Thetis, nurse, and Achilles is similar to the birth scene in nos. 207–209. The washing of the newborn child is common in other birth scenes (as in the Soueidié Alexander mosaic) and was adopted with few changes for the Christian nativity. The presence of the woman Ambrosia may allude to an old story that held that Thetis anointed Achilles with ambrosia to make him immortal (Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3. 13. 6). The Fates are in attendance because a new life is beginning; they also appear in a birth scene on a recently discovered child's sarcophagus in Sicily (Museo Nazionale Agrigento). Their presence also reminds us of the brevity of Achilles' life and of his mother's vain efforts to defy his fate.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Daszewski, 1972.

214 Relief with Jason and the Golden Fleece

Egypt, 1st half 5th century

Limestone

106 × 87.3 cm. (41½ × 34½ in.)

Kansas City, Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum
(Nelson Fund), 41.36

The relief is broken into two pieces, and in places the surface has been damaged. The cuttings on sides and top indicate that the piece was originally inserted into another surface, perhaps a wall; the empty areas in the composition, which correspond to the ground of a low relief, are cut through, giving the effect of a grill. The figurative scene is framed by a meander pattern with rosettes (cf. no. 499). At the center is an oak tree, with the Golden Fleece in the uppermost branches. Coiled around the tree is a large serpent. At the left is Medea, seated on a high throne; she holds a branch of juniper and a bowl from which the serpent is unwisely drinking. Jason stands at the right, reaching with both hands for the fleece. Below are two diminutive armed Colchians, wearing Phrygian caps and sleeping. To the right of Jason is a male figure, evidently holding a weapon; he is probably Apsyrtos, Medea's unfortunate

brother. Above him in the right corner is the Argo; in the left is a veiled woman reading from a scroll.

Proportions are distorted; Jason's torso seems to be stretched by the intensity of his effort to grasp the prize. Size is determined by narrative importance; both the Colchians at the bottom and the Argo at the top are shown at a much smaller scale than the protagonists. The figures are spread evenly over the field, emphasizing its flatness. Despite the stylistic tendencies toward abstraction, the narrative is clear. Figurè style, flatness, and pagan subject matter are all characteristic of relief sculpture in Coptic Egypt in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. The best parallels come from the city of Ahnas (Herakleopolis Magna) where numerous reliefs with pagan subjects have been found (Kitzinger, 1938, pp. 202–210; Beckwith, 1963, pp. 19–20; see also the Leda plaque, no. 215). A similar grill relief was found at Bawît (Essen, 1963, no. 77).

The theme of the winning of the Golden Fleece had appeared on Roman sarcophagi but is unusual in Late Antique art. Apsyrtos and the Colchians do not belong in this scene, according to the *Argonautika* of Apollonius of Rhodes; but other

lost poems told that Apsyrtos helped in the capture. It is this tradition that the relief represents. In this account there must also have been a detachment of armed Colchians guarding the fleece along with the serpent. Who the veiled woman is, however, we are unable to say (possibly a muse?). A Roman terracotta plaque of the first century A.D. evidently belongs to the same pictorial tradition; there Medea is also seated and the Colchians are present (von Rohden and Winnefeld, 1911, pp. 115–116).

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Taggart, 1959, p. 43.

215 Plaque of Leda and the swan

Place of origin uncertain, 4th century

Bronze

26 × 19.1 cm. (10¼ × 7½ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Rogers Fund, 1913, 13.225.7



The bronze plaque, of which several small pieces are missing, was once attached to another surface; three of twelve rivets remain in place. It has been suggested that this was once part of a horse's trappings, perhaps a nosepiece (cf. no. 195); in this case the rivets secured the plaque to a leather backing. The incised scenes, in three levels, have nothing to do with horses, but instead illustrate the story of Leda, whom Zeus loved in the guise of a swan. She bore him Helen, Castor, and Pollux. Above is Leda, half-draped on the banks of the River Eurotas, gesturing apprehensively as the swan approaches from the left. The nymph in the right corner personifies the river. In the center, Leda reclines on a large bolster, approached by a strangely shaped woman who may be a midwife; below are the triplets in the eggshell: Helen in the center, and Castor and Pollux with stars above their heads. The style of the incisions is similar to that of no. 195, vivacious and curvilinear. There is a comparable interest in expressive gesture and psychology. The story of Leda was often referred to in ancient literature, but there is no surviving work devoted to it. The details of the bronze plaque suggest that we have here scenes from a

lost literary narrative dealing with the story of Leda; if so, they may well be derived from a tradition of manuscript illustration, as in the case of the Briseis plaque (no. 195). A similar representation of the birth scene occurs on a Roman sarcophagus (Moreau, 1959, pl. 19; without the standing woman), and the same subject is found with a different iconography in the grain market mosaic at Trier (Moreau, 1959, pp. 10, 15–26, pl. 1). The plaque was found in Rome and entered the museum in 1913.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Richter, 1914, pp. 93–94; Brown, 1941; Moreau, 1959, p. 16, pl. 13.

****216 Disc with Pentheus and Dionysos**

Place of origin uncertain, 3rd century (?)

Bronze

Diam. 12.1 cm. (4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Rome, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, 24844

Parts of the rim are missing and in places the surface is worn. There was originally an inset band inside the rim, perhaps of silver; a radial spiral ornament was traced over this band, and the ends of the spirals are still visible. All of the linear decoration was traced with a metal tool, which left small impressions that can still be made out clearly. The off-center suspension hole is a later addition; the original function of the disc is not known.

The round field is divided into three horizontal zones. The subject of the scenes has been identified as the story of Pentheus, king of Thebes, who unwisely resisted the newly introduced worship of Dionysos and fell victim to the god's anger. The terrible myth was used by several Greek playwrights, including Aeschylus and Euripides, and it must be one of their plays that is illustrated. The scenes are clearly derived from the theater, as the figures all wear stage costumes consisting of kothurnoi, masks, and sleeved chitons. Scene 1: Pentheus binds Dionysos; the old man at the right may be the seer Teiresias, while the small figure at the left, who holds a scroll and does not wear a mask, may be the playwright. Scene 2: Pentheus finds himself in the midst of the wildly dancing Bacchantes (second figure from the right). Scene 3: Agave, Pentheus' mother, kneels before her father Cadmus, who turns away in horror; two other figures look on.

Although the story of Pentheus appears in sarcophagi, the scenes on the disc are unique. Weitzmann (1959) has argued that they are derived from an illustrated *Bacchae* of Euripides (the only surviving play that deals with this Dionysiac theme); yet the presence of the old man in the scene of the arrest is not called for in the Euripides play. Another of the plays dealing with the same subject seems equally possible (Arnold, 1868). The linear style without spatial references is appropriate for manuscript illustration. Flanking the first scene are objects which may be stands for





masks, although they have also been called water organs; these appear in other Roman theater scenes of the second century and later. Flanking the bottom scene are stands bearing tragic masks; these may well be derived from title miniatures that appeared at the beginning of an illustrated text of a play, depicting the masks of the various characters. The function and origin of this unusual object are uncertain; a late Roman date, perhaps the third century, is suggested by the ornate, classicizing style and the decorative border (cf. also nos. 195, 215).

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Arnold, 1868, pp. 142 ff.; Weitzmann, 1959, pp. 77–78; Webster, 1967, p. 107.

217 Dish with Phaedra and Hippolytus

Constantinople (?), about 500–550

Silver

Diam. 25.1 cm. (9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 49.6

The dish has been mended but there are several lacunae. In the center is an engraved repoussé medallion, surrounded by a broad border of

acanthus leaves. The two figures in the relief scene are Phaedra and Hippolytus. He stands facing outward, reading from a tablet; she leans against a column and reaches out to grasp his cloak. The story is told in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides. Phaedra is lovesick for her stepson, the chaste Hippolytus, whom the nurse foolishly tells of her mistress's passion. In the traditional iconography of Roman sarcophagi, where the theme is very frequent, the nurse informs Hippolytus by means of a forged letter. Here, however, the nurse is left out and it is Phaedra herself who has evidently written the letter; moreover, her gesture is one of active seduction. Although the gesture may be derived indirectly from Euripides' play, in which the nurse touches Hippolytus' cloak in supplication (verse 606), a more direct source exists in Early Christian art (Weitzmann, 1960). In scenes illustrating the best-known attempted seduction in the Bible, Potiphar's wife grasps Joseph's cloak in just the same way. Narrative Bible illustration has here had a counterinfluence



on an older pagan theme (see also no. 209). Although the figures on the plate are at first glance classical in feeling, Phaedra's drapery is illogical, Hippolytus' pose precarious. The figure type of Phaedra occurs also in nos. 209 and 211; a related version of the same subject occurs in a contemporary ivory (Volbach, 1976, no. 66). The plate, which is one of a pair, belongs to the early sixth century and is said to come from Egypt.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weitzmann, 1960, pp. 53–55; Ross, 1962, I, pp. 7–9.

218 Textile medallion with Iphigenia in Tauris

Egypt, 6th–7th century

Wool, silk, and linen

Diam. 12.5 cm. ($4\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Frankfurt am Main, Museum für Kunsthandwerk, 3610

The medallion once decorated a linen tunic; the figurative scene is inwoven in purple wool. The border is a wave pattern that changes direction at the cardinal points. The scene illustrates a moment in Euripides' play *Iphigenia in Tauris*. In

the center is a statue of the goddess Artemis, below her a small altar. The priestess Iphigenia holds a sword and extends her left hand in a speaking gesture; she is balanced by the barbarian king Thoas, wearing trousers and a Phrygian cap. Below are the bound figures of Orestes and Pylades. This is the recognition scene, when Iphigenia realizes it is her brother Orestes whom she is about to sacrifice; in order to free the prisoners she must now outwit the bloodthirsty Thoas. The Coptic artist has adapted the composition to his circular format by means of symmetry and balance (cf. the textile no. 198). Weitzmann ([2], 1964) has shown that the textile is related to scenes on Roman sarcophagi, which probably in turn depended on illustrated texts of Euripides. The lively gestures of Iphigenia and Thoas are appropriate to a narrative scene closely connected to a written text. The provenance of the textile in Egypt is significant, for Alexandria long played an important role in book production. The influence of book illustration is also seen in other Coptic textiles with pastoral and biblical scenes (nos. 227–230, 412).

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Essen, 1963, no. 292; Weitzmann (2), 1964.

*219 Heracles and Alcestis

Rome, mid-4th century

Fresco

65 × 125 cm. ($25\frac{5}{8}$ × $49\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Rome, Catacomb in Via Latina

In 1955 a remarkable fourth-century catacomb was discovered in Rome on the Via Latina. The wall paintings include many scenes from the Old and New Testaments (nos. 419, 423), as well as a small and very unusual group of pagan scenes. The pagan and Christian subjects are mostly found in separate rooms. Chamber N is given over to the hero Heracles (or Hercules, as he would have been called). One scene, placed in an arcosolium, depicts the return of Alcestis from the underworld, through the agency of the hero. At the left are the gates of hell, at the right is the palace of Alcestis' mourning husband Admetus, for whom she had sacrificed herself. In the center, moving from





death to life, is the veiled Alcestis, guided by Heracles. Behind the hero is the three-headed Cerberus, guardian of the chthonian gates, who seems to be barking at Admetus. The myth is best known to us from the *Alcestis* of Euripides; his account influenced the traditional Roman depictions of the scene, although there are sometimes differences (one is the presence of Cerberus).

The *Alcestis* theme was often used in pagan funerary art; it appears in a group of sarcophagi (Robert, 1897, III, 1, nos. 22–32) and in many paintings and stuccoes (Andreae, 1963, pp. 35–36). Here one amusing and perhaps unique feature is the barking of Cerberus: having first lost Admetus and now Alcestis, his indignation is understandable. The instrumental role of Heracles in this pagan scene of resurrection is emphasized by his central position and by the halo which marks him as an immortal. In this painting and the others from the same chamber, Heracles appears as a fearless defier of death. He has, in fact, become the savior of other men, thus analogous to Christ, who in a neighboring chamber is depicted raising Lazarus. The Heracles scenes must have been painted for pagan members of a predominantly Christian family, who anticipated the afterlife with as much confidence as their Christian brethren. The *Alcestis* painting demonstrates the continuing vitality and adaptability of classical themes in the cosmopolitan circles of fourth-century Rome. The bold, three-dimensional figure style and the bright colors are unusual in Roman catacomb paintings; more typical is the white ground and lack of interest in setting.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ferrua, 1960, p. 78; M. Simon (2), 1964, pp. 327, 335; Grabar (1), 1967, pp. 225–235; Grabar (1), 1968, p. 15.

220 Bowl with Lynkeus and Hypermestra

Cologne, 3rd century

Glass

7, diam. 7.7 cm. ($2\frac{3}{4}$, 3 in.)

Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, 295

The colorless glass cup has been mended and a few pieces are missing. The intaglio figures were made in the technique called facet-cutting, with a copper wheel; linear detail was then added by engraving. The subjects are labeled in Greek. At the left is Hypermestra (ΥΠΕΡΜΗСТΡΑ), her left hand raised in a speaking gesture, in her right a drawn sword. Lynkeus (ΛΥΝΓΕΥC [sic]) stands



Drawing of no. 220

in a dynamic pose in the center, wearing a wreath. Next to him is the winged figure of Pothos (ΠΟΘΟΣ), or Desire. Door and curtain denote an indoor setting. The episode comes from the story of the Danaides. The fifty daughters of Danaos have been forced to marry the fifty sons of Aegyptus, and Danaos has instructed them all to murder their new husbands on their bridal night. Only Hypermestra refuses, sparing Lynkeus. Her act is variously explained; here it has a romantic motivation, as the presence of Pothos shows. The myth was rarely illustrated by Greek or Roman artists but was the subject of several lost literary works; the inclusion of Pothos here suggests a late classical or Hellenistic source, perhaps the lost tragedy of Theodektes; but whether the scene goes back to illustrations of this play is uncertain. The curious compartmentalized appearance of the figures as seen from the outside vanishes when they are viewed from inside the cup—as they would have been by someone drinking from it. The cup belongs to a group of late Roman glass vessels with scenes from Greek mythology and inscriptions in Greek. Their provenance is uncertain; both Alexandria (Harden, 1970, pp. 54–55) and Cologne (Fremersdorf, 1967, pp. 9–34) have been vigorously championed.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fremersdorf, 1967, pp. 144–145.

*221 Mosaic with Menander and a scene from *The Samian Woman*

Mytilene, Lesbos, late 3rd century

Each panel, including red frame: 63–75 cm. (24 $\frac{13}{16}$ –29 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Mytilene, Lesbos, A: *in situ*; B: in the Mytilene Museum

In 1961–1962 excavations at Mytilene on the island of Lesbos brought to light several rooms of a late Roman house with extensive mosaic pavements. A dining room (triclinium) and an adjacent portico had as their subjects nine scenes from the comedies of Menander, as well as an inscribed portrait of the playwright. The ten scenes in the dining room were placed in three rows, framed by a simple guilloche.



No. 221: Panel A, bust of Menander

A: The head of Menander is depicted frontally against a white ground. His melancholy face is lined, his brow furrowed. His left eye is curiously askew, reminding us of the literary sources that record that Menander was cross-eyed. The poet wears a tunic and a cloak with a broad purple band. The mosaic worker's fondness for linear abstraction is apparent in the drapery and the geometric structure of the head. The grim honesty of the face finds stylistic parallels in sculptured portraits of the late third century, like that of Philip the Arab; even so, the features bear a striking resemblance to the much earlier sculptural portrait type that has been recognized as Menander (Richter, 1965, II, pp. 224–236), an identification supported by the present portrait. The portrait is also quite similar to the medallion portrait of the Roman playwright Terence, the frontispiece of an illustrated Terence of the Carolingian period in the Vatican (Charitonides, Kahil, and Ginouvès, 1970, pl. 2, fig. 2). The Terence portrait certainly reflects an earlier classical model, and it seems reasonable to conclude that the Menander portrait—and the other scenes from his plays—were derived from analogous illustrated manuscripts of the plays of Menander. Such simple medallion portraits were probably placed at the beginning of each of the individual plays, corresponding to their original



No. 221: Panel B, scene from *The Samian Woman*

separation into single papyrus rolls (Weitzmann, 1959, pp. 116–127). It is interesting in this regard to note that the series of Mytilene panels “reads” from left to right, starting with the portrait—as though one were following a text.

B: Three characters from Menander’s lost play *The Samian Woman* stand on an unadorned stage against a neutral ground; they wear masks and costumes. At the right is Chrysis, holding a newborn baby to her breast; she wears a mask with the high wiglike hair known as the *speira*. Haranguing her in the center is Demeas, who wears the mask of an old man, with wispy beard.

At the left is the cook Mageiros, wearing a dark mask. The inscriptions include the title of the play, the names of the actors, and even the number of the act (it is the third). We know the outlines of the plot: Chrysis has adopted her lover Moschion’s child by another woman, whom Moschion is now to marry; but his father Demeas (who has conveniently been abroad) suspects that the child is really Chrysis’, and is now turning against her. The complex comedy of errors has a happy outcome; the Mytilene panel depicts the moment of greatest tension and misunderstanding. The simple style is very close to the narrative scenes in the illustrated manuscript of Terence, where there are also labels and no scenery. Menander remained the most popular of the Greek comic poets throughout antiquity. Archaeological evidence indicates that the house at Mytilene was destroyed in the last quarter of the third century; the mosaics were installed not much before that time.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Webster, 1969, pp. 299–301; Charitonides, Kahil, and Ginouvès, 1970, pp. 27–31, 38–81.

222 Fragment of scroll with scenes from a romance

Egypt, 2nd century

Papyrus

19.2 × 40 cm. ($7\frac{9}{16} \times 15\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. suppl. gr. 1294



The fragment belonged to an illustrated papyrus roll, of which parts of four text columns are preserved. The text is a fictional narrative, or romance, but too little of it survives to identify the subject more closely. Pictures were inserted in the text columns at appropriate moments in the narrative; those from the two inner columns are nicely preserved. Scene 1: a man and an old woman are having an argument; the woman moves away to the left. They wear tunics with stripes (clavi); one tunic is pink, the other is gray blue. Scene 2: the same two figures stand before a magistrate, who is seated on a yellow chair or throne. Their vigorous gestures show that they are addressing the seated man. There is no background or groundline. The sketchy figures were drawn quickly, with bold contours; then color was added.

The fragment is one of the few surviving examples of an illustrated Greek literary papyrus (see also no. 205); the simple pictures demonstrate the general character and frequency of narrative scenes in such papyrus books. To be read the rotulus was rolled and unrolled, and so had to be flexible; large painted pictures could not be used as they would have flaked. The papyrus is usually dated in the second century.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Paris, 1958, no. 2; Weitzmann, 1959, pp. 99–100; *Enciclopedia*, 1961, IV, p. 112.

223 Four leaves from an illustrated *History of Apollonius, King of Tyre*

Germany, late 10th–early 11th century

Parchment

Fol. 1: 38 × 16 cm. (15 × 6 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.); fol. 2: 38 × 28.5 cm. (15 × 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.); fol. 3: 38.2 × 28.8 cm. (15 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.); fol. 4: 37.5 × 30 cm. (14 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Budapest, National Szechenyi Library, cod. lat. med. aev. 4

Four richly illustrated leaves survive from a medieval parchment codex, the text of which consisted of a curious Late Antique adventure tale known as the *History of Apollonius, King of Tyre* (Riese, 1893). The original Greek version of the story has come down only in a Latin translation of



Detail of fol. 1, no. 223

the fifth century A.D. Although the leaves belong to the later medieval period, the illustrations show clear signs of derivation from a Late Antique model, which has not survived (cf. nos. 205, 222). The misfortunes of Tarsia, the fourteen-year-old daughter of Apollonius, are the subject of one of the leaves (chapter 35). Tarsia has been captured by pirates, then sold at auction to a procurer. In his brothel she makes great earnings, while managing all the same to remain chaste. The illustrations following each other in rapid succession describe an episode in the brothel. Scene 1: a kindly man gives Tarsia money. Scene 2: she hands over her earnings to the procurer; angered, he gives her to the brothel-keeper. Scene 3: the keeper asks her if it is true that she is still a virgin, and she replies, "As long as God wills I shall be chaste." Scene 4: on her knees she begs the keeper to spare her. The story continues in this vein, and, as one might expect, it ends well.

The picture cycle must have been very dense, for the four surviving leaves are profusely illustrated. Despite their medieval flavor, the miniatures retain characteristics of the oldest sort of classical illustration: the lively gestures, the emphasis on figures and not on spatial settings, and the costumes. However, the style is far from classical; such exaggerated gestures, disproportionately large hands, and frontal faces are all typical of Ottonian figure style of tenth-century Germany. The codex was in fact written and illustrated in the German monastery of Werden.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hoffmann, 1928, p. 111; Lehmann, 1938, pp. 53–54; Bartonek, 1940, pp. 9, 11–13; Weitzmann, 1959, pp. 102–104.

*224 The Vergilius Vaticanus: *Georgics*

Rome, 1st quarter 5th century

Parchment

76 fols; 21.9 × 19.6 cm. (8 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod.

Vat. lat. 3225

This codex, the older of two surviving Late Antique illustrated manuscripts of Vergil, contains both the *Aeneid* (no. 203) and, preceding the *Aeneid*, the *Georgics*, with nine miniatures, all of which are framed and have spatial settings.

Illustrating a passage of Book 3. 209 f. (fol. 4v) are two bulls fighting in the shadow of a tree. On a higher level stands in three-quarter view a white cow, over which the bulls are fighting, watching the contestants. At the right the defeated bull charges a tree, exercising to regain his strength. He is white, as is the cow, perhaps for reasons of symmetry. He should be brown, as he is in the scene below. In this miniature are combined two or three scenes, which in an eleventh-century manuscript of the *Cynegetica* of Pseudo-Opian in Venice (Weitzmann, 1951, pp. 140–142, figs. 127–131), reflecting an earlier tradition, are depicted separately and within the writing column. This episode of the fighting bulls must have been depicted in several texts.



Fol. 4v of no. 224: fighting bulls

The impressionistic color scheme, with its atmospheric blue and pink background, adds to the sense of three-dimensionality and reflects a model in the best classical tradition.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Fragmenta*, 1930, pict. 4.

*225 The Vergilius Romanus: *Eclogues and Georgics*

Place of origin uncertain, late 5th century

Parchment

309 fols.; 33.2 × 32.3 cm. (13 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod.

Vat. lat. 3867

The so-called Vergilius Romanus contains, preceding the *Aeneid* with its numerous illustrations (see no. 204), the texts of the *Eclogues* with seven miniatures and of the *Georgics* with two.

The title miniature on fol. 1r, in front of the first *Eclogue*, depicts the shepherd Tityrus clad in the tunica exomis, leaning against a tree and playing his flute, while his sheep listen, their heads protruding from behind the tree.

From the right the shepherd Meliboeus, also clad in the tunica exomis, arrives at the scene, dragging a she-goat by her horns, while the rest of his flock stands behind a tree that has widely spread branches, balancing the tree to the left. He raises his hand in a gesture of speech, telling Tityrus of his plight, having been forced to look for a new pasture, since his land has been taken from him.

A peaceful bucolic atmosphere has been successfully captured. The sketchily treated scene has no background and no frame, in the tradition of papyrus illustration, and in this point is unique within this manuscript. The treatment of the structure and proportions of the human bodies reveals a relatively closer adherence to a classical idyllic scene than in the other miniatures, which must have been executed by another hand.

On fol. 44v, illustrating Book 3 of the *Georgics*, are two shepherds, one sitting on a rock and playing the flute like the shepherd of the *Eclogue*

and the other standing with crossed legs leaning on his staff and listening. The two figures turn their heads toward each other in strong profile. At the top of the pastoral scene is a straw hut (cf. no. 237). The flock and the dog are distributed over the surface without any groundlines, in tapestry fashion, and the plants are used as space fillers. There are goats, sheep, a watchdog, and horses, one of them happily leaping and the other with a colt.

Although the shepherds and the animals are less articulated in their anatomy, they are vigorous and expressive. The garments are more ornamentalized, as is typical of a style removed from the classical model. The provincial features of the miniatures make it difficult to determine the place of origin; some scholars have proposed Gaul.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Picturae*, 1902, p. xvii, picts. I, VIII.

226 Codex of the *Theriaka* and *Alexipharmaka* of Nicander

Constantinople, 10th century

Parchment

48 fols.; 16 × 13 cm. (6 $\frac{5}{16}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. suppl. gr. 247

The manuscript contains two treatises on antidotes against the bites of poisonous animals. The *Theriaka* and the *Alexipharmaka* by Nicander, an author of the second century B.C., quite certainly contained from the very beginning illustrations of poisonous serpents and insects and of plants with healing powers. To these scientific illustrations were added scenes derived from various classical models, the most important of which must have been an illustrated bucolic text from the Late Antique period. On fol. 3r, for instance, is a shepherd (inscribed γεωργός . . .) burning an antler on an altar. He is very similar in type to the shepherds in Vergil's *Georgics* (no. 225). On fol. 16v, a shepherd sits under a tree, in a pose comparable to the meditating shepherd on the silver plate in Leningrad (no. 232), but these illustrations seem to have little relation to the Nicander text, and in both cases the serpents and the plants are pushed aside to make room for these insertions.

Fol. 1r of no. 225: Tityrus and Meliboeus





Fols. 47v and 48r of no. 226: shepherd and women; and shepherd

In one case, the painter even reserved two opposite pages for very elaborate scenes that relate in no way to the Nicander text, the serpent being removed to the top of one miniature. On fol. 47v a shepherd and two women move to the right in a landscape with reeds and flowers. The woman at the left carries a bag over her shoulder, in a way comparable to that of the shepherdess in nos. 229 and 231. The woman in the middle kneels in supplication to the shepherd, who looks back at her. His wide stride suggests that he is leaving in a hurry. On fol. 48r a shepherd with a pedom stands in an almost dancing pose. He has been interpreted as Pan Nomios, the god of the shepherds. The atmospheric landscape of this scene, dense with trees, gives the impression of a sacred grove and resembles the third-century fresco of the Alexandrian catacomb (no. 250). This suggests as well that the source of the Nicander miniature may be third- or fourth-century Alexandria.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lenormant, 1875, pls. 18, 32; de Chanot, 1876, pls. 11, 24; Omont, 1923, pp. 34 ff., pls. LXV-LXXII; Gasiowski, 1928, pp. 167 f., pls. 83, 84; Weitzmann (2), 1954, p. 53 f., fig. 14; Weitzmann, 1959, pp. 14, 97, 99, 109, figs. 16, 105-106, 116.

227-230 Four roundels with bucolic scenes

Egypt (?), 5th century
Wool

227: 11.9 × 12.1 cm. ($4\frac{11}{16} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

228: 12.2 × 10.9 cm. ($4\frac{13}{16} \times 4\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

229: 11.9 × 11.5 cm. ($4\frac{11}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

230: 11.8 × 11.5 cm. ($4\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

New York, The Brooklyn Museum, Charles
Edwin Wilbour Fund, 44. 143 A-D



No. 227



No. 228



No. 229

The four roundels woven in wool once decorated a garment. In an unusually refined technique, they depict charming bucolic scenes framed by a classical wave pattern. They derive from illustrations of a vast wealth of bucolic poetry, although the precise text is apparently not preserved. Certain features reflect the romance of Daphnis and Chloe by Longus.



No. 230

Each of the four medallions is filled with a variety of motifs. The first depicts at the top a mother sitting cross-legged on the ground and nursing her child, a figure found also on sarcophagi (no. 237). At the left a young shepherd clad in the tunica exomis draws a bucket from a well, carefully rendered with an elaborated superstructure. One cow is drinking and another waits her turn.

At the right an old, bald-headed shepherd with crossed legs leans in a relaxed pose on his staff, supporting his head with his right hand. At the bottom, as on the exergue of the silver plate no. 231, a flock of sheep is peacefully resting.

In the second medallion, at the upper left, a young shepherd, surrounded by his flock and a dog, carries a newborn lamb in his arms, like the Nubian boy in no. 235 or the figure of April in the sixth-century calendar mosaic at Argos (Åkerström-Hougen, 1974, I, p. 25, fig. 9; II, pl. 1), and he offers it to an old shepherd, who sits anticipating the gift in front of his thatched hut. Below, and to the left, a mother, leaning backward, plays with her child riding on her leg (cf. the motif on sarcophagi [Gerke, 1940, p. 100, pl. 23, fig. 3]). Next to her, a shepherd sits frontally playing the aulic flute, and, at the right, a youth kills with an axe a snake that coils up a tree, a motif inspired by Heracles, who clubbed to death the serpent in the apple tree of the Hesperides.

The upper part of the third medallion is occupied by a boy stretched out on his stomach, playing the flute, while his dog listens. Below, a dog affectionately licks the left ear of a babe seated on the ground. The babe reaches out for his mother, who approaches from the left, dressed in a long garment and a high-girt tunic. She carries a second, still younger babe, slung on her back in a kerchief held by her left hand and goads with a stick in her right hand a flock of sheep and goats in front of her. This shepherdess recalls the same type as the one on the silver plate in Berlin (no. 231). Opposite her an old shepherd, sparsely clad, leans on his staff, watching her coming.

The fourth medallion shows the preparation of a meal and the following banquet. Three shepherds dressed only in loincloths are reclining around a low table, one of them reaching out for the plate on the table, which bears the head of a slaughtered animal, while a dog below eagerly awaits his share. No doubt they are telling each other stories like those we know from bucolic poetry. In the bottom scene, a shepherd skins the slaughtered animal that hangs on a tree, while another one builds a fire under a kettle. Between them is a large ornamented vessel, probably for wine. Similar banquet scenes, mostly with hunters, are to be found in mosaics, like those of Piazza Armerina (Gentili, 1959, pl. xxi).

While these bucolic scenes—which we have

seen on sarcophagi, silver plates, and textiles—had their origin in Hellenistic times, they became very popular in the fourth and fifth centuries, a period when perspective yielded to paratactical arrangements. Some bucolic elements were used for calendar illustration (cf. the Argos mosaic [Åkerström-Hougen, 1974, I]) and as such survived through the Middle Ages.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Thompson, 1971, no. 4.

231 Plate with shepherdess

Alexandria (?), 5th–6th century

Silver

Diam. 23.6 cm. (9 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Antikenabteilung, 10824

A central roundel, embossed and chased, broken all around the border and decorated with a broad, sharply designed Lesbian cyma, is all that is left of a larger plate. The surface is densely filled by a pastoral scene. A shepherdess wearing a fillet in her hair walks briskly to our right, while turning her head back toward her child, whom she carries on her back in a scarf knotted in front. In her left hand she holds a basket of fruit and in her right a stick with which she goads a flock of sheep. Ahead of her a rearing goat snatches some



leaves from a gnarled tree. At the left the scene is framed by a cypress, and, at the top—as if at a great distance—is a small building with another tree. A dog fills the exergue.

This type of shepherdess is common in bucolic imagery, and in a fifth- or sixth-century ivory pyxis in the British Museum (Peirce and Tyler, 1932, I, pl. 163a) a shepherdess likewise holds a fruit basket and directs some sheep, here in the company of music-making shepherds. Moreover, a similar figure, carrying a child in the same way and also in the company of shepherds, occurs in a textile from the Brooklyn Museum (no. 229).

The silver plate belongs to the fifth or sixth century. In the figure style, as well as in the landscape setting, it preserves more of the Hellenistic tradition than the somewhat later ivory and textiles. The plate was acquired in Thebes, Upper Egypt, and this makes an Alexandrian origin most likely.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schlunk, 1939, p. 40, pl. 28, fig. 108; Greifenhagen (1), 1966, p. 145, pl. 13.

****232 Plate with shepherd**

Constantinople, 527–565

Silver

Diam. 23.8 cm. (9½ in.); 1.38 gm.

Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum, 0 277



The flat silver plate, in repoussé and chased, resting on a ring foot, is in very good condition. A shepherd in profile sits on a stone slab resting on a rock, grasping his right knee with his hands. He is clad in a tunica exomis and high, laced shepherd's boots. A dog looking up at his master, two goats, one reclining and the other eating from an ornamental tree in the center (cf. no. 231), and several plants are distributed over the surface.

Usually such shepherds were shown either in conversation or listening to music, but the shepherd in the silver plate is in a meditative pose. His sharp intellectual features, which led Studniczka (1923–1924) to believe that he is meant to be Theocritus, belie any bucolic happiness. Yet he shares his strained features with other shepherds in Constantinopolitan art in the approximately contemporary palace mosaic (Rice, 1947, pls. 30, 35, 47).

The back side of the plate shows a border with acanthus leaves issuing from vases and in the center five control stamps of the period of Justinian I. The plate is part of a treasure found at Klimova in the Perm region.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Studniczka, 1923–1924, p. 57, fig. 4; Matzulevitch, 1929, p. 112, pls. 31, 32; Dodd, 1961, no. 9a-b; Bank, 1966, figs. 59–61.

233 Bottom of bowl with shepherd scene

Rome, 4th century

Gold glass

Diam. 9.8 cm. (3⅞ in.)

Corning, New York, The Corning Museum of Glass, 66.1.37

The bottom of the gold glass shows, in a medallion framed by an inscription, a young shepherd in frontal view, holding a syrinx in his hands. To fit the roundel he is shown in a swaying pose, which gives the impression that he is leaning against the tree at his left. The bucolic elements—three sheep, a milk pail in the center, the pedum between his legs—are evenly distributed to fill out the roundel. The inscription, DIGNITAS·AMICORUM·PIE·ZESES·VIVAS ("Glory to friends, drink,



live, live!'), is a mixture of Greek and Latin found on all kinds of gold glass, pagan and Christian (nos. 79, 396). Of the two Greek words, only the second, ZESSES, is repeated in Latin.

Formerly in the possession of the Galleria Sangiorgio, Rome.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Morey, 1959, p. 42, pl. xxv, fig. 236.

234 Textile of shepherd milking a goat

Akhmīm (?), Egypt, 5th–6th century

Wool and undyed linen

33.7 × 34.3 cm. (13¼ × 13½ in.)

St. Louis, The St. Louis Art Museum, 48: 1939

In the center of a square textile is a typical pastoral scene: a bearded shepherd clad in a tunica exomis, rendered in a crouching pose, is milking a goat. The goat turns her head; her kid stands in front of her. Between the shepherd and the goat is the milk pail. The background is densely filled by a vine on which hangs a water or wine bottle. A decorative border of birds and vines surrounds the scene.

Such pastoral representations are common in

many media, including sarcophagi of the third and fourth centuries, such as the Barberini sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks (Segall, 1941, p. 15, fig. 8) and the loculus plaque in Rome (no. 370). Yet the higher degree of stylization, partly inherent in the medium, suggests a date for our textile in the fifth or sixth century. A stylistically similar one exists in the Louvre, which du Bourguet (1964, no. C22) has dated in the sixth century.

Because of its colors and pattern, Riefstahl (in Brooklyn, 1941, p. 45) sees in this textile a reflection of a floor mosaic.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brooklyn, 1941, no. 182.

No. 234, textile of shepherd milking a goat



235 Textile with shepherd

Egypt, 4th century

Wool and undyed linen

54 × 38 cm. (21¼ × 14½ in.)

Bern, Elsa Bloch-Diener, Antike Kunst

The textile is a fragment of a large hanging that apparently depicted a pastoral composition. Preserved is the upper part of a shepherd with dark purple skin, dressed in a tunic made of a green spotted skin. In his hands he holds a lamb. The facial features, the large black eyes, the vertical strands of hair under the multicolored cap, and the distinctive design of the nose characterize this shepherd as a Nubian. A similar example of this rare type is found in the Brooklyn textile (no. 228), as well as in the mosaic of Argos, where a youth personifying April carries the lamb in his hands (Åkerström-Hougen, 1974, I, p. 25, fig. 9; II, pl. 1).

Several other fragments, because of their subject, design, and color, probably belong to the same hanging: a flute player in the Abegg Stiftung, Riggisberg (Stettler, 1968, no. 23); the upper part of a Nubian dancer in Munich (Müller, 1974, p. 222, fig. 17); the upper part of a dancer in the Louvre that du Bourguet dates in the fifth century (du Bourguet, 1964, no. B17); a piece in Recklinghausen (Wessel, 1963, pl. xviii), and others.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zurich, 1964, no. 526.



236 Fragment of sarcophagus lid with banquet scene

Rome, 3rd century

Marble

32 × 74 cm. (12 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 29 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 67609



This is the left half of the lid of a sarcophagus that had, as is typical for its group, a mask at each end. Other than the break at the right side, there is no significant damage.

Depicted is a banquet of shepherds or hunters—the distinction is not made clear—of whom three are reclining around a sigma-shaped bolster (stibadion; see nos. 201, 203). The two youths at the left, one in a tunic exomis and the other in a sleeved tunic, are attentively listening to a third, an older and bearded man, who is holding a wine cup and telling a story. In the foreground, enclosed by the bolster, are three cross-marked loaves of bread. A fourth shepherd, at the left, takes another such loaf out of a wicker basket, and a fifth, standing at the right, holds a staff and a syrinx and turns his head toward the banquet group. The scene is set in the open, as indicated by the olive tree, to which a background drapery (the parapetasma) is attached. At the right are the raised arm and part of the garment of an orant figure.

The scene is undoubtedly derived from a classical bucolic model (cf. no. 230), with the omission of any reference to the slaughtered animal.

Whether the cross on the loaves and the wine cup in the hand of the older man have a eucharistic connotation has been disputed. Such meal scenes are very common in third-century sarcophagi (Gerke, 1940, p. 1, pls. 25, 26) and catacomb painting and bear witness to the very widespread influence of bucolic representations on Early

Christian art. The orant figure representing the deceased, originally marking the center of the lid, occurs most frequently, though not exclusively, on Christian sarcophagi. The widely used drill technique for the treatment of the hair and hands dates this relief in the third century.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gerke, 1940, pp. 123, 125, pl. 25, fig. 2; Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 793.

237 Fragment of child's sarcophagus with family scene

Italy, 3rd–early 4th century

Marble

31 × 30 × 15 cm. ($12\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{13}{16} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Rome, Museo di S. Sebastiano, Seb. 575

The fragment is curved at the right and retains only the upper edge of its frame. The surface is somewhat battered and corroded. The scene shows a seated woman, her head covered with a kerchief, holding a naked baby on her lap and nursing it. The father, dressed in a tunic, stands behind, holds a shepherd's crook, and looks affectionately at the child. At the right stands a thatched hut, similar to that seen in the illustration of Vergil's *Georgics* (no. 225), from which some sheep emerge.



Many such bucolic scenes occur in sarcophagus sculpture of the period (cf. nos. 361, 371), although the motif of the nursing mother is rather rare; it occurs also in one of the Brooklyn Museum textiles (no. 227). Since bucolic scenes were very popular in Christian art, it is difficult to say whether the sarcophagus is Christian or pagan, but it is easy to see how this group becomes later the model for the *Sacra Familia*. The summary treatment of the drapery and the rather muscular figures suggest a date in the late third or fourth century.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Scaglia, 1909, p. 32; Belvederi, 1931, pp. 32–34; Wilpert, 1932, p. 281, pl. 221, fig. 3; Gerke, 1940, p. 101, n. 1, pl. 21; Testini, 1972, pp. 280–281.

238 Fragment of a sarcophagus with a man of letters

Asia Minor, 3rd quarter 3rd century

White marble

72.4 × 61 cm. ($28\frac{1}{2} \times 24$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Rogers Fund, 1918, 18.08

The fragment comes from a sarcophagus of the Sidamara type, in which there is an elaborate architectural decoration. In this example, the front was divided into five arched niches by spiral columns; the niches were occupied by sculptured figures, and each arch was filled with a conch. The fragment comes from the central niche. The subject is a generalized portrait of the occupant of the sarcophagus, who wished to be depicted as a *litteratus*. He wears a chiton and himation and is seated on a diphros, propping himself on his right hand; in his extended left is a partially unrolled papyrus scroll. It is likely that he was flanked by figures of the muses (cf. no. 240 and the ivory no. 242). In life the muses had inspired him and they will now become the guardians of his memory. Although the carving is somewhat summary, the figure effectively expresses an inward concentration, as though searching for inspiration. Free use of the drill is apparent in the linear folds of the himation, as well as in the hair and architectural detail. Despite the roughness of the carving, the smooth surfaces and the drilled areas are interestingly contrasted. Realistic classical



architectural detail dissolves into two-dimensional pattern, foreshadowing the development of Byzantine ornament. On stylistic grounds, the sarcophagus must be attributed to an atelier in Asia Minor early in the third quarter of the third century A.D.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Morey, 1924, p. 46; Wiegartz, 1965, p. 165; Ferrari, 1966, p. 64; Wegner, 1966, no. 60.

239 Mosaic of poet and actor

Color plate VII

Sousse (Hadrumetum), Tunisia, 1st half 3rd century
With frame, 148.2 × 215.2 cm. (58 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 84 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
Tunis, Musée National du Bardo

The mosaic, a tondo within a larger circular design of radiating lozenges, served as the floor of a room in the House of the Masks at Sousse, the ancient Hadrumetum. In the tondo are two figures, in different planes. Behind, raised on a low base, is a seated playwright wearing a white cloak with clavi; he holds a papyrus rotulus in his left hand,

and supports his chin with his right. His face is plump and he has a chinstrap beard, without a mustache. In the space before him is an actor leaning against what seems to be a writing stand; he is dressed in a tunic and purple cloak, and holds a comic mask in his extended hand. Below is a capsula containing twelve papyrus scrolls, and at the left of the scene is a cabinet for storing masks; a tragic mask rests on its upper surface. The stockily proportioned figures are set against an abstract white ground and stare out at the viewer; detail is simplified, color muted and somber.

If the subject is clear enough in a general sense, its precise meaning remains elusive. The pensive pose of the poet is similar to that of a playwright in a fresco from the House of Gladiators at Pompeii, who has been identified by A. M. Friend as Euripides (in an unpublished study; see also Friend, 1929, fig. 39). The mosaic poet's features are, however, unlike those of Euripides, or indeed of any other Greek or Roman dramatist, and it is therefore tempting to accept the suggestion of the excavator, who held that he is a North African contemporary of the mosaicist—perhaps even the owner of the House of the Masks (Foucher, 1965, p. 73). In favor of this hypothesis is the curious beard, which occurs in sculptural portraits of the period of the mosaic. If this interpretation is correct, the North African poet evidently wished to be seen in the guise of Euripides.



The motif of the actor who contemplates the role-defining mask has a long history in Greco-Roman art. This actor will play a young man in a comedy, and so wears the purple cloak appropriate to the role. The relationship of the playwright to the comic actor and to the cabinet with the tragic mask is not entirely clear. As it is improbable that the playwright wrote both tragedies and comedies, we should probably interpret actor and cabinet as symbols of the world of the theater, imagined by the contemplative playwright. In this case his relationship to them is comparable, if not analogous, to that of the contemplative actor to his mask. Like the Menander scenes from Mytilene (no. 221), the Sousse mosaic documents the continuing popularity of subjects from the theater in the later Roman period. The pose of the seated playwright was later adopted for portraits of the evangelists in Christian art and so would have a long afterlife in Gospel books (Friend, 1927, p. 142). The mosaic has been dated on archaeological evidence to the first half of the third century.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Foucher, 1965, pp. 15, 73; Webster, 1967, p. 123.

240 Fragment of sarcophagus with poet and muse

Italy, early 4th century

Marble

63.5 × 47 × 15.2 cm. (25 × 18½ × 6 in.)

Wellesley, Massachusetts, Wellesley College

Museum, Eliza Newkirk Rogers '00 Fund, 1949.17

Only the right side of the sarcophagus front is preserved. A youthful poet sits on a stool facing left, his right hand raised in a speaking gesture; in his left he holds a papyrus rotulus, from which he is evidently reciting. Standing at the left is his inspiration, the comic muse, Thalia. She originally held a lagobolon in her right hand, and her left was raised holding a comic mask. She wears a curious perforated garment, which imitates a stage costume; more realistic versions of this garment, which consists of a net of wool strands, appear on other sarcophagi (Wegner, 1966, p. 106). The



seated man is a *litteratus*, who in death joins the company of the muses (cf. no. 238). His youthful face and long hair have reminded some scholars of images of Christ (cf. no. 469), but such an identification is quite unlikely because of the presence of the muse Thalia. Although most of the *litterati* depicted on sarcophagi are older and bearded, there are a few parallels to the Wellesley youth (Wegner, 1966, nos. 80, 127, 230). It is also possible that the head does not belong to the seated figure; the break is obscured front and back by plaster.

The fragment was carved in Italy of Italian marble. Though it illustrates the same subject as no. 238, it is much less elaborately carved. The simplified drapery and inorganic body point to a date in the Constantinian period. Once in a private collection in Rome, it was acquired for the Wellesley Museum in 1949 from the New York dealer Joseph Brummer.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lugli, 1929; Baltimore, 1947, no. 31; Waltham, 1968, pl. xvi.

241 Plaque with Erato and two poets

Italy (?), 5th century

Ivory

11.4 × 16.8 cm. ($4\frac{1}{2}$ × $6\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, cover for MS. 1169

The plaque was probably designed as the lid for a casket. Later it was cut into two pieces for reasons unknown, and in the tenth to eleventh century these were used as covers for a tropary (a book of musical sequences). In the center is the muse Erato, seated on a highbacked throne and playing a kithara; the heavy instrument rests on her left thigh and is stabilized by the strap that crosses her shoulder. Her two listeners are, at the right, a standing man, barefoot and bearded; and, at the left, a bearded man wearing sandals and seated on a stool, with his chin resting on his hand. The muse Erato was the patroness of love poetry and hymns to the gods, so the men must be poets. Whether they are contemporaries of the ivory carver or earlier poets we cannot tell. Both resemble later representations of the Gospel writers in New Testament illustrations. The plaque was probably carved in central or northern Italy in the fifth century; the solid classical figures contrast strongly with the muses of the contemporary ivory no. 242. The plaque was formerly in the cathedral treasury at Autun; the reappearance of the muse Erato on the cover of a medieval tropary seems entirely fitting.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kollwitz, 1959, p. 1123; Volbach, 1976, no. 71.



242 Two plaques with poets and muses

Egypt (?) or Gaul (?), 5th century

Ivory

Each leaf, 29 × 7.5 cm. ($11\frac{7}{16}$ × $2\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des

Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, SMD 46

The figures are carved in very high relief and some details are broken; the raised borders are also damaged. On each plaque appear three pairs of poets and muses in three registers. At the top of the first plaque the epic muse, Calliope, reciting from a scroll, descends toward the blind Homer; below, Euterpe approaches a bearded poet (Solon ?), holding the flutes; and at bottom Urania strides toward the astronomer Aratus, holding the pointing stick or radius in her right hand. Behind Aratus' head is the celestial globe. At the top of the second plaque are an unidentified bearded poet (Pindar ?) and Erato, who holds the kithara; in the center, Thalia, muse of comedy, and the playwright Menander (cf. no. 221); and at the bottom are Terpsichore with the lyre and a clean-shaven poet who holds a flat object. Three muses (Clio, Melpomene, Polyhymnia) are missing and must have been represented on a third plaque. The holes in the surviving plaques indicate that they were originally attached to another surface; they cannot have formed a diptych, for the relief is too high, the proportions too elongated. The muses are shown as ethereal, dynamic creatures; they seem to personify the force of inspiration itself. They are analogous to the symbolic figures who inspire the evangelists in Christian art, often in full-page miniatures placed at the beginning of the Gospels (cf. no. 443). Such evangelist portraits are, in fact, probably modeled on earlier miniatures depicting a poet and his muse, which served as a kind of frontispiece for a volume of the poet's writings (Weitzmann [3], 1971, pp. 113–120). The paired poets and muses of the two ivory plaques may have been derived from manuscripts of this sort; the accuracy of the iconography of the poets is apparent in the carefully carved portrait features of Homer and Menander. Other late Roman groups of poets and muses are found in mosaics (Parlasca, 1959, pp. 141–143; for Aratus and Urania, p. 42, pl. 44:1). The origin of the Louvre plaques is



uncertain; both Egypt and Gaul have been suggested. The style combines elegant drapery and figures in unnatural poses; the spatial ambiguity is typical of the Late Antique period. The muses, some of them apparently depicted flying, are quite unlike their counterparts on the other two Paris ivories (nos. 241, 243) and the silver pitcher (no. 244). Before coming to the Louvre the two plaques were in the E. Durand collection.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Coche de la Ferté, 1958, pp. 27, 96–97; Kollwitz, 1959, p. 1133; Volbach, 1976, no. 69.

243 Three plaques with muses and thiasos

Egypt (?), 5th century

Ivory

21 × 12 cm. (8¼ × 4¾ in.)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles

The three horizontal plaques, which were once used as a Gospel book cover, came from some other object, perhaps a casket. The top and center plaques originally formed a single strip, which was cut in half and trimmed. The bottom plaque was part of a similar strip, the rest of which is lost. The upper plaques depict Artemis and Apollo surrounded by the nine muses; the figure of Apollo is shared between the two halves. The mask of Thalia, muse of comedy, is at the top left; the muse herself was trimmed away. There follow Euterpe, with the flutes; Melpomene, holding a tragic mask; Erato, playing the kithara; Artemis, leaning on a spear; and Apollo, with a swan at his feet. The second strip depicts Clio, holding a tablet; Polyhymnia, dancing; Calliope, holding a scroll; Urania, holding the celestial sphere; and finally Terpsichore, whose lyre has evidently been trimmed off. Below Clio is a small figure leaning against an amphora from which gushes water: she must be a personification of the Pierian Spring on Mt. Helikon, sacred to the muses. The subject of the bottom fragment is Dionysiac; part of the god himself can be seen at the left, leaning on a thyrsus. There follow a satyr and maenad, a figure wearing a mask and wreath and holding a child (the infant Dionysos ?), and Silenus.

The ivories have been attributed to Alexandria; the flat, deeply undercut figures have parallels in Coptic sculpture, as do their lively, if rather ungainly, proportions and exaggerated movement (cf. no. 451). The swaying rhythms of the muses suggest that they are dancing. Apollo appears here because he is the traditional leader of the muses, but the presence of Artemis is curious. She may have been added because she is Apollo's sister, but it is also possible that the ivory carver has adapted her from an Athena in his model; the patroness of knowledge often appears in this position on the muse sarcophagi (cf. Wegner, 1966, no. 55). In fact, the composition may well be derived from such sarcophagi. The accurate characterization of the muses indicates full comprehension of their significance; the belief in their powers of inspiration continued throughout the early medieval period.



The ivories were formerly in the cathedral at Bourges.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bovini and Ottolenghi, 1956, no. 45 (1st. ed.); no. 46 (2nd. ed., fig. 78); Paris, 1958, no. 144; Kollwitz, 1959, p. 1133; Beckwith, 1963, no. 38; Volbach, 1976, no. 70.

****244 Pitcher with the nine muses**

Constantinople, about 400

Silver with gilding

39, diam. base 11. 3 cm. (15 $\frac{3}{8}$, 4 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

Moscow, Oruzheinaia Palata Museum, 18167

The mouth of the pitcher is broken, and a handle that extended from shoulder to mouth is missing. There are three bands of relief decoration below a laurel wreath that gives the impression of having been slipped over the neck. The top band consists of two vine cuttings; in the bottom band is an acanthus frieze inhabited by pairs of animals. In the main zone is a procession of the nine muses, each identified by a Greek inscription. Coloristic effects are achieved through the gilding of much of the relief decoration and the inscriptions; the faces and hands of the muses are reserved in silver for contrast.

The muses are depicted frontally, moving slightly to the right. The procession begins, or ends, at the left with Clio, muse of history, writing in a tablet; like her sisters she wears a headdress of feathers, symbolizing the muses' victory in a singing contest with the Sirens. There follow Euterpe (rhythmic music, elegy), holding the long flutes and wearing a traditional high-girt costume; Thalia (comedy) with a comic mask; Melpomene (tragedy) with both a tragic mask and the high-soled shoes (kothurnoi) worn on the stage by tragic actors; and Terpsichore (lyric poetry), playing the lyre. The next two muses were evidently mislabeled by the artist: first a figure holding a long scepter, identified as Erato (muse of love poetry and ceremonial verse), then a figure holding a lyre, called Polyhymnia (pantomime). But the attribute of Erato is properly the lyre or kithara, and Polyhymnia holds a scepter in the Monnus mosaic at Trier (Parlasca, 1959, pl. 43, fig. 1). The artist has inadvertently exchanged the names of



these two muses. There follow Urania (astronomy) with the globe of the heavens and Calliope (epic poetry) with the scroll.

In the late Hellenistic period the muses began to play a role in funerary beliefs, as can be seen in their appearance on a large group of sarcophagi (cf. no. 240). Not only did they keep alive the memory of poets and sages, but it was also believed that men and women of intellectual or cultural achievement might join their company after death.

This pitcher was found in a tomb and may well have had some such meaning for the man whom it accompanied. Unfortunately, the tomb was excavated by local farmers, and little is known of its circumstances. It was found in 1918–1919 at Bolshoi Kamenets in the Dnieper basin. On the underside of the pitcher is a silver stamp, which indicates that it was made in Constantinople in the late fourth or early fifth century (Dodd, 1961, pp. 4–5); a vase of similar shape but with Christian iconography was found in the Traprain Law hoard in Scotland (no. 389). Although the figures have classical models (perhaps in sarcophagi), their frontality, heavy proportions, and oddly tilted heads indicate a date in the post-Constantinian period. The decorative friezes, a characteristic of early Byzantine silver, are particularly fine.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Matzulevich, 1934, pp. 119–125; Dodd, 1961, no. 84; Bank, 1966, p. 333, pls. 2–5; Strong, 1966, p. 191; Pisarskaya, 1970, pls. I–IX.



245 Plaque with pantomime actress

Egypt (?), early 6th century

Ivory

14 × 10.5 cm. (5½ × 4¼ in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Antikenabteilung, 2497

The lower left corner is broken; the lower part of the plaque has evidently been cut away (for such trimming, which implies reuse of the ivory, cf. no. 243). The subject is a woman wearing a high-girt costume and mantle. She carries a sword; on her head is a curious cap with ribbons. In one hand she holds a seven-stringed lyre, in the other three theatrical masks (those above and at the left are for tragic roles). This strange personage has been recognized as a pantomime actress, carrying some of the props for her various roles. These may in fact belong to a specific performance, in which the *pantomima* danced all the roles consecutively (on such performances, which were extremely popular

in late antiquity, see Lucian's dialogue on the mime, *De saltatione*). Although actors in antiquity were usually men, in the later Roman period women also appeared on the stage. By far the most famous example was the *pantomima* Theodora, who became the wife of the emperor Justinian and was probably a contemporary of the figure on this ivory. The carving, in the attributes as well as in the acanthus border, is crisp and confident. The round, expressionless face and the high relief are features that recur in ivories of the early sixth century such as the Ariadne in the Cluny Museum (no. 127), which, like the reliefs from the Aachen pulpit (Volbach, 1976, nos. 72–77), have been attributed to Egypt. Before coming to Berlin, the plaque was in the church of St. Maximinus at Trier.

M. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1929, p. 79; Bieber, 1961, p. 236; Greifenhagen (2), 1966, pp. 34, 53; Gehrig, Greifenhagen, and Kunisch, 1968, pl. 104; Volbach, 1976, no. 79.

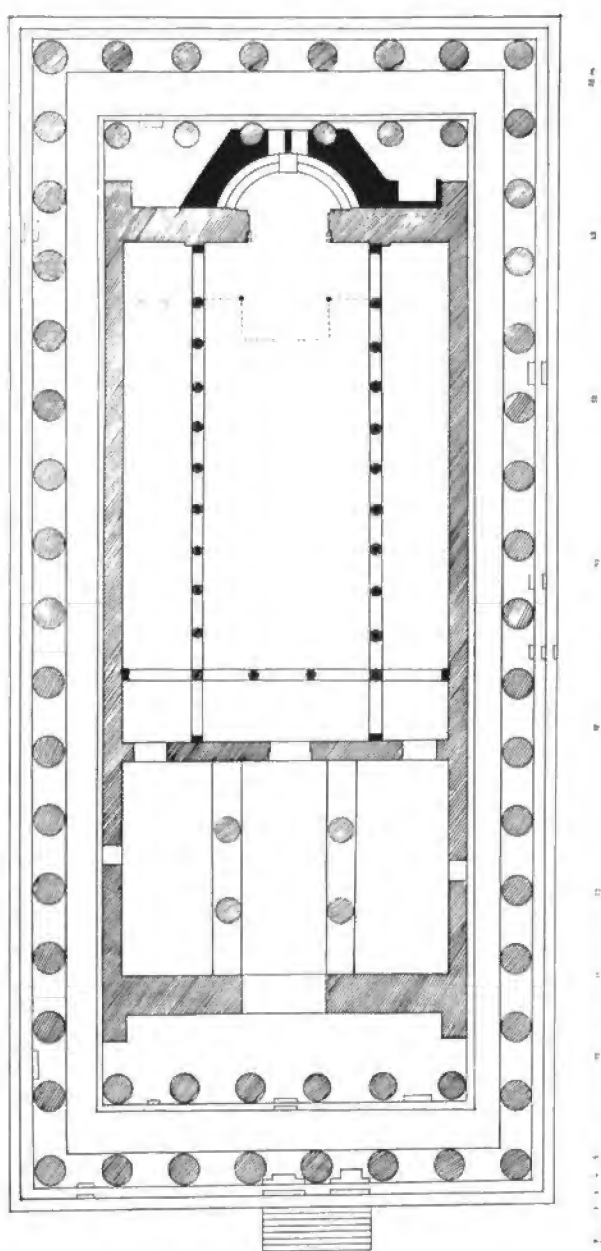
Architecture

If the attitude of late antiquity to its classical architectural heritage can be gauged by what we today call historic preservation, the evidence is ambiguous, and nowhere more so than in Rome and Athens. The age opened with careful reconstruction, by the First Tetrarchy and Maxentius, of fire-damaged buildings in and near the old Forum Romanum, some of which went back to the time of Caesar and Augustus, in precisely or approximately their original form. Among these was Maxentius' reconstruction of Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Roma, a huge, many-columned structure modeled on the vast temples of late classical Ionia. This concern for the perpetuation of old monuments may be attributed more to political than to artistic reasons, in which the structures' historical significance bore greater weight than their aesthetic qualities, although the two are difficult to separate.

At the same time, the Romans continued the long-standing practice of cannibalizing old buildings, especially unused buildings, for their salvageable parts. This could get out of hand, as is documented by many decrees limiting or forbidding the practice. One, from 458, begins: "The emperors Leo and Majorian to Aemilianus, City Prefect. While we govern the state, we are anxious to correct obnoxious practices which have long been allowed to deface the appearance of the Venerable City [Rome]. For it is obvious that public buildings, wherein consists the whole beauty of the Roman state, are on all sides being destroyed by the most deplorable connivance of the city administration" (Dudley, 1967, p. 32).

The Parthenon on the Athenian Acropolis was converted to a Christian church, with remarkably minor alterations, probably late in the sixth century (fig. 29). In the next century, apparently, the Erechtheum and the Hephaisteion ("Theseum") were also consecrated as churches. These transformations, only three of many dedications of pagan temples as

FIG. 29 *Plan of sixth-century Christian church in the Parthenon, Athens*



churches from the fifth century on, appear to have been prompted less from a deep appreciation of the beauty of these monuments or from an interest in aesthetic heritage than from political and emotional demonstration of the triumph of the Church in the heart of the pagan world.

The role of the classical heritage in the architecture of the late Roman world was necessarily different from the one that it played in the representational arts. Painting and sculpture are imbued with literary conceptions, both in subject and in such expressive means as metaphor, allegory, and narration. The representational arts lend themselves far more easily to flights of fancy, to expressions of nostalgia, and to the individual statement of opposition to a predominantly aclassical culture. Architecture is inherently more the servant of the dominant culture than these arts. Constantine could furnish his baths in Rome with statues ultimately derived from works in the high classical style, and his mother, Helena, could be portrayed as a seated figure from the same period; but although the Parthenon and the Pantheon, like monumental spolia, were much later converted to churches, the new churches commissioned by Constantine and his successors did not and probably could not imitate successfully the monuments of the classical past. But almost all of them, nonetheless, did contain elements of the old classical orders, sometimes adopted unconsciously and sometimes chosen deliberately as status symbols of an honored architectural heritage.

The order was the product of the transformation of the post-and-beam structural system by the Greeks of the archaic and classical periods into an equivalent artistic schema, each of whose elements of load and support were integrally related to the whole by a system of formal and proportional relationships. These relationships were long maintained even when, in the Hellenistic and especially in the Roman period, the order was applied as an artistic and cultural articulation to different structural systems, specifically to solid walls and to arched constructions. Even in the late Roman period, in such Christian buildings as Sta. Maria Maggiore at Rome (figs. 93, 94) in its interior and Theodosius II's Hagia Sophia at Constantinople (fig. 30) in its propylon, the classical orders appeared in substantially their original coher-



FIG. 30 *Drawing of propylon of Theodosius II, Hagia Sophia, Istanbul*

ence. These were the exceptions, however, sometimes interpreted as conscious allusions to a classical past reevaluated. In the main, the transference of the order from a primarily structural to a chiefly articulative role began a devolution in which the order lost much of its immediacy and vitality, a process that was completed in the late Roman period.

The real classical contribution to the architecture of the period was the paradigm of post-and-beam poetry that the order offered, to the formation of a new "order" based on the arcade. The evolution of the new order was not a continuous, smooth pattern of development; it can be traced in a few examples chosen from the time of Constantine to that of Justinian. The arcade, arches supported on free-standing columns, had appeared as early as the first century B.C., in which the classical horizontal entablature was replaced by archivolts molded to resemble semicircular architraves. These were separated from the capitals of the columns beneath them by isolated, residual blocks of entablature, much as they were still to be found in the fourth century in the interior of Sta. Costanza (no. 246). Although this mixture of the trabeated and arcuated did not put the older, purely trabeated colonnade completely to rout—witness Old St. Peter's (no. 581) and even Justinian's Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (fig. 31)—the arcade was the predominant system of

internal support and articulation in the late Roman world, East and West.

In the arcade system, as in all others, junctions are of special importance, particularly the junction of the elements of load and support. The square abacus of the classical capital, with the Doric cushion or the Ionic or Corinthian volutes beneath it, was beautifully suited to receive and to channel the visual force of the horizontal beam above it to the column shaft below. It was less well adapted to assume the same role below arches, as is easily seen in Sta. Sabina at Rome (no. 247), where the arches are frankly placed on reused capitals with no intermediary element. The undeniable beauty of the arcade at Sta. Sabina derives from its discrete elements and not from an artistic harmony of structural elements. This arcade illustrates another problem the system presents. A pure semicircular arch appears to be slightly flattened; thus, the architect's problem was to elevate the arch without overcompensating for the optical illusion. At Sta. Sabina the arch is slightly stilted. Ways in which both problems were simultaneously solved in the fifth century are seen in the clerestory of the Baptistery of the Orthodox (no. 588) or at S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna (no. 248) and in the galleries of the Church of the Virgin Acheiropoietos in Thessalonike (no. 587). In Ravenna, the isolated entablature block was replaced by a simple inverted truncated pyramid called an impost, or stilt, block,

whose upper surface corresponded to the base of the arches and whose lower surface fitted comfortably on the abacus of the column below it. The arch is a pure semicircle; the necessary elevation is accomplished by the stilt block. The stilt block was, nonetheless, something of an alien element, in that its extreme simplicity was frequently in strong contrast to the capital beneath it, as at S. Apollinare Nuovo. At Thessalonike, the impost and the capital were fused into a single structural, artistic element uniform in surface treatment and well suited to the physical and visual functions the capital served. A new "order" was achieved, while, in the residual volutes at the base of the capital, something of the symbolic value of the old Ionic capital was retained. There are many beautiful late Roman variants on the impost capital. Other capital forms were created, such as the so-called Theodosian capital exemplified by the main arcades of the Acheiropoietos (no. 587). The lands ringing the Aegean Sea played a leading role in these experiments: significantly, this was the homeland of the classical orders. Whereas in classical architecture the focus had been on the entire structural apparatus, in Late Antique architecture, the burning glass was focused on its capital alone.

Paradoxically, the outstanding exception to and the culmination of this quest for a new order is found in Justinian's Hagia Sophia (no. 592). The arcades of its ground floor rest directly on columns surmounted by exquisite permutations of the Corinthian capital. The old familiar elements are there: the bell sheathed in acanthus leaves, the volutes at the four upper corners, and the low abacus embellished with motifs of classical derivation. Yet the capitals and the arches above achieve a new and harmonious unity. This successful interpretation is based partly on the gentle swell of the capital, which acknowledges the weight it bears, and partly on the uniformity of the character and intensity of the patterned relief that covers the capital, the archivolt, and the spandrels in a seamless web of light and dark. In motif and in rationale, the old order shines through the new.

ALFRED FRAZER

FIG. 31 *Interior of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem*



BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kautzsch, 1936; Deichmann, 1940; Deichmann, 1956, esp. pp. 41–97; Deichmann, 1975.



*246 Order of Sta. Costanza

Rome, about 338–350

Granite and marble

Each column and capital, about 4.25 m. (13 ft. 10 in.)

The coupling of two columns to support the spring of a single arch in this order is singular in ancient Roman architecture. The unclassical use of two supporting members in place of one was brought about by the need to provide adequate support for the rising brick cylinder of the rotunda. This, in turn, was the product of the desire to substitute the classical order for the structurally more logical pier in this position. Like the program of classicizing decoration of the drum (cf. no. 108), this decision must be related to the imperial status of the monument.

The two columns—comprising Roman Attic bases, shafts of gray and red granite, and composite capitals—share a common entablature, characterized by a cushion frieze, which mediates between the heavy spring of the arches and the relatively small abaci of the columns. The care used in applying the order to an unsympathetic

location is evidenced by the differences in the coupled columns. Those facing the central, higher space have wider shafts and taller capitals than the columns facing the ambulatory. Both have reused capitals. Architects of the period apparently retained a sufficiently classical sense to proportion the order to the superstructure it supported and the space it faced. The result, characteristic of the period, is simultaneously classical and unclassical.

A. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Deichmann, 1975, p. 10.

*247 Order of the nave arcade, Sta. Sabina

Rome, 2nd half 2nd century

Each column and capital, 6.60 m. (21 ft. 8 in.)

The marble capital is of the normal Roman Corinthian form. It probably dates to the second half of the second century and was reused in Sta. Sabina in the fifth century (no. 586). The uniformity of the columns and capitals of this church may express the builders' concern for the classical idea of harmony, or they may simply have had fortunate access to a complete edition of spoils.

At Sta. Sabina the horizontal carved entablature that the capitals probably originally supported *was replaced by an arcade of brick masonry* faced with flat, polychrome marble revetment (now much restored). The intradoses of the arcades are sheathed with small marble plaques that give the profile a gentle polygonal outline. The spandrels rest unclassically on the abaci of the capitals and extend below the semicircular diameter of the arch in order to overcome the depressed optical effect of a pure semicircle. Concern for the correction of optical illusions has a long history in classical architecture and was documented in Vitruvius (late first century B.C.). The Sta. Sabina arcade is a late Roman paradox in which the old rationale of the order is lost but the care that had been characteristic of its correct application remains.

A. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Krautheimer, Corbett, and Frankl, 1970, IV, p. 89, fig. 82; Deichmann, 1975, p. 16.



No. 247



No. 248

***248 Order of the nave arcade,
S. Apollinare Nuovo**

Ravenna, 1st quarter 5th century
Each column, capital, and impost block, about
4.70 m. (15 ft. 5 in.)

The columns supporting the nave arcades of the palace church of the Gothic king Theodoric com-

prise simple Attic bases, Proconnesian marble shafts, Corinthian capitals, and impost blocks. The capitals are the "leathery-leaf" or lyre type, which was widespread at the time in the Aegean area (e.g., Constantinople and Ephesus) and on the Adriatic littoral. Although somewhat schematic and sparse in detail, the capitals clearly belong to the old family of Corinthian capitals. Working marks on the shafts and capitals are identical with

ones found in buildings in Constantinople; the Ravennate examples were probably imported from the imperial capital.

The impost blocks that separate the capitals from the semicircular arches above are inverted, truncated pyramids. They serve, in reduced form, the same function of transferring the weight of the arches to the columns below as do the isolated entablatures at Sta. Costanza in Rome (no. 246). The centers of their faces toward the aisles are marked by simple Latin crosses.

A. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kautzsch, 1936, pp. 59–60; Deichmann, 1969, I, pp. 64–65; Deichmann, 1976, III, pp. 131–136.

*249 Order of SS. Sergios and Bacchos

Istanbul, about 527–536

Colonnade including entablature, about 5.38 m.
(17 ft. 8 in.)

The beautifully designed inscription in the frieze of the entablature that separates the main colon-

nade from the arcade states that the church was founded by the emperor Justinian and the empress Theodora, who acceded in 527. The inscription also documents that the church was complete by 536. Thus, SS. Sergios and Bacchos was begun shortly before Justinian's Hagia Sophia and completed at least a year earlier than the Great Church. Situated in a compound occupied by the imperial couple prior to their accession, SS. Sergios and Bacchos comprises a two-storied octagonal rotunda enveloped by an aisle and a gallery set within an irregularly quadrilateral exterior wall.

The imperial sponsorship is reflected in the church's size and its superb decoration, especially that of its architectural sculpture. This ornament is closely related to that of Hagia Sophia (no. 592) and represents a culmination of over a century of the development in Constantinopolitan architectural carving. The column shafts are of green and gray marble and the bases, capitals, and entablature are of gray white Proconnesian marble. The capitals of the colonnade are the so-called "folded" type (*Faltkapitell*), an Eastern late Roman impost capital developed from the classical Corinthian capital. The emphasis on the centers of the four faces and on the four corners was retained in the projecting folds, but the traditional plastic articulation of rampant acanthus leaves and volutes and helices was replaced by a uniform, two-dimensional web of acanthus tendrils, here *à jour*. The entablature is a series of contradictory elements. Such traditional classical features as the three-fasciaed architrave, the frieze, and the bracketed cornice are combined with canonical decorative motifs: the egg and dart, the bead and reel, and the acanthus rinceau. The decorative members are framed according to classical tradition by undecorated elements, but the decorated members, such as the moldings in the architrave, are larger than the framing elements. The entablature possesses two friezes, the flat inscribed one and, more conspicuous and in apparent contradiction, a cushioned frieze (cf. no. 246). Despite these unclassical features, a visual harmony is achieved by the bold patterned carving, which unites frieze and cyma with the openwork carving of the capital.

A. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kautzsch, 1936, pp. 187–189; Deichmann, 1956, pp. 72–76.



III

THE SECULAR REALM

Representations of Daily Life

The art of the Late Antique and Early Christian period gives us less information about the daily lives of the average man or woman of that time than it does about any other aspect of history or culture. There are

no pictures of the wedding festival, or, for that matter, of any other domestic ritual. On funerary monuments, the deceased was portrayed as he wished to be remembered—at the height of his professional career. The sociologist will be disappointed that there is so little pictorial evidence concerning the private affairs of Greek or Roman citizens—such as married life, social contacts, the rearing and education of

FIG. 32 *Mosaic of Dominus Julius with scenes of country life.*

Tunis, Musée National du Bardo



children, or the life and treatment of slaves. The themes deemed appropriate for the illustration of daily life were restricted to a few clearly defined categories, most of them shared by pagan and Christian art.

Artists of the period, however, did display a limited interest in the observation of nature. Some depictions may have been influenced by illustrations for bucolic poetry, such as the shepherd with his flock playing his flute or the peasant tilling his soil, which illustrated the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* of Vergil (nos. 224–225). Others, like the frescoes of a tomb chamber from Alexandria (no. 250) display a fresh look at nature: the workings of a waterwheel and the swampy shore of the Nile with its fowl and water plants have been keenly observed.

While the hunt is often depicted as the special prerogative of the emperor, by the Late Antique period other social classes had adopted this aristocratic sport. A North African mosaic (fig. 32) depicts the villa of a rich landowner surrounded by scenes of harvest and departure for the hunt. As with bucolic pictures, it is difficult to determine whether the artist worked from fresh observation or from conventional, traditional types. A similar ambiguity was represented in fishing scenes: extreme realism in the depiction of a variety of fishes, for which the sources were specialized treatises (cf. no. 185), is often coupled with such mythical touches as pygmies fishing in the Nile (no. 252). Frequently, elements of the Isis cult became associated with these Nilotic scenes (no. 170).



FIG. 33 Drawing of the fresco of the month of September from Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome

Other favored outdoor occupations were hunting and fishing, which likewise were described and illustrated in detail in such didactic poems as Pseudo-Oppian's *Cynegetica* (fig. 24) and Oppian's *Halieutika*.

Many rural occupations were depicted according to the seasons, and a special set of occupations developed in connection with the calendar. Once more we notice the impact of a literary genre. How variegated and rich in observation such calendar pictures could be is demonstrated by the frescoes from around 300 recently discovered under the floor of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome (fig. 33), where for

the month of September the harvesting of fruit is shown in great detail.

Particularly in Rome and the Latin West entirely different types of daily life pictures occur, which lack any connection with a tradition still steeped in mythology or with conventions derived from it. A self-assertive middle class of professionals and merchants had developed a taste for having themselves portrayed while practicing their occupations. A favored place for such a display was the tomb, in which the deceased was commemorated in this manner. The fresco decoration of the tomb of the architect Trebius Justus in Rome (no. 253) shows not only his portrait figure, but the actual building of a house in all its detail, telling us much about the building practices of that period. The deceased could also be depicted reading, surrounded by the books and implements of his trade, like the physician on a sarcophagus (no. 256). There is an obvious similarity between this physician and many evangelists who have before them a lectern and table with writing paraphernalia (no. 490).

Shop signs produced for the practically minded Roman businessman to advertise his trade in wine or grain (nos. 257–258) also show men at work. These

are found as frescoes or marble plaques by the doorway of an artisan's or vendor's shop. Some of these marble reliefs, especially those found in Ostia, show a great variety of traders—among them, a seller of vegetables and a butcher behind his counter.

Late classical floor mosaics often employed scenes of daily life in considerable detail. In a Tunisian mosaic (no. 260) the unloading and weighing of a ship's cargo give an insight into maritime commerce. On a far more ambitious mosaic in the villa at Piazza Armerina, rare and exotic animals, including ostriches, a camel, an elephant, and a rhinoceros, are loaded onto a boat to be shipped to the owner of the villa, most likely the emperor Maximianus, for his zoo.

From family life only one event seems to have been represented, and quite often: the marriage ceremony. Here, the connection between pagan and Christian art is quite close (nos. 261–263), for in each the event is rendered in the same ceremonial manner prescribed by civil law, showing the joining of right hands (*dextrarum junctio*). The only difference is that the administrator of the rite is Juno *pronuba* in the pagan and Christ in the Christian representation.

KURT WEITZMANN

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jahn, 1861; Magi, 1972; Précheur-Canonge, n.d.

***250 Tomb chamber**

Alexandria, 3rd century

Fresco

Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum

Of the frescoes discovered in 1960 in a tomb chamber of the necropolis of Alexandria, the best-preserved part shows two oxen turning a water wheel for irrigation, set in a bright illusionistic landscape. A boy at the left probably plays the flute. In the foreground is the pond or river from which the wheel draws water and between the plants in the water are a duck and a water hen. The short wall to the right shows a herm with a bearded head, probably Pan, set within a grill, the surroundings perhaps suggesting a sacred

grove. On the next short wall a shepherd, surrounded by his flock, carries a lamb over his shoulders.

On yet another wall a very damaged fresco shows a youth reclining under a bower, apparently Jonah under the gourd vine, in the same pose and same setting as he is represented on numerous Roman catacomb frescoes and sarcophagi.

The side-by-side appearance of pagan and Christian motifs in the same tomb chamber has a parallel in Roman catacombs, such as that in Via Latina (nos. 219, 419, 423).

The Alexandrian frescoes are executed in a remarkably free brush technique, which has often been associated with Alexandria and was attributed by Pliny to a certain painter, Antiphilus. For this technique, Riad (1964) refers to a passage

No. 250: left, oxen turning waterwheel; right, shepherd



in Petronius' *Satyricon*, and, on the basis of style, suggests a date for the frescoes in the first century. The apparent Jonah scene, however, would exclude a date prior to the third century, and the impressionistic style must therefore have continued in Alexandria well into the Late Antique period.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Riad, 1964.

251 Plate with architecture and fishing and hunting scenes

Rome (?), 4th century

Silver

4.2, diam. 58 cm. ($1\frac{11}{16}$, $22\frac{7}{8}$ in.); central medallion

16.3 cm. ($6\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

Augst, Römermuseum, 1962.2



The silver plate, gilded and with niello inlay, is part of a large treasure found in 1961 at Augst (see nos. 126, 208). The central medallion shows an elaborate scene, divided into two halves. The upper is filled by a group of buildings. The facades, colonnades, walls, and roofs are symmetrically and decoratively arranged, and the spatial relationships have been mostly abandoned, as was typical in the fourth century. The scene derived from more coherent structures in which the parts were structurally and perspectively better related (Rostovtzeff, 1911, pp. 1–186, pls. 1–11).

In the lower half putti are fishing with nets and rods in the sea, which is filled like an aquarium with the greatest variety of fish. This abundant depiction of marine life is also found in textiles (nos. 182, 183) and especially floor mosaics, as, for instance, in the mosaics of the Piazza Armerina (Gentili, 1959, pl. xxviii; cf. also no. 184).

The rim has four ornamental sections with geometric patterns—likewise frequently found in floor mosaics—which alternate with four hunting scenes. On foot and horseback hunters are pursuing bears, hares, stags, and boars with the aid of dogs. This type of hunting is described in the *Cynegetica* of Pseudo-Oppian, a didactic treatise from the third century, which is preserved in an illustrated copy from the eleventh century (Venice, Marciana, Cod. gr. 479). Among its miniatures are parallels to all four hunting scenes on this plate (Weitzmann, 1951, figs. 127–131).

The artist most likely drew his inspiration for this silver plate from two sources: for the central medallion from a monumental composition, perhaps a fresco or mosaic, and for the rim from the illustration of a didactic treatise. The refined inlay technique and the style closely relate to the *lanx* with Ariadne (no. 126), and to the very similar plate in Cesena (no. 251a). These features are typical of the fourth century, the date given the Augst treasure on the basis of coins. The center of its manufacture has not yet been determined.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Laur-Belart, 1963, pp. 14–17.

**251a The Cesena plate

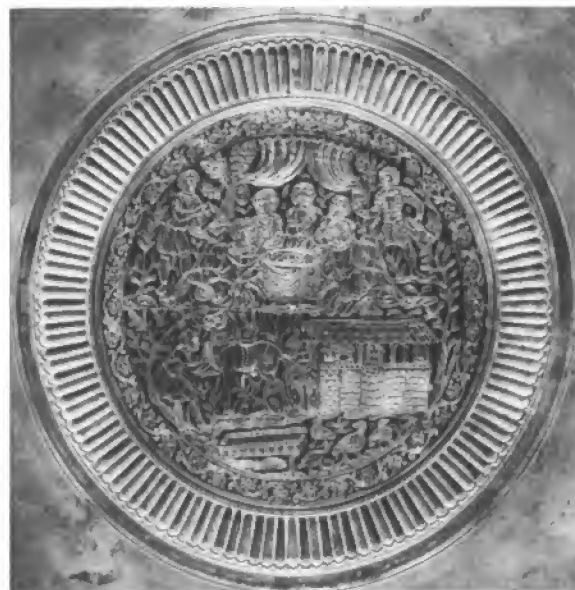
Rome(?), late 4th century

Silver gilt and niello

Diam. 63 cm. (24 $\frac{13}{16}$ in.); central medallion 25 cm. (9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana

The plate has a central medallion divided horizontally into two scenes. The upper is a typical banquet scene, not unlike that of the Brooklyn



Detail of no. 251a, central medallion

textile (no. 230). Five men, dressed in long-sleeved girded tunics and leggings, lie around a table (stibadium) laden with food. From the left a servant approaches, pouring water to wash the diners' hands, while another serves wine from the right. The trees and a drawn curtain indicate that the setting is a tent in the open. The lower scene depicts a well-groomed horse wearing a double chain with golden discs around its belly and neck, which is attended by a groom who is dressed like the banqueters. The horse, perhaps the winner of a race, has emerged from an elaborate building, similar to the villa in a North African floor mosaic (fig. 32), which has a tower, an apse, and a loggia.

The segment below is filled with a small pool indicating a moat and a variety of birds. The much damaged frieze of the rim seems to have been restored already in antiquity. It consists of alternating hunting and pastoral scenes, separated by medallions, of which only four of the original eight are left. The animals are executed with special care in the smallest detail, as are the shepherds in their different occupations. The very lively hunters on horseback battle ferocious beasts. The medallion heads have wide-open eyes and curly hair. One, with a crown of rays, is Helios; another one, veiled, probably represents another constellation or a season. Comparing these medallions with dated contorniates, Arias (1946–1948, p. 343) ascribes the plate to the end of the fourth century, also the date of the very similar August plate (no. 251); moreover, Arias sees an oriental influence in the costumes and several other details. On the back of the plate are two rubbed stamps, for which, according to Dodd (1961, p. 243), no parallel has yet been found. This plate was found in Cesena with another plate and an Ostrogothic coin of the end of the fourth century.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Arias, 1946–1948; Bianchi Bandinelli, 1955, p. 127; Dodd, 1961, p. 243, pl. 86; Volbach, 1961, p. 331, pl. 108.

252 Mosaic of Nilotic landscape

Sousse (Hadrumetum), Tunisia, 1st half 3rd century
With frame, 139.5 × 211.4 cm. (54 $\frac{13}{16}$ × 83 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)
Sousse, Tunisia, Musée Archéologique, 57027

The mosaic depicts fishing and hunting in and along the swampy waters of the Nile, which is populated by ducks and a great variety of fish (cf. nos. 182–185), and filled with lotus flowers and other plants. A big hippopotamus is attacked from the land and from a boat by pygmies, one of whom wears a pointed, and one a broad-brimmed hat. The bareheaded one on land (at the left) aims a trident, protecting himself with a shield; another, standing in the boat at the right, throws a stone, prompted by the helmsman. A fisherman standing in the boat at the upper left tries to capture a fish in his net, while yet another, to be seen from the opposite side, has just caught a fish with his long fishing rod.

This mosaic captures the spirit of Nilotic life, as it was represented since the Alexandrian period. Representations of these scenes became especially popular in the Roman period in Egypt as well as in other Mediterranean countries under Egyptian influence. The style of the mosaic is typical of the beginning of the third century.

Found in 1883 in a triclinium north of Sousse.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Foucher, 1960, pp. 9–11, pl. v; Neuchâtel, 1964, no. 10, pls. 21, 22.

*253 Frescoes from tomb of Trebius Justus

Rome, end of 4th century
Rome, Via Latina

Among the frescoes of this funerary chamber dedicated, as the inscription indicates, to Asellus, the son of a certain Trebius Justus and his wife, Honoratia Severina, is this representation of masons at work. In the foreground a simple scaffold is set up in front of a large brick wall under construction. One mason climbs a ladder, carrying a large tray with mortar. Another, with a short beard, stands on a board and lays bricks, using a trowel to spread mortar; a third assists from behind the wall. On the ground a mason approaches the site carrying a heavy basket with bricks on his shoulder, and still another prepares



No. 252



No. 253: left, masons at work; right, Trebius Justus

the mortar to be put into a wheelbarrow. Behind the wall are several buildings drawn in perspective, suggesting houses of a Roman city.

The fresco next to this one depicts the bearded Trebius Justus, the father of the deceased, holding in his left hand a measuring rod, the attribute of the architect. He points toward the mason in front of him, inscribed "generius magister," who carries a short carpenter's rule and a trowel. His left hand seems to be covered with a glove, characteristic for the magister of the masons. Wilpert (1913, p. 286) noticed that this is probably the same man who stands with the trowel on the scaffold and that this right hand looks as if it were cut off from his body, but, in fact, he probably wears a glove here as well. Marucchi (1911, pp. 212 ff.) suggests that the frescoes relate to the rituals of the gnostic sect. This realistic representation of daily life could well have belonged to a pagan catacomb were it not for a fresco with the Good Shepherd in the same chamber and a possible allusion to the gnostic sect. The style and the costumes point to a fourth-century date.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Marucchi, 1911, p. 209, pl. xi; Wilpert, 1913, pp. 276, 278, pls. xvi-xviii; Marucchi, 1913, p. 297; Grabar (1), 1967, p. 223, fig. 246.

254 Relief of a carpenter at work

Alexandria, 3rd-4th century

Ivory

W. 7.9, diam. 13 cm. (3 $\frac{1}{8}$, 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Princeton, The Art Museum, Princeton University,
Bequest (1956) of Prof. Albert Mathias Friend,
56-105

On a curved tusk is carved a high relief, broken at the right where a major part is missing. The surface is somewhat damaged by chipping, corrosion, and rubbing. Represented is a young carpenter, clad in tunica exomis, who bends over a workbench planing a wooden board. Standing behind the bench is another carpenter, of whom only the right leg and a part of the tunic are visible. Two massive fluted columns with simple egg-and-dart patterned capitals flank a recessed arch.



It is difficult to decide whether the scene is the representation of a handicraft for its own sake or part of the representation of the building of Noah's Ark, which usually included carpenters at work.

The realistic lively pose, the treatment of the well-proportioned muscular body, and the spatial setting suggest a date in the third or the fourth century. Supposedly from Ramleh, near Alexandria; the attribution to Alexandria, suggested by the style, is strengthened by the find-site of the relief.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baltimore, 1947, no. 161; Beckwith, 1963, p. 10, fig. 13; Calkins, 1968, no. 2.

255 Bollard with a fisherman

Ostia (?), Italy, 1st half 5th century

Bronze

17.8 × 12.7 cm. (7 × 5 in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Hewett and Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1963,
63.206

A young fisherman clad in a belted tunic and high boots is standing in front of a bollard. He holds in his left hand a crude stick, the top now broken, and over his right shoulder he carries an empty

fishing net. His feet rest on tonguelike platforms. The hollow bollard is decorated on the top with a rosette and on the side to the fisherman's right with a ribboned garland; on the other side two huge fingers, complete with fingernails, bend upward to form loops, perhaps to hold ropes.

It has been suggested that this object was mounted on a sailing boat. Between the left arm and the tunic is a support, like those typically found on marble statues, suggesting that this figure was copied from a monumental statue, perhaps in the harbor of Ostia. While normally fishermen are barefoot, this figure is shod. In this and in his pose he resembles the well-known Good Shepherd (no. 463). This kind of bollard belongs to a large group; recently a very similar piece has been found at Kiefersfelden, Germany, with a kneeling Heracles (Dannheimer and Kellner, 1975, p. 223, fig. 9). Our piece is said to have been found in Ostia.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Montfaucon, 1722, pl. 145; Redmond and Rorimer, 1964, p. 37.



256 Sarcophagus relief with physician

Portus (near Ostia), Italy, 4th century

Marble

55.2 × 215.2 × 59 cm. (21 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 84 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Ernest and Beata M. Brummer, in memory of Joseph Brummer, 1948, 48.76.1

The front side of the sarcophagus is decorated with a strigillate pattern and a central panel for the portrait of the deceased, a man with a short beard, clad in a himation and sitting in profile on a highbacked chair. In his hands he holds an open scroll, reading it in the manner of a man of letters.

It is very probable that this sarcophagus had a lid, found in 1824 or 1825 in Ostia and now lost. The lid was said to have had an inscription with the deceased's name, of which only the letters ϵ and κ were preserved and stated that he was a physician. That the man in our relief is indeed a physician is made clear by the open case that contains surgical instruments and rests on top of the cupboard. Inside this cupboard is a bowl on one shelf, a pile of scrolls on the other. The simple, articulate treatment of the drapery and the oversized head suggest a date in the fourth century.

An inscription in two distichs, which runs over the left half of the upper frame and along both sides of the central panel, contains a conventional invocation of penalty. It reads:

ΕΙ ΔΕ ΕΠΙΤΟΛΜΗΘΕΙ ΤΙΣ ΤΟΥΤΩ
 ΚΥΝΘΑΠΤΕ ΜΕΝ ΑΛΛΟΝ
 ΘΗΘΕΙ ΤΩ ΦΙΚΩ ΤΡΙΣ ΔΥΟ ΧΕΙΛΙΑΔΑΣ
 ΤΟΚΚΑΚ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΡΤΩ ΚΑΤΑΘΗΘΕΤΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ
 ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΗΚ
 ΤΕΙΚΟΙ ΑΤΑΘΑΛΙΗΚ ΒΛΑΨΙΤΑΦΟΝ
 ΚΟΛΑΚΙΝ

If anyone shall dare to bury another [body] along with this one, he shall pay to the treasury three times two thousand [whatever the unit was]. This is what he should pay to [the city of] Portus; but he himself will endure eternal punishment as the disturber of the tomb. (trans. in G. Downey to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 3 July 1957)

The sarcophagus was previously in the Ballastra collection in Rome, but since the above-mentioned lid was discovered in Ostia, the sarcophagus must also come from there. The simple style closely



Detail of no. 256

resembles that of sculptures found in this harbor city. Inscription and dress show that the physician was Greek. This accords with history, since many Greeks practiced medicine in ancient Rome.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Peterson, 1900; Alföldi-Rosenbaum, 1974, pp. 483–492, pl. 158c.

right is a vivid representation of a short-bearded wine merchant. The merchant wears a long belted tunic and stands in a dignified pose. He speaks to a workman, while putting his left hand on the man's right shoulder. The workman, in a short tunic, is bent under the weight of the wine jar on his shoulder.

The relief is in some parts sketchy in execution, almost as if unfinished. The three-quarter view of

257 Relief with wine cellar or shop

Italy, 3rd–4th century

Marble

28.7 × 42.5 cm. (11 $\frac{5}{16}$ × 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Fletcher Fund, 1925, 25.78.63

The rough but well-preserved, framed marble relief represents a wine shop, or rather, a wine cellar. At the left six large wine jars tilt against what must be understood as the corner of a room; the back rows are rendered more fully visible than they would be in natural perspective. At the



the merchant, the strong profile of the workman, and the rendering of the rows of stored jars give an effect of depth, which once may have been realistically heightened by a painted surface.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Richter, 1926, p. 260, fig. 4; Pijoan, 1945, p. 402, fig. 560.

258 Fragment of relief with grain merchant

Rome, 4th–5th century

Marble

73 × 59.7 × 2.6 cm. ($28\frac{3}{4} \times 23\frac{1}{2} \times 1$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Fletcher Fund, 1926, 26.60.88

The relief is somewhat corroded and broken off on three sides with part of the frame left only at the bottom. Represented in profile is a man descending steps with his left hand extended. He is clad in a tunic and a coat with a shoulder piece, and he seems about to pass through a door implied by a pillar with base and capital. At the



top of the stairs is a bag, held by a second man, of whom only the right hand and part of the chest from the front are visible. He seems to be lifting the bag.

The style of such popular pieces does not precisely date them within the Roman period, but a general resemblance of drapery folds and hair treatment suggests a date in the fourth or fifth century, close to that of the fisherman (no. 255). The relief could well have been a shop sign, set in a wall near the entrance of a grain merchant's shop.

J. W. -F.

Unpublished.

259 Relief with chisel and mallet

Italy (?), 2nd–3rd century

Marble

35.6 × 28.6 × 8.5 cm. ($14 \times 11\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Rogers Fund, 1923, 23.160.81

The well-preserved relief shows a mallet and chisel in a balanced composition. The relief is



framed like a panel and is meant to be either a votive offering of a sculptor or, more likely, a mason's emblem set in the wall close to the entrance of his workshop. Similar reliefs exist in Rome, Museo Capitolini (Jones, 1912, I, pp. 73, 75, 76, nos. 4, 6, 7, pl. xv), and in other collections and are usually dated about the late second or third century. For the display of professional implements, compare the physician sitting before his writing cabinet (no. 256). According to Casson (1933, p. 173), the Roman period showed exclusively rectangular mallets with flat heads. Since the shapes of mallets and chisels changed little over the centuries, their forms do not help to date the relief.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Richter, 1970, p. 121, fig. 478.

of the mosaic. From the postures of the carriers, it is evident that the bars must be heavy; according to Foucher (1960, p. 78), they are probably of lead. Two men in short tunics operate the scale, putting the bars on the left side and the weights on the right. The water is indicated by stylized zigzag lines in a well-distributed parallel pattern.

The panel is bordered on either side by a geometrical palmette frieze, and on the top by stylized leaves placed diagonally with lively curling tendrils in between. The mosaic provides a vivid insight into the handling of cargo, its unloading and weighing by official inspectors.

The mosaic was found in 1890 in Sousse.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Foucher, 1960, pp. 77-78, pl. xLiia; Neuchâtel, 1964, no. 11.

260 Mosaic with unloading of a ship

Sousse (Hadrumetum), Tunisia, beginning 3rd century

Floor mosaic

88 × 223 cm. (34 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 87 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Tunis, Musée National du Bardo, 57.169

In the center of the friezelike composition is an elaborately decorated boat. Its mast is lowered and rests in a forked support. A worker stands at the prow and hands the cargo to two others, who wade to shore, each of them carrying one long bar split on one end. Two of the men wear only loincloths, and the third is nude. The two carriers bring their loads to the large scale at the left side

261 Bottom of a bowl with marriage scene

Rome, 4th century

Gold glass

Diam. 8.4 cm. (3 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Rogers Fund, 1915, 15.168

The round bottom of a cup of whitish glass, cut all around, depicts a couple standing frontally and joining their right hands (*dextrarum junctio*), encircled by a golden frame line. They are clad in





ceremonial garments: she wears an embroidered long tunic with a palla, and a jeweled necklace and earrings, and he, beardless, wears a long toga and the special pallium with contabulatio. Above their joined hands are the marriage symbols, a ring (?) and a large wreathed crown. The inscription reads *VIVATIS IN DEO*, a formula used since Clement of Alexandria in the Christian wedding ceremony. The crown is also a Christian symbol, sometimes standing for Christ. The open eyes and the woman's hairstyle are typical for the fourth century.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Morey, 1959, p. 72, pl. xxxvi, fig. 447; Craven, 1975, p. 234, fig. 11.

262 Marriage belt

Constantinople (?), late 6th–early 7th century
Gold

75.5 cm. (29½ in.); diam. medallions 4.8 cm.
(1⅞ in.), 2.5 cm. (1 in.)

Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection,
37.33

The golden belt consists of two large, hollow roundels at the clasp and twenty-one smaller ones. The two large ones may have been pressed

over genuine gold medallions, although none of this type seems to have survived. The smaller roundels were pressed into six different molds, all of which represent pagan deities. With more or less certainty they are identifiable as follows: the first to the right of the clasp is Dionysos, with ivy wreath and thyrsus; the third is Hermes with wings in his hair and kerykeion; the fourth is Poseidon, with a bowl in his right and a dolphin in his left hand; the first to the left is the bearded Asklepios with a kerykeion-like serpent-staff. The remaining two also resemble Dionysos, who may have been depicted more than once in different forms.

The two identical central roundels represent a marriage ceremony in the form of the *dextrarum junctio* (cf. the gold glass no. 261) with Christ standing in the center and embracing the couple. The youthful bridegroom is clad in a *chlamys* with *tablion*, and the bride in an embroidered tunic and what looks like a *paenula*. Over her forehead she has a cluster of gems, apparently a remnant of a diadem, which indicates that the artist had an imperial couple as his model.

The inscription reads: *EX ΘΕΟΥ ΟΜΟΝΙΑ ΧΑΡΙΣ ΥΓΙΑ* ("From God, concord, grace, and health"). *Omonoia* (Concord), depicted in pagan marriage scenes as a personification administering the rite, is in this Christian belt only in the inscription, while her figure has been replaced by Christ.

Although the heads of the pagan deities are more classical in style than those of the ceremonial figures of the marriage scene, the medallions are all of the same period. The sixth- or early seventh-century date is indicated by the drapery of Christ and the bride. Although the belt is supposed to have been found in Syria, some scholars, such as Ross (1965, II, p. 38), have believed it to be Constantinopolitan because of its reflection of imperial iconography.

This is one of the best examples of the integration of pagan and Christian elements at as late a date as the sixth or seventh century.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grierson, 1955; Ross, 1957, p. 258; Kantorowicz, 1960; Ross, 1965, II, no. 38; Wander, 1973, p. 102, fig. 18.



No. 262, marriage belt

263 Marriage ring

Constantinople (?), 6th–7th century

Gold

Diam. 1.6 cm. ($\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 66–37–7

The plain octagonal marriage ring has a coin-shaped bezel, carved in intaglio. Its composition is very similar to that of the center medallions of the marriage belt (no. 262). Christ with a crossed nimbus stands between bride and groom and officiates the rite. The bride wears a diadem with three jewels, indicating her noble birth. The two are meant to join right hands, but which hands they actually join remains unclear because of the roughness of the style (Craven, 1975, p. 235, fig. 12).

On the exergue is written the word OMONV ("Concord"), which also appears in the medallions of no. 262.

According to Ross (1968), such marriage rings became very popular in the sixth and seventh centuries, especially in Constantinople. The cutting is too sketchy, however, to permit precise localization on stylistic grounds. The usual octagonal shape of the band perhaps refers to the octagonal shape of the Church of the Divine Concord at Antioch (Grabar, 1943, I, p. 222; Kantorowicz, 1960, p. 14), or as Ross (1968) suggests, might symbolize the eight days of the week.

J. W. -F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ross, 1968, p. 23, fig. 27.



Portraiture

Private portraiture followed a similar stylistic and conceptual development to imperial portraiture, and, thus, its chronology is largely dependent on comparison to identifiable imperial portraits. Nonetheless, the finest private portraits, being unique, are much finer in many cases than the routine replicas made for imperial propaganda.

Of course it is not always simple to establish which images represent rulers, and which do not, since members of a court tend to dress, cut their hair—actually *look* like their monarchs, while emperors and empresses may not always wear their crowns and regalia. This seems particularly problematic with female portraits, where artists are more tempted to idealize their subjects than with males. It would seem safe to presume that private citizens did follow the lead of imperial style-setting; but probably at an indeterminable lag of time—just as elderly ladies in our own time frequently prefer to dress in the fashions of their glamorous youth, rather than of the depressing present.

Private portraits were made over a wider geographic area than the imperial, whose manufacture must have been concentrated in the capital cities. This is particularly important in the East, where major centers of sculpture persisted with distinctive, often conservative styles. At Aphrodisias in Asia Minor, a “baroque” manner rich in plastic and dramatic expression can be traced from the reign of Hadrian until the middle or end of the fifth century. In this regard, our group of private portraits should be considered together with those of local officials and functionaries included above; once away from the court, such portraits were more likely to follow local fashion than those of Rome or Constantinople.

To some degree, this diffusion or radiation may be pursued beyond the actual boundaries of the Greco-Roman cultural empire. At the edge of its influence, in the areas where what has been termed “subantique” culture prevailed, traditional formulae of the Hellenic tradition were simplified into stereotypes that might well be viewed as folk art. Such are the later Egyptian mummy portraits (no. 266) or such locally produced images as the ceiling-tile portrait of the Roman soldier Heliodorus at Dura (no. 52).

Existing at an extended distance from the centers of culture whose impulses they still reflected, these iconic images actually forecast the future of the representational arts in the restructured empire itself.

The apparently growing predominance of female portraits in the later period may be an accident of preservation, but it may be actual: a similar trend occurs in the imperial series from the late fifth century onward. Curiously, recent research has revealed that a number of sixth-century male portraits were recut from earlier heads, while the notable female portraits appear to have been cut from new stone. A number of these female heads are of supremely high quality (nos. 268, 272).

The art of portraiture had experienced a brief flowering of particular splendor, in both imperial and private works; but by the mid-sixth century religious, that is, Christian, subjects seem to have preoccupied all levels of society, and the celebration of the secular individual ceased to be of much concern. It may be indicative of this shift in emphasis that, in the latest datable portraits surviving, the observer has difficulty deciding, not if an isolated image is private or official, but whether it is secular or religious.

JAMES D. BRECKENRIDGE



264 Portrait medallion of Gennadios

Alexandria, Egypt, 2nd half 3rd century

Gold glass

Diam. 4.2 cm. ($1\frac{3}{8}$ in.); thickness, upper disc 0.2 cm. ($\frac{1}{16}$ in.), lower disc 0.7 cm. ($\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1926, 26.258

The bust portrait of a young man is drawn with a fine point on gold leaf applied to the upper surface of a disc of clear, deep sapphire blue glass, which was afterwards annealed to a covering disc; the rim is beveled for framing as a pendant. Upper surface is abraded, with two chips; the rim is iridescent, as are some adjoining parts of upper disc, and parts of lower as well. The young man turns to his right; his shoulders are bare except for the drape over his left side. The inscription reads: ΓΕΝΝΑΔΙ ΧΡΩΜΑΤΙ ΠΑΜΜΟΥΣΙ ("Gennadios the most accomplished in the musical art").

The grammatical variants in the inscription correspond to the Alexandrian dialect of Greek, and the technique of making portrait medallions of this type is also generally identified with that city. Unlike the common run of gold-glass bottoms of cups and vessels found in funerary contexts (nos. 382, 396), these portrait medallions were made as discs to be framed as pendants. The delicate drawing and shading required techniques of brushwork not used for the other class of glasses. The same peculiarities in dialect occur in the inscription on the gold-glass portrait

medallion forming the central ornament of a gemmed cross in the Museo Civico in Brescia, and both share classicizing naturalistic style. This classicism suggests a date in the second half of the third century, at the beginning of this tradition in form as well as in technique.

Formerly in the Fabiani collection.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Breck, 1926–1927, p. 356; Ostioia, 1969, no. 2.

265 Medallion portrait of woman and boy

Alexandria, early 4th century

Gold glass

Diam. 4.8 cm. ($1\frac{7}{8}$ in.); thickness, upper disc 0.2 cm. ($\frac{1}{16}$ in.), lower disc 0.4 cm. ($\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.109

Bust portrait of a woman and child shows both wearing cloaks, the child's fastened with brooch in front, drawn with the point of a needle on gold leaf, which has been applied to the upper surface of a disc of clear, dark blue glass. The disc is annealed to a cover glass (cf. no. 264). The modeling of drapery and figures was applied with a brush; some silver was added to the boy's costume. The upper surface is abraded, with slight pitting in one area.

While the subjects are not identified by inscrip-



tion, the style of representation links this medallion with no. 264 as well as with the medallion at Brescia showing a family. The slightly formalized faces, with clearly drawn nose profiles, and the female hairdress, a variant on the Scheitelzopf (cf. no. 363), suggest a slightly later date for the present medallion, early in the fourth century. The technique used is shared by most portrait medallions and probably originated in Alexandrian Egypt.

Said to have been found "in the ruins of Tivoli"; Ficoroni collection by 1732; Dr. Conyers Middleton; Horace Walpole; Strawberry Hill Sale, 11 May 1842, no. 70; C. Wentworth Dilke; Sir Charles Dilke; J. Pierpont Morgan.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Breck, 1926–1927, pp. 355–356; Boston, 1976, no. 113.

266 Portrait of a woman

Fayyum, Egypt, 1st half 4th century

Encaustic on wood

33 × 21 cm. (13 × 8½ in.)

Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 55–4

On a grayish ground, the woman's head is painted with brownish flesh, black hair, dark brown eyes. She wears a dress of dull raspberry, its folds accented in dark red. The bands over the right shoulder and across the left breast are black; the necklace is composed of white stones with brown centers, and the earrings are white, accented with brown. The woman's large almond-shaped eyes look directly out of the picture, although her right shoulder is turned slightly forward.

The practice of covering the faces of mummies with images painted on wood panels began in Egypt with the Roman occupation, when the native population could no longer afford the elaborate sarcophagi of the traditional funerary cult. In the first and second centuries, such likenesses shared much of the naturalism and lifelike qualities of Hellenistic and Roman portraiture, but in the succeeding period stylization increased. In this



image, produced in the early fourth century near the end of the pagan tradition of mummy portraits, the style is more abstract and decorative; it is interesting to compare the iconic style with the surviving naturalism of the art of Hellenized Alexandrian gold glasses of the same period (no. 265). A number of other portraits on wood panels share characteristics so similar that they may be the work of the same artist.

Said to have been found at Er-Rubiyat in the Fayyum; Theodor Graf, Berlin; Arthur Sambon, Paris.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Richmond, 1973, no. 151.

267 Portrait of a woman

Egypt (?), 4th century

Glass

19 cm.; head with veil: 11.6 cm. ($7\frac{1}{2}$, $4\frac{9}{16}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Fletcher Fund, 1959, 59.11.8

The head of a young woman, now broken at bottom, was formed by pressing blue glass into a mold; the glass wall is about one-half inch thick. Some yellowish patina appears on the surface.

The woman's hair is parted in center under a veil. She looks ahead and upward. Her nose is straight, mouth small, chin full. Her features are sufficiently distinctive to suggest portrait intent, but not so clearly delineated as to make precise identification possible. The object had been identified as deriving from the high classic period of the first or second century A.D. ("Recent Important Acquisitions," 1960), but certain features—especially the enlarged and upward-gazing eyes—suggest that it belongs instead to a classicizing stage of the fourth century, at any point from the Constantinian through the Theodosian periods.

From North Africa, perhaps Cyrenaica. Formerly in the collections of Dr. Ruesch, Zurich; Jacob Hirsch, Zurich; and Ray Winfield Smith.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: "Recent Important Acquisitions," 1960, p. 138, no. 6.



268 Head of a lady

Constantinople (?), about 370–380

Marble

22.5 cm. ($8\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, Edward

E. Ayer Collection, 1960.64

The finely polished marble head is broken off at the neck at an angle that suggests it originally gazed upward, as confirmed by the placement of the drilled pupils and incised irises on the eyes. The end of the nose is broken off, but otherwise, no significant damage.

The subject is a young woman with strong brows, cupid's-bow mouth, and compact ears; brows are incised into slightly raised supraorbital



ridges. Her hair is parted in the center, combed in undulating waves over the ears, and wrapped in a coronet or turban of three tight braids. This coiffure, coupled with the smooth, modulated surfaces of the skin and the subtle asymmetries of the whole, link this portrait with the finest Antonine portraiture. Yet other traits, especially the visionary gaze, the precious quality, even the slightly diminished scale, are more characteristic of a later classicizing period, when Antonine portraiture was being imitated.

Vermeule's identification (1960) of the subject as Constantia, sister of Constantine and widow of Licinius, has met with much acceptance, although it has also been challenged—most firmly by Harrison (1967) and then von Sydow (1969), both of whom see the head as authentically Antonine. There is, in fact, some difficulty in placing this portrait among the various phases of Constantinian sculpture; Vermeule's (1960) solution, to attribute it to Athens, seems improbable in view of the political history of the period. The classicistic style seems entirely too delicate for the first half of the fourth century. The portrait was probably executed in the second half of the fourth century. Its closest counterpart here is no. 18, the portrait of Gratian, which shows the same delicacy of surface and even the same incised eyebrow treatment. Both heads have a similar spherical compaction of form rather than the oval construction of heads in Theodosian sculpture. The high polish, played off against the contrasting, delicately incised lines—as in the hair—is equally similar.

The coiffure has some resemblance with that of a head from Ephesus, dated to about 400 by Inan and Rosenbaum (1966, no. 190), while other less exact correspondences were used by von Heintze to assign this head to a group of female portraits she dated between 360 and 390 (1971). The ladies of this group have no specific attributes of rank, although Vermeule suggested that the coiffure itself imitated the coronet, and hence was reserved for ladies of imperial rank.

The work is said to have come from Greece.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vermeule, 1960; Harrison, 1967, pp. 87–88; von Sydow, 1969, p. 152; von Heintze, 1971, pp. 78–83; Calza, 1972, no. 181; Boston, 1976, no. 118.

269 Head of a lady

Constantinople (?), about 380–390

Marble

26.7 cm. (10½ in.); face: 11.1 cm. (4⅜ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Fletcher Fund, 1947, 47.100.51

This finely worked head is slightly under life size and has a tongue for insertion into a bust or statue. The nose was broken and replaced in old repair; a hole drilled in back of head is now filled with gesso. The flesh surfaces on face and front are highly polished, but back of the neck is dull. Hair is left matte.

The subject is a handsome woman just past her youth, with small mouth and level gaze; her hair



is worn in a coronet coiffure developed from the Scheitelzopf (cf. no. 363): the heavy plait of hair is not pulled up over the top of the head, but wound around it above a fringe (cf. Harrison, 1953, although her nos. 54 and 55 do not have identical versions). The classicism of the head parallels that of the court style of Theodosius, as von Sydow (1969) demonstrates.

The elaborate coiffure and reduced scale place this portrait outside the normal range of private examples, and has led to its identification with Aelia Flacilla (Delbrueck, 1933). Certain traits, such as the delicate mouth, do resemble the established likeness of Flacilla (no. 20), but the restoration of the nose makes it impossible to be certain of the profile, and known images of that empress have crowns. The overall resemblance is no closer than usual in court portraiture, so that it seems probable that this is a contemporary portrait of an important member of the court. According to von Sydow (1969), a head of a male, in the Vatican, shares the same classicizing characteristics, and falls within the Theodosian period; the comparisons adduced by von Heintze (1971) to date the head to about 350 are not convincing.

In the collection of Baron Max von Heyl, Darmstadt; Dr. H. N. Calmann (on loan to the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, in the 1930s); Joseph Brummer, New York.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck, 1933, pls. 99–101, 202–203; Harrison, 1953, pp. 70–71; von Sydow, 1969, pp. 93–95; von Heintze, 1971, Group III. 4, pp. 73–76.

270 Portrait head of a man of intellect

Athens, about 400

Marble

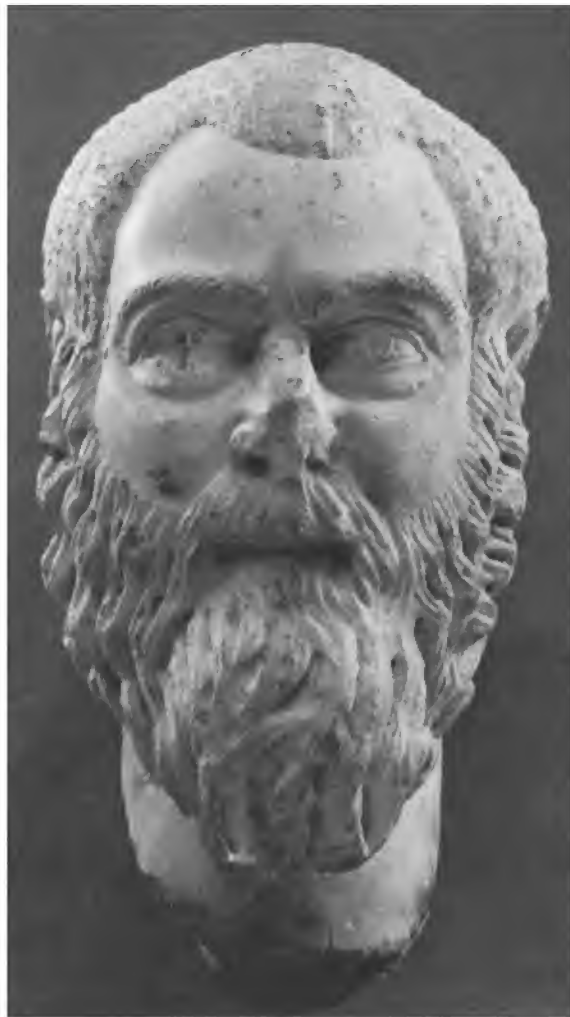
46.3 cm. (18½ in.)

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, J. H. and E. A. Payne Fund, 62.465

The head of an older man with close-cropped hair but full beard was intended to be set into a draped statue, probably standing. Nose and right eye are damaged; the hair and beard abraded. Otherwise, the head is in good state of preservation.

The full statue would have been half again life size, indicating a subject of more than ordinary importance. Despite the find-site near a large Early Christian basilica complex, Vermeule's (1965) suggested identification with St. Paul is unlikely: from the earliest distinctive portrayals in both East and West, Paul is invariably shown with totally bald forehead and pate (see, e.g., nos. 454, 508; Kitzinger, 1960, pp. 33–41; Testini, 1969), and Christians were far less tolerant of iconographic variation than pagans had been.

The alternative identification offered by Vermeule (1965, p. 303, no. 34) with Iamblichos the Younger, grandson of the great Syrian Neoplatonist, is tempting—but unprovable. Raubitschek (1964) has published a herm inscription dedicated to this man as a benefactor as well as an intellectual



leader of Athens, where he was living in 362–363 and later, possibly into the 390s. A letter addressed to him by Symmachus, the leader of the pagan revival in Rome in the Theodosian period, has been preserved.

The type of the bearded wise man appears in Athenian sculpture in the fifth century B.C. and is commonplace on grave stelae of the following century. Thus, it was part of the repertory of later classical revivals, such as the one around the turn of the fifth century A.D. that produced this head. Von Sydow (1969) has recently associated its compacted form, spherical skull over an elongated face, and contrasting surfaces with a group of portraits from Greek sites that forms part of a manifestation identified by L'Orange (1961) as the "subtle" style of the later Theodosian period.

The sculpture was found in a well at Agia Paraskevi, a few miles inland from Athens.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vermeule, 1965, pp. 302–303; von Sydow, 1969, pp. 109–111; Comstock and Vermeule, 1976, no. 381; Boston, 1976, no. 192.

271 Head of an older man

Asia Minor, about 400–425

Marble

29 cm. (11 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire,
A. 1561

As is evident from the traces of drapery at the nape of the neck, the head was broken off a bust or statue. The tip of the nose is broken, with other losses in outer locks of hair, beard, and to ears. It has been scorched by fire. A Byzantine inscription, invoking the Mother of God, is on the crown of the head. The hair is fully modeled in tangled locks, while the beard is executed with finer detail; textures of both contrast with smooth skin surfaces. The brow is lightly creased horizontally, while vertical wrinkles frame the root of the nose. Eyes are slightly raised and turned to their left. The entire expression is alert.

Because of similarities of overall form, L'Orange (1933) originally grouped this head with portraits of the mid-fifth century, such as "Eutropios"

from Ephesus (no. 55), and the same connection was made by Inan and Rosenbaum (1966, p. 39), although they regretfully noted (p. 41 n. 3) that L'Orange (1957) himself had subsequently redated the Brussels head to the beginning of the century. Now Severin (1972) has supported L'Orange's redating, linking the head to demonstrable products of Theodosian neoclassicism.

If the Aphrodisian provenance can be accepted—and any other attribution would be difficult to defend—this head is linked to the long history of that distinctive school of marble carving (cf. Squarciapino, 1943) and conforms with its "baroque" tradition of dramatic forms and contrasts, which seem to set its products off from other contemporary works, even during the Tetrarchy.

The closest comparison is with the "Younger Magistrate" from Aphrodisias (Inan and Rosenbaum, 1966, no. 424), but the Brussels head shows a stronger and wilder projection of the locks of hair, and greater contrast of textures; its flesh is more insistently flesh, its hair more positively hair, while in the Magistrate's head the two textures are less naturalistic. Dating the Brussels head, then, depends on one's concept of the direction of stylistic development in the fifth century. The bulk of the evidence suggests that the head was made earlier in the century.

The head is reputed to have been discovered in Aphrodisias, but it had been in a private collection in Paris for several years before it was purchased for the Musées Royaux in 1908.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L'Orange, 1933, no. 114; L'Orange, 1957, pp. 66–67; Inan and Rosenbaum, 1966, pp. 39, 41, no. 3; Severin, 1972, no. 10, pp. 35–37, 54–55, 163–165.

272 Bust of a lady of rank

Constantinople, 1st quarter 6th century

Marble

53 × 27.5 × 22.2 cm. (20 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{13}{16}$ × 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
The Cloisters Fund, 1966, 66.25

The bust of a young woman was carved from one block of marble. It is broken diagonally across



No. 271, head of an older man



lower part of face, through the mouth. Fitting the halves together left only a few small chips missing at the join, with only minor losses otherwise, among them the bridge and tip of the nose. The finely polished surface shows signs of incrustation from burial.

The woman is clad in a long-sleeved tunic covered by a mantle, which conceals her left arm; the right hand holds a scroll in front of her breast, but her right shoulder and arm were sawn off in antiquity. The back is hollowed out, with a slight protuberance in middle toward lower edge; a deep circular hole on underside has remains of a metal pin. Given the slight turn to the right, it has been agreed the bust was probably once part of a husband-and-wife double portrait (usually made for funerary memorial).

The eyes are hollow under sharply cut upper lids and hairless brows; the mouth is tight and thin-lipped. The hair is covered by a thin scarf or snood, clipped above center of forehead and covering all of the hair and all but lobes of ears. Variations of this coiffure appear as early as about 400, as on the figure of Serena on the diptych of her husband Stilicho (Volbach, 1976, no. 63); but only in the sixth century did it become the dominant style for ladies of the court, including Theodora herself (Alföldi-Rosenbaum, 1968, pp. 27–28).

While a challenge to the actual authenticity of the bust (by von Heintze, 1970; von Heintze, 1971), has been effectively refuted (Alföldi-Rosenbaum, 1972; cf. Sande, 1975), the extremely high quality, as well as the strikingly classical form and expression, make an attribution to the Theodosian renaissance (by Sande, 1975) most attractive. On the whole, however, Alföldi-Rosenbaum's arguments for a Justinianic date are more persuasive: the vertical lines of the mantle over the left shoulder are indeed "incongruous" even by the standards of most classical revivals, while the completely hollowed eye pupils occur only in the portraits of Ariadne (nos. 24, 25) and later works such as the ivory of the archangel (no. 481). Above all, the near identity in profile, including the frontal surfaces of the face, between this head and that of Theodora in Milan (no. 27) sets these works apart from Theodosian ones like the Paris Flacilla (no. 20).

The fact that most surviving sixth-century portraiture in life size is of far weaker character is

probably no more than historical accident, through the loss of so much of the art of Constantinople itself. Only in the so-called minor arts, such as the archangel ivory and the series of classicizing silver plates and bowls (no. 232) can the proper comparisons for this superb work be found.

J. D. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alföldi-Rosenbaum, 1968; Ostioia, 1969, no. 18; von Heintze, 1970, pp. 55 n. 19, 60 n. 61; von Heintze, 1971, p. 90 n. 104; Alföldi-Rosenbaum, 1972; Sande, 1975, p. 95, no. 3.



273 Head of a lady

Asia Minor or Syria, mid–late 6th century
Marble
27 cm. (10 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
Geneva, George Ortiz Collection

The head is of a young woman, her gaze fixed forward and upward and her head covered by a scarf that conceals all hair except one ringlet above a richly decorated earring. No further costume is indicated since the head is broken off at the neck. Another break has occurred at the left front of the veil, and the tip of the nose with left nostril has been lost. Numerous minor chips

and abrasions can be seen, particularly on outer edges of folds.

The face is subtly modeled, but all surfaces are uniformly matte; mouth is full and small, eyes have deeply cut upper lids under hairless brows. Pupils of eyes are cut with upper highlight, giving the effect of heavenward gaze. The owner, who discovered this splendid portrait, thought that, because of its intense spirituality, it could be a head of the Virgin.

In fact, the closest analogies among surviving works of art are religious images, such as the head of the Virgin in the sixth-century icon at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai (no. 478), which has similar fullness of modeling, pursed full mouth, and even the same slight double chin.

The tuck of the scarf above the right temple can be seen in representations of Rebecca in miniatures of the Vienna Genesis, a manuscript of the sixth century (no. 410).

Such comparisons are not close enough, however, to pinpoint a date for this work; almost no full-scale sculpture from the middle of the sixth century has been preserved, making precise attribution very difficult. Since the head lacks any specific attributes of religious identification, it seems more probable that it is an example—and a magnificent one—of metropolitan portraiture from the post-Justinianic period.

Said to have been found in ancient Pamphylia, on the south coast of Turkey.

J. D. B.

Unpublished.

Objects from Daily Life

By late Roman and Byzantine times what are sometimes called the sumptuous arts—jewelry and other works in precious materials—had become important art forms. Though seldom preserved, such objects are often mentioned in texts. Representations from Constantinian times through the seventh century—such as the early fourth-century frescoes discovered in Trier (fig. 34), the fifth-century mosaic in Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome (fig. 35), and a drawing in Naples (no. 29)—show many gold and jeweled vessels and an abundance of jewelry, articles clearly of significance and value for those who could afford them.

For members of the imperial family, for high officials and their families, and for the very wealthy, the sumptuous arts were part of everyday life. A freedman, however, was permitted only one gold

ring. Gold was the basis of trade in the empire—especially for hiring foreign mercenaries and for controlling the barbarian tribes on the borders—and its use had to be limited. The Church, particularly in the great centers, ranked with the court in its use of objects of gold adorned with jewels.

For a long time, scholars tended to ascribe the origin of these luxury arts to the parts of the empire where they were found in modern times. This method could be true for the Late Antique period, when such cities as Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and others were still wealthy and flourishing. But even for those centuries, both artists and objects could be easily transported. A series of silver bowls found together and now in Munich were used as imperial largess by the emperor Licinius I. Two of them, however, though nearly identical, bore inscriptions indicating that one was

FIG. 34 *Ceiling fresco showing a woman with a jewelry box.*
Trier, cathedral



FIG. 35 *Mosaic with Moses before Pharaoh's daughter.*
Rome, Sta. Maria Maggiore



made in Nicomedia and one in Antioch. They could have been made by the same silversmith moving from one imperial mint to the other, but had they not been inscribed they would wrongly have been given the same place of origin.

In the fourth and fifth centuries the jewelry found in Rome resembled that found in the Eastern Empire, giving rise to the concept of an "international style" (Segall, 1938, p. 143). Beginning in the Constantinian period, mints for striking gold coins usually functioned near the court, and artists would be called from one mint to another (Bruun, 1961, p. 24). The imperial jewelers were connected with the mint under the control of the *comes* of the Sacred Largess. Gradually, Constantinople became the empire's chief artistic as well as political center. The regional mints were greatly reduced in number. Emperors and members of the imperial family moved about less and less, and, after the last Western emperor abdicated, they rarely left Constantinople. Artists were always concentrated where the demand for their work was the greatest. In Egypt, where Alexandria had been a great art center, the luxury arts gradually disappeared. This is particularly notable in the so-called Fayyum portraits, where elaborate jewelry is shown through the third century and then is progressively eliminated in fourth-century portraits (no. 266). Likewise, in the tapestries attributed to Egypt, jewelry is rarely represented after the fourth century.

Silver began to be hallmarked in Constantinople at the end of the fourth century. Study of the five control marks of Constantinople on silver of the sixth to seventh century demonstrates that Constantinople had become the chief center for the manufacture of silver objects that were distributed from there throughout the empire, and even beyond (nos. 141, 232, 425–433, 547). A few scholars still claim that the silver was produced in Antioch and was sent to Constantinople to be stamped, then returned to Antioch to be finished—but such a long and costly voyage would have put any silversmith out of business. Any Syrian influence seen in Constantinopolitan silver can be explained by the migration of Antiochene silversmiths to Constantinople to seek employment after the decline of Antioch; they would have taken with them their techniques and the so-called Syrian style. Thus, the silversmith's art—



FIG. 36 *Necklace with gold coin of Maurice Tiberius.*

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery

and naturally that of the goldsmith as well—became concentrated in Constantinople.

By the sixth and seventh centuries Constantinople was apparently also the place of origin for much of the finest jewelry distributed throughout the Mediterranean world. Common to many pieces of jewelry from widely scattered find-sites is a gold or gold and lapis lazuli bead made like two cones fitted base to base. This motif is also found in necklaces (no. 288) and was sometimes used for bracelets and earrings. It also occurs in the clasp of a necklace found at Cyprus with silver bearing the five Constantinopolitan control marks and in gold medallions struck in Constantinople (no. 295). Other pieces of this type were found at Messina, Sicily, and the island of Lesbos. An approximate date for this group can be assigned on the basis of a necklace fragment in the Walters Art Gallery that is set with a gold coin of Maurice Tiberius (582–602; fig. 36) and another one in Pforzheim that has a portrait of Tiberius II (574–582; fig. 37). Bracelets are usually found in pairs, and we know from the mosaics of Ravenna (nos. 65, 66) that they were customarily worn in pairs.

The explanation for the widely scattered find-sites is that such objects were bestowed as imperial gifts on loyal retainers. Such gifts were instrumental in the administration of government, and thousands of items of arms, armor, and clothing were given to high-ranking soldiers and civil servants each year. Other such gifts included silver, ivory, glass, embroidery, textiles, special issues of coins, bowls in silver or glass, and jewelry. Among the jewelry from the fourth to fifth century that can be attributed to imperial workshops are: a fibula presented to Constantine the Great (no. 275), a pendant from an imperial necklace (no. 276), a diadem (no. 277), a gold ring probably presented to a victorious general (no. 278), and a jewel made for the empress Maria at the time of her marriage to the emperor Honorius (no. 279). Like others in the imperial mint, the jewelers doubtless followed the movements of the court, prepared to supply pieces of jewelry for gifts whenever needed.

By the sixth to seventh century, court life focused on Constantinople, but the tradition of imperial gifts continued. From the Chresis mosaic (fig. 38), found in Antioch, we know that a necklace, a brooch, or a

fibula, and a pair of bracelets were considered appropriate gifts. Thus, the pair of bracelets found in Cyprus was probably an imperial gift. Necklaces and bracelets found in Egypt in modern times (nos. 296, 298) were probably either sent there as gifts or taken by great families back to Egypt when they returned from a visit to the court. This could explain why such jewelry of the late sixth and seventh centuries reached Egypt long after Alexandria had lost its place as a great art center. The same would be true for Syria. Naturally, jewelry would continue to have been made in such places but not pieces of great splendor. Jewelry covered with pearls as in nos. 284 and 300 recalls the exuberant use of pearls in the jewelry of the empress on the ivory from Vienna (no. 25).

FIG. 37 *Detail of necklace with portrait of Tiberius II.*
Pforzheim, Schmuckmuseum



FIG. 38 *Chresis mosaic with gift offering of jewelry.*
Antioch





FIG. 39 *Cross from the crown of Receswinth, king of the Visigoths.*

Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional

A jeweled cross decorated with sapphires (fig. 39; cf. bracelets from Cyprus and Varna, nos. 298–300) has rightly been called an imperial gift from Constantinople, although it hangs from a votive crown with the name of Receswinth, king of the Visigoths.

The finding of a gold rosette in Constantinople like those on the back of the cross of Receswinth from Guarrazar confirmed that the cross was made in Constantinople, since the rosette was probably not imported. In addition, the Varna bracelets (no. 299) were found with a gold and jeweled diadem. At this period such a diadem could only have come from Constantinople, an origin confirmed by its style.

Glyptics were another of the sumptuous arts popular with the imperial court and with the great families for their own use as well as for gifts. Formerly, important pieces were known only from the fourth and early fifth centuries, but Noll's (1965) discovery of the magnificent sixth-century Crucifixion in intaglio, now in Vienna (no. 525), which he rightly believes to be an imperial gift, shows that important glyptics were made much later than had previously been thought. Many imperial and other portraits were made in cameo and in intaglio, some even in the round, especially from the fourth century. Other magnificent glyptics are the Rubens vase (no. 313) and the two crystal lions' heads (no. 330). The lions' heads were probably made in Trier, the site of an imperial workshop.

Gold domestic plate and liturgical vessels—such as a gold cup (no. 156) and gold perfume bottle (no. 312)—were manufactured in much larger quantities than one would think today from the few that have survived. Texts mention, for example, the gold plate used by Justin II at his coronation banquet, which was decorated with the triumphs of Justinian I. Moreover, gold liturgical vessels can be seen in the Ravenna mosaic (nos. 65, 66). Silver vessels, both domestic plate (see spoon, no. 316) and liturgical vessels, have survived in much greater numbers. The Projecta casket (no. 310) recalls the jewel boxes seen in the Trier fresco (fig. 34) and in the Sta. Maria Maggiore mosaic (fig. 35). St. Augustine lamented that he had to give up his silver fork, indicating that it was usual to have one.

Bronze was very much a part of Greek and Roman art, and in the Late Antique and early Byzantine periods bronze continued to be used for statues and statuettes, as well as for everyday objects. Full-sized statues are mentioned in texts but are mostly now lost. Many of the statuettes of emperors and empresses that are still extant were used as weights (nos. 13, 327, 328). The latest of these imperial weights is

that of Phocas now in the British Museum. Flat weights inlaid with silver exist in abundance, with letters indicating the weight and often with imperial figures (nos. 324–326). The elegant weights would have been issued from the imperial mint on instructions from some high official. Splendid examples like these would have only been used by an important personage; the emperor Julian decreed that an official—called a *zygostates*—should be appointed in each city to check gold coins.

Many types of lamps together with their stands, and sometimes with small statues, were made for churches and for domestic use (no. 318). Incense burners (nos. 563, 564) were necessary in the liturgy and to keep the churches and houses smelling fresh. Two miniature bronze lampstands bring us closely into contact with the everyday life of the soldier; one has a lamp held by a soldier—probably the image of an officer's attendant—on the end of his sword (nos. 319, 320). One or several of these would have been used to light an officer's tent and could be folded for travel.

Though the most luxurious of these objects were the actual possessions of only the most privileged class of Late Antique society, they were, in a sense, "everyday" objects for all classes. Whenever the emperor and empress and members of their court appeared before the public for official celebrations, they would be dressed in rich robes and adorned with jewels. Governors of provinces appearing to the public would wear their gold, often jeweled "belts of office." Generals would appear before their troops in splendid armor decorated with gilding. In Constantinople, on great days and on the visits of ambassadors or for triumphs of generals, the populace was required to display their plate and rings along the route to be followed by the procession. With church objects—the gold, silver, and sometimes jeweled liturgical vessels, crosses, lamps, and other furnishings—the public also was able to see and enjoy the splendor. Thus, these objects provide us with some conception of life as it was lived in the first centuries of the Christianized empire.

MARVIN C. ROSS

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zahn, 1932; Segall, 1938; Bonicatti, 1961; Downey, 1961; MacMullen, 1962; L'Orange, 1965; Grabar (1), 1966; Grabar (1), 1967; A. Alföldi, 1969; Overbeck, 1973.



274 Ring with bust of Asklepios

Eastern Mediterranean (?), 2nd–3rd century

Gold with niello or black enamel

Diam. 1.9 cm. ($\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 67–52–11

The high rectangular bezel of this gold ring is engraved with the bust of Asklepios. He is portrayed with long flowing hair and a beard. The staff that he holds is entwined with a single serpent. To the right of the bust appears the inscription ΑΙΤΥ, the Greek word ΥΓΙΑ ("health") written retrograde—possibly, as has been noted by Ross (1968), for magical purposes. The octagonal hoop is formed by three joined sections, inscribed in niello or black enamel. According to Downey, the inscriptions around the upper section: ΗΑΙ·CΕΑ·ΚΡΟ·ΖΕΥ·ΑΡ·ΑΦΡ·ΕΡΜ·ΩΡ· may be read: "sun, moon, Kronos, Zeus, Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, and Orion." Those around the center: ΛΕ·ΑΙΓ·ΚΑΡ·ΤΑΥ·ΚΟ·ΚΑΡ·ΛΕΟ·ΚΑΡ and the lower sections: ΜΚΓΜΚΖΜΚΖΜΑΜΚΑΜΗ ΜΗΜΙ have been explained by him as "a magical sequence of signs with secret meanings that do not make words" (in Ross, 1968).

Nearly 200 temples from Italy to Asia Minor were dedicated to Asklepios. This ring was found in the eastern Mediterranean region and was probably made there, either for a physician, or, as the inscriptions suggest, for someone wishing an amulet for good health (Ross, 1968). The magical elements of the ring, as well as its form, point to a second- to third-century date.

The piece was formerly in the De Clercq and De Boisgelin collections.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ross, 1968, p. 13.

275 Fibula

Italy (?), 300–310

Gold

7 × 5.1 cm. ($2\frac{3}{4}$ × 2 in.); 52.5 gm.

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
purchased by subscription, 95.15.113

Twisted when it came to the Metropolitan Museum, the fibula was reshaped in 1965, but still shows signs of damage. A ring of beaded wire is missing at the junction of the bow to the catchplate, and the pin is also gone. This fibula, a pin to clasp a man's cloak at the right shoulder, consists of crossbar, catchplate, and bow. The crossbar is hexagonal, hollow, and ornamented on the top with a pair of cut-out dolphins. On the underside is an opening where the missing pin was once hinged. The catchplate, also hollow, is slit down one side to receive the pin. The bow-shaped centerpiece, trapezoidal in cross section, is joined to the catchplate by an intervening peg, a somewhat naked junction once dressed up by a beaded collar. Hollow, onion-shaped globes, with collars of beaded wire, are joined to the ends of the crossbar and to the end of the bow. A hatched design is engraved on the top of the bow and catchplate, and an inscription is boldly cut into the bow: HERCVLI AVGVSTE on one side and SEMPER VINCAS on the other, "Hercules Augustus, may you always conquer."

When Diocletian created the Tetrarchy in 293 the co-regents, the Augustus and Caesar of the West, were placed under the divine protection of Hercules, those of the East, under the protection of Jupiter. It is not possible to decide, however, whether the inscription refers to Maximian, who bore the title Augustus until 305 and then again



in 307–308, or to Constantine, Augustus from 307 to 310.

The fibula was found at Arezzo in northern Italy in 1866. Fibulae of this design are numerous in bronze, less common in silver and gold, and of those in gold only seven have inscriptions. The other inscribed gold ones range in date from about 303/304 to 361/363. In style and weight this fibula closely matches one in Turin datable by its inscription, which refers to Constantine as Caesar, to 306/307 (Noll [2], 1974, p. 235).

Gold fibulae as well as silver anniversary dishes (no. 8) were presented by the state to soldiers and high officials on special occasions. Ammianus Marcellinus (*History* 20.4.18) relates that the emperor Julian promised five aurei and one pound of silver to each man at his accession in 361. The custom of presenting specific amounts of gold and silver in this form originated in the early fourth century and lasted into the sixth. Many gold fibulae are equal in weight to five aurei or to multiples of five—this example weighs ten aurei—and most silver anniversary dishes weigh one pound or multiples of a pound, according to Ammianus. There was a monetary correlation between the amounts of gold and silver given, because with the ratio of silver to gold at about twelve to one, five aurei were worth approximately one pound of silver.

A. O., JR.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gamurrini, 1868; *CIL*, 1901, 11, pt. 2, fasc. 1, p. 1171, no. 6711, 1; Oliver, 1966, pp. 283–284; Noll (2), 1974, p. 232.

275a Fibula

Italy, beginning 5th century

Gold

8 × 4.4 cm. ($3\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Reggio Emilia, Musei Reggio Emilia, 2332

In excellent condition except for a dent in the top of the bow, this fibula is the most important Christian piece in the hoard found by chance during an excavation near Reggio Emilia in October 1957. The fibula, cruciform in shape, has a pentagonal bow attached to a three-sided foot with a delicate openwork design on the top and a head consisting of three hexagonal knobs, each with a



knob finial and beading around the base. A bead larger than the others accentuates the median ridge of the bow. The openwork band of the foot consists of seven tangent circles containing stylized motifs, one with a bird and the last with a Greek cross. The circles are bordered by bands of four-petaled flowers.

The Reggio Emilia fibula represents a late stage in the development of the cruciform fibula. This stage is characterized by a rectangular footplate decorated with openwork of an increasingly delicate nature. According to Heurgon, to whom this piece was unknown, the four fibulae showing this development were the fibula from Apahida, the Louvre fibula, the Palatine fibula (now in the Museo Nazionale, Rome), and the fibula found in the tomb of Childeric—now lost but known from the designs of Chifflet (Heurgon, 1958, pp. 29–30, pls. xv, 1–3; xiv, 1–2; xiv, 3–5; xvi, 1). Degani (1959, p. 56) considered the Reggio Emilia fibula to be closest to the Palatine fibula, but dated it to the last quarter of the fifth century on the basis of its similarity to the lost fibula of Childeric's tomb, whereas Klauser (1969) suggests that the Palatine, Apahida, Reggio Emilia, and Childeric's tomb fibulae—all of which have crosses on their

footplates—were made in the same Italian workshop in the beginning of the fifth century. Klauser's proposal seems the most convincing.

The hoard with which this fibula was found consisted of fifty-five Early Christian coins and a wealth of Late Antique, Early Christian, and Ostrogothic jewelry. The treasure is of exceptional importance for the study of Late Antique and Ostrogothic goldsmith work during the Ostrogothic period in Italy (Werner, preface to Degani, 1959, pp. 9–12; Degani, pp. 19 ff., 36).

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bologna, 1958, no. 158; Degani, 1959, pp. 55–56; Turin, 1961, no. 769; Klauser, 1969, cols. 794–795.

276 Pendant

Sirmium (?), 324–326

Gold

Diam. 8.5 cm. (3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection,
70.37

The medallion has in its center a gold double solidus of Constantine I with the legend *DN CONSTANTINUS MAX AUG* on its obverse. On the reverse are facing busts of the Caesars Crispus and



Constantine II in consular dress, the legend *CRISPUS ET CONSTANTINUS NOB CAES COSS II*, and *SIRM(ium)* in the exergue. The medallion is set within a plain frame with an outer row of beading, which is repeated on the outer edge. Within these are scrolls in openwork with leaves and six imperial busts in high relief within borders like the central medallion. The loop at the top is in the same openwork as the background of the pendant.

The pendant is part of a group of jewelry sold at Christie's (London, 1970) that included another circular pendant and two hexagonal pendants—also double gold solidi celebrating the second consulate of Crispus and Constantine II—a bracelet, and four fragments from a necklace, all with the same pierced work.

Such pendants had been popular in the late Roman Empire and continued far into the Byzantine period. They were usually circular but at times were hexagonal; often they were embellished with openwork (for an important discussion of these, see Vermeule, 1975, p. 27).

The double solidus here was struck at Sirmium in 324. The necklace to which our pendant belonged, celebrating Constantine the Great, Crispus, and Constantine II, would have had to be made before the summer of 326, when Crispus fell from grace and was murdered.

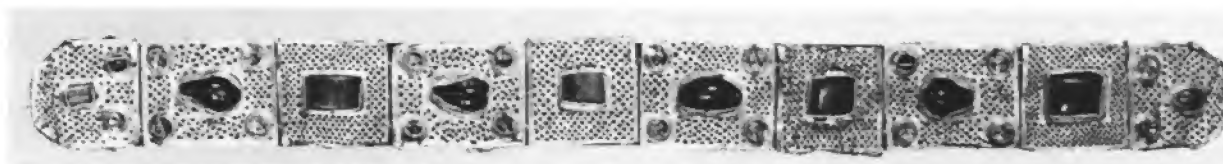
The design with imperial images about the central motif, as here, was known in Roman times, as on the famous gold patera from Rennes now in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris (Vermeule, 1975, fig. 1).

This necklace, a gift doubtless celebrating the vicennalia, either in Nicomedia on 25 July 325 or in Rome on 25 July 326, would have been made in one of the imperial mints in Nicomedia, in Thessalonike, in Sirmium, or in Rome, the cities known to have mints of Constantine the Great at this time. Since he stopped at Sirmium on his way from Nicomedia to Rome in 326, it is possible that the necklace was made there.

It is not known, however, for whom the necklace was made. The two most important ladies at court were the empress Fausta and the dowager empress Helena. For various reasons the latter is more likely.

M. C. R.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: London, Christie's, 19 October 1970, no. 200; Bastien, 1972, pp. 49–82, esp. n. 4; Duval, 1973; Vermeule, 1975, pp. 5–32, esp. p. 27.



277 Diadem

Place of origin uncertain, 4th century
Gold, amethysts, and emerald plasma
2.5 × 31.1 cm. (1 × 12¼ in.)
Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 57.549

The diadem is made of ten joined plaques, each an openwork design in gold set with a gem and, originally, pearls. The openwork consists of delicate lattice, foliate, and floral patterns carefully executed so as to leave small square, rectangular, or round sections around the settings of the amethysts, emerald plasma, and pearls. Each stone is mounted in gold: a strip surrounding the stone is soldered to a second one which backs it. The now missing pearls appear to have been set in hemispherical gold caps fitted with projecting pins. The plaques are reinforced on all four sides by gold strips, and the two end plaques are rounded at the outer ends.

Ross (Baltimore, 1947, no. 419) suggested that these plaques originally formed either a diadem or a necklace. Deér (1955) considered it a diadem, while Coche de la Ferté ([1], 1961), comparing it to a similar series of plaques in the Louvre, called it a necklace. More recently Ross verbally cited as a parallel the diadem on the bronze head of Constantine in Belgrade (no. 10), which consists of plaques separated by two pearls. He has proposed that the Walters plaques also originally had two pearls between each plaque and that all of these components were then mounted on a purple leather band. The diadem would then have been about 15 inches in length—long enough to encircle the head when tied in the back. Since there is no central plaque, the diadem may have been princely rather than imperial.

Imperial jewelry of this period was frequently executed in openwork; the Los Angeles fibula of Emperor Jovian is the earliest example (Noll [2], 1974, p. 228, figs. 6, 7). Although we know this

piece was made in an imperial workshop, we cannot be sure where in the empire it was made.

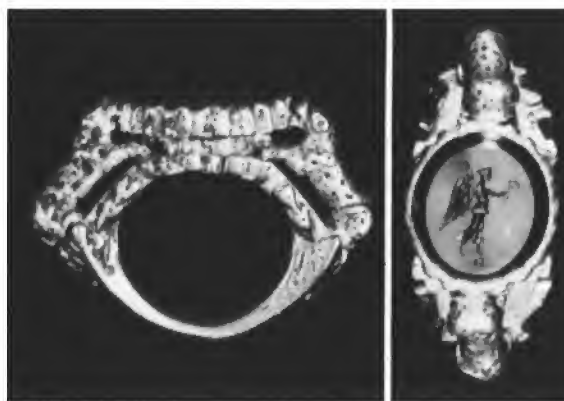
K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baltimore, 1947, no. 419; Deér, 1955; Coche de la Ferté (1), 1961, no. IV.

278 Ring with Victory gem

Place of origin uncertain, 4th century
Gold, niello, and nicolo stone
Base to bezel, 3.2 × 4.5 cm. (1¼ × 1¾ in.)
Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 57.1114

Two almost freestanding leopards support the large bezel of this massive gold ring. The bezel is set with a nicolo stone carved in intaglio with the figure of a Nike walking to the right. The shape of the ring is almost pentagonal. Rings of this shape were apparently made to be worn on the little finger (Ross, 1955, pp. 65–66). They were very popular in the third century (Marshall, 1907, no. 268) and continued to enjoy favor in the fourth century.



On a gold ring in the British Museum two rabbits support a coin of the emperor Marcian. Ross (1955, pp. 65–66) cited a ring from Brigetio dated 292–293, which has a leopard's head on either side of the bezel. He noted, however, that the almost freestanding leopards on the Walters ring resemble most closely a pair of handles (probably from a vessel) found with the fourth-century treasure at Traprain Law and has consequently proposed a fourth-century date for this ring.

King (1872, I, p. 347) was the first to identify rings of this type as badges of military rank. Because of the Nike, Ross (1955, pp. 65–66) suggests this ring was an imperial gift bestowed upon a victorious general. Although it was made in an imperial workshop, we cannot be sure where.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ross, 1955, p. 65.

279 Pendant of the empress Maria

Milan (?), 398–407

Agate cameo with gold, emeralds, and rubies

1.3 × 1.8 cm. ($\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{11}{16}$ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art, OA. 9523

The pendant is a small, round, flat-sided receptacle, made of two white and russet orange agate cameos. The cameos are attached back to back by a band of gold set with four lozenge-shaped emeralds and five pairs of small rubies. Both faces of the pendant have inscriptions cut in very low relief, arranged spokelike around a central ansate cross. The inscriptions read, on one side: HON + ORI(us), MARIA, STEL + ICHO, SER + HNA, VIVA + TIS, and, on the other: STEL + ICHO, SERENA, ECH + ERI(us), THERMA + ANTIA, VIVA + TIS. The inscriptions are in the shape of christograms, with the loop of the Rho made by the name of Maria on one, Serena on the other side. These cameos, of an amulet type popular during the later empire, combine two distinct but well-known Early Christian inscriptional formulae: the christogram and the acclamation. These inscriptions, the pendant's round shape, and its similarity to Christian bullae of precious metals, decorated with crosses or monograms, have caused the pendant to be considered a bulla.



However, it is an encolpion since some grains of earth, smelling of musk, probably from the Holy Land, were found inside at the time of its discovery.

The cameo inscriptions leave no doubt for whom the object was destined—Maria, daughter of the patrician Stilicho and of Serena, a niece of Theodosius I, and sister of Eucherius and Thermantia. She was married in Milan, in 398, at a very young age, to Honorius, the emperor of the West. It is quite possible that this reliquary was given to her on that occasion. Although no other such pieces of jewelry are known, the pendant of Maria accords well in its simple and severe style with the phase of early Byzantine classicism at the end of the fourth century.

The pendant was discovered in February 1544 during work at St. Peter's in Rome, in the Chapel of St. Petronilla, or "the Chapel of the Kings of France," along with a lavish group of gems and precious vases in the marble sarcophagus of a young woman whose body was wrapped in fine cloth of gold. She was identified as Maria.

Formerly in the collections of Filippo Archinti, vicar-general of Pope Paul III; Felice Caronni; Count A. della Torre di Rezzonico; the Trivulzio collection in Milan; and a private Parisian collection.

D. G.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mazzuchelli, 1819; de Rossi, 1863; Montequiou-Fezensac, 1937, p. 202; Paris, 1967–1968, no. 234.

280 Bracelet

Place of origin uncertain, about 400

Gold

W. 3.4, diam. 10.5 cm. ($1\frac{5}{16}$, $4\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

St. Louis, The St. Louis Art Museum, 54:1924

Shortly before 1913 this bracelet was found with a second one and a gold bell in Tartôus, Mt. Lebanon, Syria. The finder retained this piece, and the other two pieces went to Berlin (Zahn, 1913, cols. 85–86). In 1924 this bracelet became the property of the St. Louis Museum.

Each bracelet is divided vertically into eight convex fields, which, in turn, are divided horizontally into three sections of which the upper and lower are identical; there are four different types of patterns. The central section is subdivided into three narrow strips, the one in the middle bearing a Greek inscription. These inscriptions are not clear and have been read differently, but they apparently express desire for the well-being of the owner and the return of his love. On the basis of the inscriptions, Zahn suggested that the three objects involved were either a gift from a bridegroom to his bride or an engagement present.

A small plaque found in Asia Minor with six coins of Constantius, now in the British Museum, indicates that openwork as delicate as that of this bracelet was popular in the East from the middle of the fourth century (Heurgon, 1958, pp. 48 ff.). It was widespread in both the East and the West.



Objects executed in this technique are usually dated about 400.

The delicate openwork of these bracelets was probably enhanced by colored felt or leather secured to the interior of the pieces (Zahn, 1913, col. 86)—a tradition that persisted into the late sixth to early seventh century in Byzantine openwork bracelets (see nos. 292, 297).

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisen, 1925; Greifenhagen, 1970, p. 75, pl. 56; Lepage, 1971, pp. 10–12.

281 Necklace with marriage scene and amulet

Rome, early 5th century; amulet, 2nd century
Gold and hematite

L. chain 78.7; diam. medallion 5.6; amulet: 4.3×3.2 cm. ($31; 2\frac{3}{16}; 1\frac{11}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Rogers Fund, 1958, 58.12

Two pendants are suspended from a long gold chain composed of doubled, figure-eight-shaped links. The larger of the two pendants is a gold repoussé medallion with a beaded border, showing a pair of confronted, profile busts representing an emperor and his wife, with Christus Pronubis (?) above and between them. Around this representation are two concentric beaded borders. The smaller pendant is an oval-shaped, hematite amulet decorated in intaglio with a cock-headed god on the obverse and Harpocrates accompanied by a cabalistic inscription on the reverse.

The necklace is part of a treasure found in the Piazza della Consolazione in Rome in 1908, which also included a gold bracelet with the bust of Athena (no. 282) and two other necklaces, one of which also has a gold Byzantine medallion and an earlier amulet (no. 283). Several pieces of the treasure reflect the crosscurrents of thought that characterized the late Roman Empire at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries, when the Christian religion was slowly gaining in strength, but the aristocracy of Rome clung to its pagan beliefs and Oriental cults were revived.



Detail of no. 281

On the necklace, the gold marriage medallion follows a Roman format with the important substitution of Christ Pronubis for Concordia (nos. 262, 263). By the fifth century the representation of Christ Pronubis had become a familiar idea (Kantorowicz, 1960, pp. 9–11).

The cock-headed god with serpent legs represented on this gem is one of the most common amuletic types. It betrays a mixture of Greek, Syrian, Judaic, and Persian influences. A monster with snake legs suggests earthborn giants, whereas the significance of the cock seems to be solar. According to Bonner (1950, pp. 127–128) there is still no convincing explanation for the strange junction of the two in the same form. However, the most natural explanation for the type is a link with some kind of solar religion, especially since it is often associated with other solar deities

—here, with Harpocrates. Although this deity has been considered gnostic, Bonner argues against any connection with gnosticism (1950, p. 135).

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Paris, 1913, no. 111; Lucerne, Adolph Hess, Jacob Hirsch collection, 7 December 1957, p. 38.

282 Bracelet with Athena

Rome, early 5th century

Gold

Diam. 6.4 cm. (2½ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.2053

The deft, refined execution of the medallion of this bracelet places it in the early fifth century, while its subject—the bust of the goddess Athena—speaks for an origin in Rome, at that time the stronghold of the aristocracy, which clung fervently to its pagan beliefs.

The bust is presented in relief against a chased, stippled background and is emphasized by the plain zone surrounding it. The border of the medallion is beaded. The hoop of heavy, twisted gold wires is attached to the medallion by hinges. A large gold pin is inserted into each hinge. The head of one of these is now missing.

This bracelet may be compared with a gold one in the British Museum with the Virgin orant in relief on the medallion (Dalton, 1901, no. 279). The medallion is closest to the imperial fibula from the treasure of Ténès, North Africa, with the representation of an empress tentatively identified



as Galla Placidia, who received the title of Augusta in Rome in 421 (Heurgon, 1958, pl. 1). On the basis of this comparison, a similar date must be proposed for the bracelet.

The bracelet was found in the Piazza della Consolazione, together with several other pieces (nos. 281, 283; and Ross, 1965, II, no. 1). Whereas some of the pieces in the treasure show the influence of barbarian jewelry, this piece reflects its Roman heritage. A Roman origin has been proposed for the entire treasure (Ross, 1965, II, no. 1).

K. R. B.

Unpublished.

283 Necklace with gnostic gem

Rome, early 5th century

Gold, hematite, and glass (?) or stones (?)

L. chain 106 cm. ($41\frac{3}{4}$ in.); pendant: 5.4×5.2 cm.

($2\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{16}$ in.); abraxas gem with setting: $2.25 \times$

1.85 cm. ($\frac{7}{8} \times \frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Anonymous loan

This necklace is one of the few pieces from the Piazza della Consolazione treasure which can still be traced (Ross, 1965, II, no. 1; here, other jewelry from this find, nos. 281, 282). Ross has proposed a Roman origin and an early fifth-century date for the entire treasure.

Like the marriage necklace from the same find (no. 281) this necklace has a gold pendant medallion and a small oval-shaped hematite amulet, probably second century. Here, the amulet serves as the clasp.

The large round medallion consists of two sheets of gold soldered together and finished with a beaded border. Colored glass or stones originally filled the settings on the front. Between the stones, in repoussé, are palm leaves, their points toward the center. The reverse is entirely decorated in repoussé with a large, eight-pointed rosette against a stippled ground and small circles in the interstices. A small rosette occupies the center. For other pieces with patterns in repoussé on the reverse, see Ross, 1965, II, nos. 4, 10, and the earrings from the Walters Art Gallery (no. 289).

Möbius (1941) has read both the pattern of the stones on the obverse and the repoussé design on



Detail of no. 283

the reverse as abstract renderings of the ancient star of Ishtar, chief goddess of the pantheon and Earth Mother in Babylonian and Assyrian mythology.

The gnostic gem is carved in intaglio with a three-headed winged monster having one bird's foot and one hoof-shaped foot. Both arms are outstretched, the right holding a staff terminating in a crowned head (?) and the left holding a sword (?). Over the heads are a star, a crescent moon, and an unclear sign. Near the feet to the left is a bundle of lightning and, to the right, a victory trophy. Letters appear in the field.

When this necklace was first exhibited in Paris, the figure was thought to represent Hecate, or Erechigal, the Babylonian Queen of Hell. Barb's discussion (1953, p. 212) of an iconographically related gem in Vienna would seem to confirm this view.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Paris, 1913, no. 82; Zahn, 1929, no. 113; Möbius, 1941, col. 29; Ross, 1965, II, no. 1.

284 Necklace

Constantinople (?), early 7th century
Gold, pearls, emeralds, and sapphires or
aquamarines

Diam. 23 cm. (9 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Antikenabteilung, 30219,505

From eleven openwork plaques mounted with pearls and precious stones hang seventeen pendants composed of pearls and precious stones. The lunate-shaped, gold necklace was originally decorated with 112 pearls, emeralds, and other stones that were identified formerly as sapphires (Dennison, 1918) and now as aquamarines (Greifenhagen, 1970). More than half of the gems remain.

When this necklace was found, the plaques were not in their original order, but since ten of them are marked on the reverse with a letter of the Greek

alphabet and since the letters are consecutive, the sequence could be reconstructed. The eleventh has no letter, but its form designates it as the right terminal plaque.

The openwork design consists of six different patterns based on the lotus and the palmette. The pairs of plaques with the same design are arranged symmetrically. Long, slender hinges secure the plaques to one another.

Gold jewelry worked in delicate openwork and frequently set with precious stones was popular in both the East and West at least as early as 400. However, this particular necklace can probably be dated to the seventh century, since it is closely related to several other pieces—some from the same treasure said to have been found in Tomei near Assiût in Upper Egypt or in Antinoë on the east bank of the Nile, and others reportedly found in various parts of Middle and Upper Egypt—a number of which compare with a pair of bracelets



set with coins of several emperors of the late sixth and first half of the seventh centuries (Ross, 1965, II, no. 46). The openwork of the Berlin necklace is comparable to that on the inner plates of the medallions of a pair of bracelets that are said to be from the same treasure (no. 300) and to that on a bracelet said to have been found at Hadra, near Alexandria, and now in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Ross, 1965, II, no. 47). This group of pieces seems to have been made in one place—probably Constantinople.

The seventh-century date of this necklace is significant, because it demonstrates the role played by the Byzantine Empire in preserving the ancient Eastern tradition of mounting precious stones in gold.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dennison, 1918, no. 14; Zahn, 1932, no. 6; Ross, 1965, II, no. 47; Greifenhagen, 1970, pp. 68–69, pl. 49.

285 Necklace

Constantinople (?), mid-6th–mid-7th century
Gold

L. 91.4 cm. (36 in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift
of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.151

Among the jewelry unearthed with the Second Cyprus Treasure in 1902 was this gold necklace with ten hollow, repoussé amphorae and leaf pendants flanking a cross cast in solid gold. The pendants are separated from one another by ten long, hexagonal, gold cylinders strung on a swivel chain. A filigree chain composed of C-scroll links joined by plain rings completes the necklace. The openwork clasp of addorsed C-scrolls is a type that was already popular in the Hellenistic period. Examples of the use of cylinders to separate pendants may be found at least as early as the late Roman period.

Although the tradition of necklaces with pendant amphorae may also be traced back to the Hellenistic period, the cross flanked by leaf-shaped pendants seems to have become popular during the sixth century. Ostioia (1969) has noted that the leaf pendants are similar in shape to the cypress

trees that often flank the cross in Byzantine representations, where they are symbolic of the tree in the Garden of Eden that brought death and the tree of Golgotha, which brings life (Flemming, 1969, pp. 89–90). Although the eight amphorae pendants may also have a Christian significance, it is equally possible that they refer to the cult of Dionysos.

Most gold pectoral crosses have busts of the four evangelists, or of Christ, the Virgin, and archangels on the ends of the arms, while a few, like this one, are decorated with whorls instead of busts.

Until very recently the necklace was considered Syrian, but it may be of Constantinopolitan origin (see no. 287).

Formerly in the J. Pierpont Morgan collection.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ostioia, 1969, no. 20.



286 Necklace

Place of origin uncertain, 6th–7th century
Gold, amethysts, sapphires, emeralds, and pearls
L. 48.2 cm. (19 in.)
New York, Collection of Mrs. James J. Rorimer

Much of the beauty of this necklace lies in the subtle variations in size, shape, and color of the stones. Each stone is threaded on a gold wire twisted at both ends and looped to form a connecting link with the adjoining wire, which bears a pearl. As on most contemporary Byzantine necklaces, the clasp consists of two openwork discs with beaded borders closed by a hook and a ring, both of which are braced by gold granules.

Although there are several necklaces of this general type (e.g., Ross, 1965, II, no. 4A, and two examples in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

[17.190.1652, 17.190.1662]), the Rorimer necklace is particularly important because it comes from a dated find. It was one of fourteen pieces of jewelry found in Pantalica, Sicily, in 1903, with coins of Heraclius, Constans II, Constantine IV, and Tiberius. The treasure has therefore been considered to date from the middle of the seventh century (Agnello, 1952, pp. 27–28). Although the clasp is different, the stones and pearls seem to correspond exactly to one of the necklaces in the drawings of those from this find published by Orsi (1910, p. 67, fig. 2). A gold openwork bracelet, given to the Metropolitan Museum by Alastair Bradley Martin in 1952, comes from the same find (52.76.1).

Formerly in the J. Pierpont Morgan collection.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Orsi, 1910, p. 67; Orsi, 1942, I, p. 139; Baltimore, 1947, no. 434; Gómez-Moreno, 1968, no. 129.



287 Medallion with Virgin and Child enthroned

Constantinople, 584
Gold
L. with chain 32.5 cm. (12 $\frac{13}{16}$ in.); diam. with frame
6.5 cm. (2 $\frac{9}{16}$ in.)
Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection,
55.10

The medallion, part of the Second Cyprus Treasure, unearthed in 1902, is mounted as an encolpion. On the obverse, the Virgin and Child are enthroned between two angels and, below, a miniature scene of the Nativity with the shepherds appears to the left and the Adoration of the Magi to the right. The inscription reads: Χ(ριστ)Ε Ο Θ(εο)C ΗΜΩΝ/ΒΟΗΘΙCΟΝ ΗΜΙΝ ("Christ our God help us").

On the reverse of the medallion, the Baptism is represented with the inscription: +ΟΥΤΟC ΕCΤΙΝ Ω ΒΕΙΟC ΜΟΥ/Ο ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟC ΕΝ Ω ΕΥΔΟΚΗCΑ ("This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased," Matt. 3:17). St. John baptizes Christ in the Jordan while the hand of God issues from the heavens and the Dove of the Holy Ghost descends upon Christ, and two angels hold the



clothes of Christ. Below are three personifications: Ior, Dan, and the Sea (Ps. 113 [114]: 3).

The style of the obverse of the medallion has been compared by Ross (1957) to that of the four medallions of Maurice Tiberius from the same treasure, which are mounted, together with coins, as a girdle (no. 61). He noted the similarities in the rendering of the facial features and drapery and other details. Most of the pieces from this treasure have now been proved to be of Constantinopolitan origin (Ross, 1957).

Whereas the style of the Baptism is different from that of the Virgin enthroned, it can be compared to many contemporary works—especially to the pressed gold plaque in Dumbarton Oaks (Ross, 1965, II, no. 37).

Although the essential theme is the celebration of the Epiphany, the iconography has “imperial” overtones (Ross, 1957). Grierson (1961) showed that it was struck to commemorate the baptism of Theodosius, son porphyrogenitus of Maurice Tiberius. The ceremony is thought to have taken place on the Feast of the Epiphany in 584—a feast commemorating the Baptism of Christ. Grierson noted that the scene of the Adoration of the Magi on the obverse also had a parallel in the ceremony surrounding the birth of a porphyrogenitus—all chief officials of the court bringing gifts and good wishes to the child on the eighth day after his birth.



Formerly in the collection of Joseph Strzygowski, Vienna.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ross, 1957; Grierson, 1961; Ross, 1965, II, no. 36.

288 Necklace with Aphrodite

Color plate IX

Constantinople, late 6th–early 7th century

Gold, lapis lazuli, and pearl

L. chain 83 cm.; H. pendant 4.5 cm. ($32\frac{11}{16}$, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 28.6

The biconical gold and lapis lazuli beads that make up this necklace are arranged alternately. The large central bead supports on a hinge a shell-shaped lapis lazuli pendant mounted in gold with a gold figure of Aphrodite in high relief. Suspended from rings at the bottom of the pendant are three gold chains that originally terminated in pearls, only one of which is left. The rectangular gold casing at the top of the shell was set with three small pieces of lapis lazuli, but now only one remains.

The necklace is said to have come from Egypt.



Detail of no. 288

Jewelry found in Egypt and dating from this period has been thought to have been made there. However, the Byzantine historian Procopius, in his *Anecdota* (26.33–39), tells us that the shops in Alexandria were closed and, according to Downey (1961, p. 540), people in Antioch were forced to sell their silver. Hence, the jewelry of this period was probably not made in Egypt or Syria but in another important center—most likely Constantinople. The fragment of a necklace in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 36) is set with coins of Maurice Tiberius and is said to have come from Egypt. The Dumbarton Oaks necklace, consisting of similar biconical beads, can probably be placed in approximately the same period, along with related pieces in Leningrad and Cyprus (Bank,

1966, no. 102; A. and J. Stylianou, 1969, fig. 36). One example is set with an imperial medallion of Justinian and was, therefore, probably executed in Constantinople (Coche de la Ferté, 1958, no. 46). It may be that all of these pieces with biconical beads came from that same center.

The splendid combination of gold and lapis lazuli, so beloved in ancient Mesopotamia, seems to have been quite rare in the early Byzantine period. The piece in the Walters Art Gallery is the only other extant contemporary example of this combination known.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ross, 1965, II, no. 12.

289 Pair of earrings

Constantinople (?), about 600

Gold, semiprecious stones, and pearls

11.3 × 4.3 cm. ($4\frac{7}{16} \times 1\frac{11}{16}$ in.)

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 57.560, 561

Large semiprecious stones and pearls in round, square, and oval gold settings backed by a thin sheet of gold form the body of each of these earrings. Each pendant consists of an amethyst surmounted by a plasma bead between two small gold beads. On one earring, three gold beads and one plasma bead are now missing; and on both, the large flat pearls are modern restorations. The reverse is decorated in repoussé with an elaborate floral motif at the top and a quatrefoil behind each of the smaller stones.

Said to have been found in the south of Spain with a pair of eagle-shaped Visigothic fibulae now in the Walters Art Gallery (Ross, 1961, no. 48), these earrings were also originally thought to be Visigothic. However, from the time of the Visigothic king Recared, in the last quarter of the sixth century, contacts with the Byzantine Empire were close. Recared was the first Visigothic king to adopt the costume and ceremonial of the Byzantine emperors, and the arts were adopted shortly thereafter (Verdier in Ross, 1961, p. 160). Thus, within the last two decades, these earrings have been recognized as splendid examples of Byzantine art.



One of a pair of earrings, no. 289

Their beauty and refinement become evident when they are compared to a less elegant version of the type now in the Louvre (Coche de la Ferté, [1], 1961, no. vii). A second earring, nearly identical to the one in the Louvre and now in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, has been cited by Coche de la Ferté ([1], 1961, no. vii).

The Walters Gallery earrings would seem to be a little later in date than the Louvre example, about 600. Their refinement seems to indicate that they were made in the capital of the Byzantine Empire, while their provenance suggests that they were made as an imperial gift for a Visigothic queen.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: New York, 1954–1955, no. 2; Ross, 1961, pp. 23–25, n. 80.

290 Earring

Constantinople (?), early 7th century

Gold

5.7 × 4.2 cm. (2 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts,
66–15–7

This crescent-shaped gold earring, executed in openwork with punched and incised details, is one of the most handsome examples of its type. Two peacocks flank an equal-armed cross in a medallion supported by a pair of luxuriant trefoil leaves. The components of the design are highly stylized, but the overall effect is still dynamic. The design is surrounded by a band of large grains, an openwork zigzag border, and a fine punched border. Soldered individually to the outer border of each earring are nine hollow gold "pearls." The vertical row of grains in the center is unusual and contributes greatly to the effect of light and shadow favored by Byzantine goldsmiths, as do the fine incised details on the arms of the cross and the plumage of the peacocks.

On the basis of a technical comparison with a necklace found together with coins of Phocas and Heraclius in Lesbos, Ross has proposed a seventh-



century date for this type (1965, II, no. 87). For a similar earring in the Stathatos collection, see Coche de la Ferté (1957, II, pp. 54–55, no. 32 bis).

Examples of the type have been found in widely separated parts of the empire. They may have all come from one center such as Constantinople. Certainly this one, which is so exceptionally fine, can probably be attributed to the capital or at least to one of the great artistic centers within the Byzantine Empire.

The earring was formerly in the De Clercq collection.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ross, 1968, pp. 20–21.

291 Pendant medallion

Constantinople (?), late 6th–7th century
Gold
Diam. 9.5 cm. ($3\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts,
67–52–26

The classical motifs and the well-balanced design of this openwork medallion make it one of the finest examples among pieces of classically influenced Byzantine jewelry. Around a central eight-petaled rosette radiates a design that may be read two ways: either as four stylized palmettes

enclosing trefoil blossoms placed at right angles to form a cross with four spade-shaped leaves filling the interstices; or as scrolls of lyres, each containing a spade-shaped leaf with the trefoil leaves becoming the interstitial motif. This predilection for designs that can be read in more than one way was greatly exploited by Roman and Byzantine artists. The center of the medallion is surrounded by a wide band of luxuriant scrolling vines, and this, in turn, by a narrow band of scrolls. A bead-and-reel border is soldered to the outer edge.

Within each scroll of the vine, the tendril ends in a different type of bud, blossom, or fruit. Fine incised lines give the leaves a lifelike quality and add to the dramatic effect of light and shadow, which is further enhanced by the two pairs of raised concentric bands. The medallion was originally suspended from a necklace.

Ross (1968, p. 21) noted that similar, although far less elegant, examples of openwork jewelry dating from the sixth through seventh century have been found in various parts of the Byzantine Empire, but that the style most probably emanated from the capital. For examples of equally splendid openwork, see nos. 292, 296, and 297.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ross, 1968, p. 21.

292 Pair of bracelets

Constantinople (?), late 6th–early 7th century
Gold
Diam. 5.7 cm. ($2\frac{1}{4}$ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift
of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.148,149

Each of these openwork bracelets consists of a central medallion attached to a wide hoop by hinges fitted with pins. The hoop is formed by a rinceau of large five-pointed leaves alternating with triangular bunches of grapes. Delicate scrolling tendrils help to achieve the balance of the flowing design. The vine is bordered by strips of gold, each decorated with a beaded inner edge and rolled over at the top to form a tube. On the medallion, the rinceau is repeated around an octagonal plaque. A sheet of gold folded inward





One of pair of bracelets, no. 292

forms the plain border of the medallion, and the edge of the medallion is beaded.

Gold bracelets of this general form seem to have been especially fashionable in the period from the mid-sixth century through the early seventh century. Similar triangular bunches of grapes appear on bracelets in Berlin (no. 298) and on the pair recently found in Varna (no. 299).

The Metropolitan bracelets form part of the Second Cyprus Treasure, of which many items have been attributed to Constantinople (nos. 61, 287, 425–433; Ross, 1957, pp. 247–250). These bracelets were probably also made in Constantinople and date from the late sixth to early seventh century.

Formerly in the J. Pierpont Morgan collection.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sambon, 1906, p. 126; Dalton, 1907, p. 361; Lepage, 1971, p. 19, n. 87.

293 Monogram ring

Constantinople (?), 6th–early 7th century
Electrum and gold
Max. diam. 3.1 cm. ($1\frac{3}{16}$ in.); monogram disc:
1.6 × .9 cm. ($\frac{5}{8} \times \frac{3}{16}$ in.)
Pforzheim, Schmuckmuseum, 1963/41

A massive, plain electrum hoop, flat within and rounded on the exterior, expands into a broad bezel. The bezel is a raised gold oval with an engraved monogram, flanked by a pair of crosses. The monogram was originally read by Battke

(1963) as ΔΕΙΝΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ (the genitive ending indicating ownership). More recently, John Nesbitt (Nesbitt to K. R. B., 23 January 1976) has read the monogram as: ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΝΔΙΑΤΟΥ ("Stephanos candidatos"). According to N. Oikonomides (verbally), the title means "of the imperial guard." Thus, a certain Stephanos must have received this ring at the time of his investiture in the imperial guard.

Among the numerous monogram rings, which were characteristic of the sixth and seventh centuries in both East and West (de Ricci, 1912, nos. 833, 843, 846, 856 ff., and 933, 945, 950, 964, 973, 980 ff.), this example is one of the most



interesting. The form of the ring was extremely popular in the Græco-Roman period and persisted into the late Roman period (Marshall, 1907, nos. 189, 487–493, 1156–1171). However, by the sixth or seventh century, when the Pforzheim ring was made, this form had become quite rare.

The combination of gold and electrum is also quite rare, although the bezel of a late Roman ring in the British Museum is made of electrum with a hoop of gold (Marshall, 1907, no. 189).

Monograms between crosses were apparently not uncommon on rings (cf. Guilhou collection [no. 859] and British Museum [Dalton, 1912, nos. 88, 91, 92]).

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Battke, 1963, no. 24.

294 Fibula

Italy, 6th–7th century
Enamel, gold, and pearls
Diam. 3.7 cm. ($1\frac{7}{16}$ in.)
Anonymous loan

The central medallion of this imperial fibula—a quatrefoil in opaque white and translucent green

enamel on an opaque blue ground—is surrounded by several concentric borders: pearls strung on a gold wire alternating with gold loops, a serpentine border, and two braided bands and a beaded edge. Close together, attached to the edge, are three large loops. Originally, three chains, each terminating in a pearl or precious stone, were suspended from the loops. Also missing are some of the pearls surrounding the enamel medallion.

As Parkhurst (1961) noted, this fibula is similar to the well-known Castellani fibula in the British Museum, which Rosenberg (1922, pp. 5–8) placed in northern Italy, about 600, and compared to the one worn by Justinian in the mosaics of S. Vitale, Ravenna (no. 65) and S. Apollinare Nuovo.

Ross ([2], 1964) published this and the Castellani fibula with several other related ones, noting that it was strange that five fibulae of the type believed to have been reserved for emperors and empresses of the Byzantine Empire were all said to have been found in Italy, when only one Byzantine emperor had gone to Italy in the sixth and seventh centuries. He showed, however, that the Langobard kings appropriated not only the title but other aspects of the Roman and Byzantine cultures and most probably the insignia as well. Also, literary evidence indicates that Byzantine emperors awarded fibulae of this type to other rulers when expedient. Thus, this fibula may have been made for a Langobardic king by an itinerant Byzantine goldsmith (in Langobardic territories) or possibly in Byzantine territories like the exarchate of Ravenna or the province of Naples. It may also be a Langobardic imitation of a Byzantine fibula.

Formerly in the collections of Stroganoff, Rome; Adolph Loewi; Joseph Brummer, New York; and Melvin Gutman, Oberlin, Ohio.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Parkhurst, 1961, pp. 237–238; Ross (2), 1964.



295 Pectoral

Constantinople (?), mid-6th century

Gold and niello

H. including neck-ring 23.8 cm. (9½ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.1664

The pectoral is composed of a plain, hollow neck-ring attached to a frame set with a large central medallion flanked by coins and two small decorative gold and niello discs. The neck-ring is attached to the frame by a screw pin on the left and a hinge on the right. Soldered to the lower edge of the pectoral are two ribbed rings—from which, originally, hung the medallion of Theodosius I, now in the Freer Gallery, Washington, D.C.

The pectoral is part of the treasure said to have been found either at Antinoë or in Tomei, near Assiût. Even though these objects were found in Egypt, it is now thought that they were made in Constantinople. For discussion of this attribution, see no. 284.

The coins represent various emperors reigning during the fourth to sixth century, who, for the most part, are portrayed in military dress. The latest coins date from the reign of Justinian.

The central medallion shows, on the obverse, an emperor in military attire and, on the reverse, the figure of Constantinopolis, seated on a high-backed throne and wearing a helmet and tunic. She holds a globus cruciger and a scepter, and her left foot rests on the prow of a ship. This image reflects the passing of political primacy from Rome to Constantinople. The essentially unintelligible inscription is nearly identical on both faces of the medallion.

Scholarly opinions have varied concerning the workmanship of this medallion. Dennison (1918, p. 110) thought it was a barbaric imitation of a Byzantine model based on a coin of Valentinian III. J. P. C. Kent (Kent to K. R. B., 1970) has suggested that the inscription might be read as an attempt at D(ominus) N(oster) IVSTINI-ANVS P(er)P(etuus) AVG(ustus) and that the medallion might be the work of a Langobardic goldsmith. This suggestion is chronologically tenable, since the latest coins are Justinianic. On the basis of a stylistically similar medallion of Justin I (Browning, 1971, end of the preface), Ross (verbally) proposed that the medallion is of Byzantine workmanship.



Detail of no. 295

Each coin, as well as the medallion, is surrounded by beaded wire, with small rosettes and larger trefoils, and central rosettes in the interstices. Whereas the medallion, which is in pristine condition, was probably made especially for the pectoral in the sixth century, the neck-ring and coins show considerable wear—indicating that they had an earlier, independent history.

A sixth-century source tells us that Justinian's great general Belisarius recompensed his soldiers with large gifts of money and honored them with bracelets and necklaces (Procopius *De bello Gothico* 7. 1. 8). Earlier sources report that both neck-rings and coins played a role in coronation ceremonies. Consequently, there can be little doubt that this pectoral represents a collection of military trophies, which belonged to a distinguished general, if not to an emperor.

Formerly in the J. Pierpont Morgan collection.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zahn, 1916, cols. 44 ff.; Dennison, 1918, nos. 1, 2; Peirce and Tyler, 1934, II, p. 139; Ross, 1965, II, nos. 11, 46; Brown, 1970.

296 Pectoral

Color plate VIII

Constantinople (?), early 7th century

Gold

H. including medallion 35.2 cm. (13 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.); diam.

medallion 11.7 cm. (4 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Antikenabteilung, 30219, 506

In his pioneer study, Dennison (1918, pp. 121 ff.) proposed the Berlin pectoral as a counterpart of the Morgan pectoral (no. 295). However, the coins of the latter range from the fourth to sixth century, while those of the Berlin piece range from the mid-sixth through the beginning of the seventh century. The format of the central medallion of the Berlin piece is comparable to that of the Morgan piece, although not as fine in execution; but its inscription (the same on both sides), is Christian and in Greek: ΚΥ(ΡΙΕ) ΒΟΗΘΙ ΤΕ ΦΟΡΟΥΣΑ ("Lord help the wearer"). The words meaning "the wearer" are in the feminine gender.



Detail of no. 296: reverse of medallion and pendant medallion

The setting of the two pectorals with trefoils in the interstices around the coins and medallion is so similar that Dennison (1918) concluded they were either made by the same goldsmith or that the Berlin pectoral was patterned after the Morgan piece.

The pendant medallion shows on the obverse the Annunciation with the Virgin seated in a highbacked wicker chair, her right hand raised in a gesture of wonder and her left hand holding, according to the apocryphal account (*Protevangelium of James*, 11.1–2), a strand of wool; the angel

Gabriel advances from the right holding a staff. The reverse depicts the Miracle of Cana, with Christ at the left, holding a wand. A male wedding guest stands in the center and a servant pouring water into one of six round jars approaches from the left. The legend reads: ΠΡΩΤΑ CVMION + ("First of the signs"). The medallion is surrounded by a broad openwork frame with a beaded border.

According to Dennison (1918) it was not certain whether this medallion was meant to be associated with the pectoral. Nevertheless, he believed it was a sixth- or seventh-century piece, contemporary with and belonging to the pectoral. It has now been shown by Ross that the figure style of the medallion is closely related to that of two early seventh-century pectoral crosses in Washington and Cairo (1965, II, no. 15). Also, the setting with trefoils in the interstices around the coins and medallion of the pectoral itself is comparable to that on a pair of contemporary bracelets in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection datable to the reign of Heraclius (Ross, 1965, II, no. 46). The pectoral is part of the treasure said to have been found at Antinoë or in Tomei and can therefore probably be attributed to Constantinople. For discussion of this attribution, see no. 284.

While without exception the coins of no. 295 display military portraits, as does its pendant medallion of Theodosius, the Berlin pectoral is a bold statement of Christian faith in conjunction with imperial images. Such a bold combination of Christian elements and imperial images would not have appeared in the art of medals before the end of the sixth or the early seventh century (Ross, 1957, see esp. p. 259). Iconographically, then, the two pectorals are separated by at least fifty years.

A sixth-century source states that gold circlets hanging from the neck down to the chest were worn by men and women alike (Isid. *Etym.* 19. 31. 10 ff.). Because of the feminine gender in the inscription, this pectoral must have been made for a woman—perhaps a member of the same family as the owner of no. 295.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zahn, 1916, cols. 42 ff.; Dennison, 1918, nos. 3, 4; Ross, 1965, II, nos. 15, 46; Greifenhagen, 1970, pp. 66 ff., pls. 46–48.

297 One of a pair of bracelets

Constantinople (?), 2nd half 6th–early 7th century
Gold

6.5, diam. 8.8 cm.; diam. medallion 5.8 cm. ($2\frac{9}{16}$,
 $3\frac{7}{16}$; $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Athens, Benaki Museum, 1835

The most unusual aspect of this bracelet is its beautifully molded convex hoop. This hoop and that of the companion piece may be technically unique: the exterior band is joined to a flat inner one with beaded borders concealing the points of juncture. The frieze of cornucopias in repoussé with chased details is emphasized by the pair of concave moldings that flank it. The cornucopias are filled with leaves and are placed in alternating directions to create a balanced, rhythmic design like those on nos. 292 and 298.

The design maintains its rhythm when transferred from the band to the central medallion. Like the medallions of the Cyprus bracelets (no. 292), this one consists of a design in openwork arranged around a central motif: cornucopias around a six-pointed star with a gold pearl in the center. The plain, flat band surrounding the openwork has both an inner and an outer border and has been bent back toward the inside of the bracelet. Segall (1938, no. 266) has noted that Zahn (1913, col. 86) suggested, in connection with another piece, that this band might have been bent back to hold a piece of colored material or leather as a background for the openwork.

On the consular diptych of Orestes, dated 530, the figures of Constantinopolis on both leaves and



that of Roma only on the right leaf wear bracelets like this one, with a medallion and a wide band (Segall, 1938, no. 266 [where Constantinopolis is mistaken for Roma]). Whereas the type has a long history, this bracelet is closely related to the Varna bracelets (no. 299) and especially to those from Cyprus (no. 292). Segall (1938) suggested that the Benaki bracelets were made in Syria, but Ross (verbally) noted that the openwork on the Benaki bracelets, as well as on those from Cyprus, is comparable to that on the Richmond medallion (no. 291) and on the pendant medallion of the Berlin pectoral (no. 296). Like all of these pieces, the Benaki bracelets were probably made in Constantinople.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Segall, 1938, no. 266; Lepage, 1971, p. 17, fig. 30, p. 19.

298 One of a pair of bracelets

Constantinople (?), 1st half 7th century
Gold, emeralds, mother-of-pearl, glass paste,
and pearls

Diam. 7 cm. (2¾ in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Antikenabteilung, 30219,508a

Greifenhagen (1970, p. 70) has noted the similarity between the Berlin bracelets and those in Varna (no. 299). The hoops of the bracelets from Cyprus (no. 292) are also comparable. Nevertheless, the undulating grapevines forming the hoops of the

Berlin bracelets are not confined by a frame, and, in this respect, they may be unique for the sixth and seventh centuries. Also unusual, if not unique, is the central medallion, which consists of a rosette composed of two layers of petals.

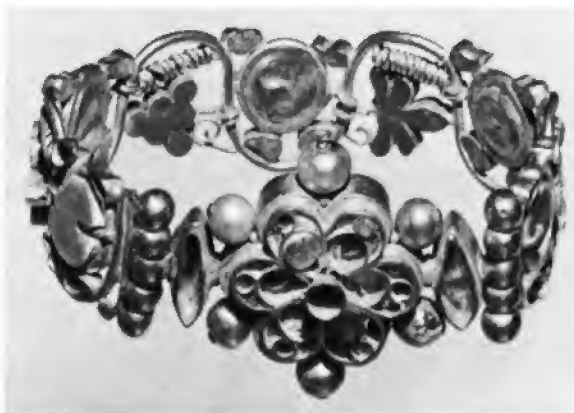
Although many stones are now missing, enough remain to permit us to reconstruct the bracelets' original splendor. It is thought that emeralds once alternated with glass around the central glass paste setting to form the inner layer of petals. The outer layer must have been set with glass and, in the small round settings, emeralds. Around the rosette are six pearls set on gold pins (Dennison, 1918, pp. 161–163).

The rinceau has nine nearly equal curves and reverse curves. Five of the sections are filled with mother-of-pearl sets and the other four with stylized clusters of grapes alternating with grape leaves. Zahn (1913) suggested that garnets were used to represent the grapes and emeralds for the leaves.

The Berlin bracelets also compare with another pair in the Metropolitan Museum (no. 300), on which the hoops as well as the medallions are set with jewels and the central part of the medallion is surrounded by pearls set on gold pins. All four of these bracelets are said to be from the same find in Egypt and were, therefore, probably made in Constantinople in the first half of the seventh century. For discussion of this conclusion, see no. 284. The Cyprus bracelets and the Varna bracelets were also probably made in Constantinople in the first half of the seventh century.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zahn, 1913, col. 90; Dennison, 1918, pp. 32–33; Greifenhagen, 1970, p. 70, pl. 52.



299 Pair of bracelets

Constantinople (?), 1st half 7th century

Gold, pearls, glass, and enamel

Diam. 6.3 cm. (2½ in.)

Varna, Narodni Museum

On each of these important massive bracelets the medallion is joined to its broad hoop by a tripartite



One of a pair of bracelets, no. 299

hinge, and the rinceau forming the hoop is contained within heavy braided borders. The triangular bunches of grapes are formed by pearls and the leaves by light green glass. The obverse of the medallion is decorated with a geometric design in light green and lilac-colored cloisonné enamel around a central pearl. A beaded border surrounds the medallion. The reverse is decorated with a gold repoussé plaque showing a duck (?) in profile within an octagon bordered by stylized leaves. One bird is shown in profile to the right and the other to the left. The hoops are attached to the medallions by screw pins. The heads of these pins are hollow spheres decorated with stylized animal heads.

These bracelets recall the two other pairs in New York and Berlin on which the hoops as well as the medallions are set with jewels (nos. 298, 300). As noted by Greifenhagen (1970), the hoops of the Varna bracelets are especially close to those on the Berlin examples (no. 298), where the similar rinceaux were probably set with garnets and emeralds 'representing the triangular bunches of grapes and their leaves. Although they are worked entirely in gold, the bracelets from Cyprus (no. 292) also present triangular bunches of grapes and scrolling tendrils on a similarly undulating vine.

The opulence of the Varna bracelets may well indicate that they were made in the capital of the Byzantine Empire, while the characteristics

they share with the Berlin and Cyprus bracelets suggest a date in the first half of the seventh century.

Found in 1961 at Varna, Bulgaria, with seven other objects.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dimitrov (1), 1963, no. 8; Dimitrov (2), 1963; Venedikov, 1965; Greifenhagen, 1970, p. 70; Hoddinott, 1975, p. 329, pl. 194.

300 Pair of bracelets

Constantinople (?), 1st half 7th century

Gold, pearls, sapphires, and emerald plasma

Each, diam. 8.3 cm. (3¼ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.1670, 1671

Very few bracelets of the sixth and seventh centuries on which the hoops as well as the medallions are set with jewels are known. Along the edges of each hoop, pearls and tiny gold beads are strung alternately on fine gold wires. Between them are sapphires, each set in an oval mount and held firmly with prongs, alternating with pairs of box settings, only one of which still retains its emerald plasma.

A sapphire in the center of each medallion is mounted in a high oval setting with four pairs of prongs to hold it in place. Radiating from the base of this setting are ten pieces of heavy gold wire, curved and terminating in loops, between which are strung ten pearls.

One of a pair of bracelets, no. 300



The medallion is attached to the hoop by two hinges, each with five interlocking joints into which a pin is inserted. A pearl—one of which is missing from each bracelet—is set on each end of these pins. The hoop is fitted with a hinge in the center of the back.

On the inside, each hoop displays a gold openwork strip with bead-and-reel borders comparable to the border of the Richmond medallion (no. 291). The medallion has a round plate cut with an openwork design of scrolling vines surrounded by a border of running spirals. Similar openwork in gold is found on the Berlin necklace (no. 284) and on several other pieces from the same treasure as these bracelets, as well as on a Dumbarton Oaks gold bracelet said to be from Hadra, near Alexandria (Ross, 1965, II, no. 47). The Metropolitan Museum bracelets can probably be attributed to Constantinople and dated in the first half of the seventh century (see no. 284).

Ross recently observed that bracelets similar in concept to the Metropolitan Museum bracelets are worn by Empress Ariadne (?) on the ivory diptych in Vienna (no. 25).

Formerly in the J. Pierpont Morgan collection.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dennison, 1918, nos. 28, 29; Ross, 1965, II, nos. 46–47; Lepage, 1971, pp. 19–20, fig. 33.

301 Pectoral cross

Constantinople (?), 1st half 7th century
Gold

8 × 5.3 cm. ($3\frac{1}{8}$ × $2\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 37.24

Among the known examples of gold pectoral crosses from the sixth and seventh centuries, only a few, including this example, show a full-length figure of Christ on the cross in the center. He wears the colobium. Above his head is a trapezoidal plaque bearing the inscription IC XC. The busts of the four evangelists in the medallions at the ends of the arms, as well as the general shape of the cross, follow the usual contemporary design and iconography.



This piece was first compared with the cross of Justin II and consequently attributed to Constantinople in the sixth century (Rosenberg, 1928). It was then published together with an almost identical cross from Egypt, which is now in the Cairo Museum (Werner [1], 1936). Ross (1965, II) has noted that the variations between these two crosses are so slight that they may simply indicate two different hands using the same mold. The rendering of the eyes on both pieces is especially close to that on the pendant gold medallion on the Berlin pectoral, said to have been found at Antinoë on the east bank of the Nile, or Tomei, near Assiût, in Upper Egypt (see no. 296). This comparison suggests a probable origin in Constantinople and a date in the first half of the seventh century. See no. 284 for discussion.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ross, 1965, II, no. 15.

302 Buckle

Constantinople (?), 7th century

Gold

L. 6.4 cm. (2½ in.)

Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, D 960

By the shape and design of its plate, this buckle has been shown to be related to a group of buckles in Cologne (Werner, 1955), characterized by the U-shaped contour and figurative design of the plate. A loop is attached to each end of the U and four loops are attached to the buckle itself. The plate and buckle were originally held together by a pin that passed through the loops. The present wire is a modern replacement.

As has been noted (Werner [2], 1936), the fantastic creature with canine foreparts and feathered hindquarters known as a *senmurv* is inspired by designs on Sassanian textiles and reliefs, such as



those of Taq-i-Bostan. A Persian influence is often found in Byzantine goldwork.

The leaf border of this plate is comparable to that on a bronze belt plate with a female bust from the Diergardt Collection in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Cologne.

This type of buckle has been found principally in Sicily, Sardinia, and Italy, and is usually in bronze. The Cologne buckle was found in Sardinia. Although recently examples have been found elsewhere, Werner (1955, p. 41) has concluded that the type is of Mediterranean origin. He dates it to the seventh century. Ross believed it to be of Constantinopolitan origin.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Werner (2), 1936; Brussels, 1954, no. 2; Werner, 1955, pp. 36–48, figs. 9a–c.

303 Buckle and tab

Constantinople (?), 7th century

Gold

L. buckle 5.4; tab 3.5 cm. (2¼; 1⅓ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Purchase, 1895, 95.15.98 a, b

This buckle was found in Chiusi, Italy, and was formerly considered to be Langobardic, but its form and decoration are characteristic of one type of Byzantine belt buckle. Both the buckle and the belt plate are cast in gold and decorated with punched decoration. To judge from comparable



buckles, the stone that originally garnished the tongue was probably a garnet (cf. Ross, 1965, II, nos. 5A, 5B). The buckle is secured to the belt plate by a gold pin, which passes through a series of rings. On the underside of the plate are three loops for fastening the plate to a belt.

The punched design flanking the groove for the end of the tongue has been called the point-and-comma design, probably derived from Assyrian sculpture (Dalton, 1905, pp. 31–33). The motif has also been explained as the eye and beak of a Scythian bird of prey. In the early Byzantine period the motif survived in its original anatomical context in textiles and was used as an abstract decorative motif as well. This buckle and a pierced transenna in the cathedral of Ravenna, ascribed to the sixth century (Riegl, 1901, I, p. 204), exemplify its decorative use.

The gold tab with similar punched decoration either embellished the tongue of the belt, or, more probably, was fastened to a strap that hung from it. The underside of this tab is decorated with punched linear designs characteristic of Byzantine belt ornaments (Ross, 1965, II, no. 42 with refs.) together with tamgas—different types of linear signs thought to be clan symbols, marks of property, marks of authority, and symbols of magic power. Tamgas were carved on tombstones and tomb chambers and incised on metal objects such as belt buckles by the Sarmatian tribes north of the Black Sea during the first three centuries A.D. (Nickel, 1973).

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kühn, 1938, pp. 178 ff., pl. 59.

304 Buckle

Constantinople (?), 7th century

Gold

L. 6 cm. (2½ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.1662

Although the construction of this piece is similar to that of no. 303, the three stylized leaves of the plate resemble those on a buckle in the Mytilene Museum datable to the seventh century (Athens, 1964, no. 302) and on two examples in the Virginia



Museum (Ross, 1968, p. 22). Before the sixth century, the type was unknown in the Roman and Byzantine Empires and was apparently introduced by one of the migratory tribes. Later, it was exported from the empire, and examples have been found in graves of the Avars in Hungary.

A bastardized version of the point-and-comma motif (cf. no. 303) can be seen on one of the leaves forming the plate of this buckle.

K. R. B.

Unpublished.

305 Ring with St. Thecla and angel

Constantinople (?), 638–639

Gold with traces of niello

Max. diam. 2.5 cm. (1 in.); W. bezel 1.3 cm. (½ in.)

Athens, Benaki Museum, 2107

No. 305: reversible bezel showing St. Thecla



One side of the octagonal, reversible bezel presents St. Thecla orant, flanked by small crosses with two lions below. For a similar representation and discussion of the iconography of St. Thecla, see Buschhausen, 1962–1963, pp. 146–152, and fig. 2. The other displays frontally an archangel with outspread wings, a long cross in his right hand, and an object that is probably an orb in his left. The bezel bears a different Greek letter on each of six sides, and the two lateral sides are reserved for attachment to the hoop. Of the two inscriptions, the first is quite common and is usually read: Χ(ριστός) Μ(ιχαήλ) or Μ(αρία) Γ(αβριήλ) ("Christ, Michael," or "Mary, Gabriel"). Another reading by Chatzidakis (1939–1943, pp. 175–177) is: Χ(ριστός) Μ(αρίας) Γ(έννα) ("Christ, Son of Mary"). The second inscription, ΣΡΛ, is extremely rare. Chatzidakis (1939–1943) noted its only other occurrence on the reverse of a small gold reliquary in the British Museum, where its letters form a cross surmounting three steps (Dalton, 1901, no. 284). He interpreted the three letters on both the Benaki ring and the reliquary as numerals, indicating a date of 638/639 (6130, according to the Byzantine era).

The monogram on the reliquary is surrounded by an inscription indicating that the reliquary contained relics of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Pointing out that the cult of these saints was very popular in Constantinople and far less so in Egypt and that Egypt was dominated by the Persians from 636 to 640, Chatzidakis (1939–1943) favors a Constantinopolitan origin for both pieces. Although the cult of St. Thecla was originally popular in Egypt and Syria, by the seventh century it was equally popular in Constantinople. The figure style of the Benaki ring is comparable to that of four marriage rings (no. 446). Ross (1965, II, no. 69) attributed them to Constantinople and compared them with four small nielloed bezels also in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, which are said to have been found in Constantinople.

As has been noted by Chatzidakis, the most unusual characteristic of this ring is its reversible bezel. Revolving bezels were popular on Egyptian, Greek, and Etruscan rings but became quite rare thereafter. For another example of a gold ring with a revolving bezel, see no. 470.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chatzidakis, 1939–1943, pp. 174–206.



One of a pair of earrings, no. 306

306 Pair of earrings

Egypt (?), 1st half 7th century

Gold and pearls

10 cm. (3 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift
of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.1665, 1666

To each plain gold hoop are soldered four small rings, each supporting a pendant consisting of a fine loop-in-loop chain terminating in a pearl. Each pearl is set on a pin, which is coiled at the end. A small gold grain has been soldered into each of the inner angles, where the rings supporting the pendants are attached to the hoop.

Earrings of this type were extremely popular at least as early as the third century. Examples of the same general type are found on many of the Fayyum portraits. Their popularity continued until the mid-seventh century (Ross [2], 1959, p. 231).

The Metropolitan Museum earrings, found either at Tomei or Antinoë in Egypt, have been placed by Ross in the first half of the seventh century, because the jewelry from this find is closely related to a pair of bracelets set with coins of Heraclius in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.

Coche de la Ferté (1957, II, pp. 13–14, n. 3)

demonstrated the popularity of the type in fifth- and sixth-century Egypt, and more examples have been found in Egypt than anywhere else. However, they have been found in many parts of the former Byzantine Empire (Ross [2], 1959). While the find-place of these earrings is Egypt and they closely resemble those represented in a fifth- to sixth-century Egyptian textile in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Coche de la Ferté, 1957, II, p. 15, fig. 1), they may have been made elsewhere.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dennison, 1918, nos. 16, 17, pl. xvi; Ross (2), 1959.

307 Earring

Constantinople (?), 1st half 7th century
Gold and pearls
7 × 7 cm. ($2\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
Anonymous loan

In its exuberant display of pearls, this earring recalls the jewelry of the well-known portrait in ivory of Empress Ariadne (?), carved at the beginning of the sixth century in Constantinople (no. 25). In technique the earring is extremely close to the pair of bracelets in the Metropolitan Museum



(no. 300). For example, some of the pearls are strung on fine gold wires with heavy gold wire loops between them and others are mounted on heavy gold pins. The close stylistic and technical analogies between the Metropolitan Museum bracelets and this earring seem to indicate that the earring was also probably made in Constantinople in the first half of the seventh century. The earring is one of a pair, originally complemented by a finger ring; the location of the other two pieces is no longer known.

While the crescent-shaped earring originated in ancient Mesopotamia (Coche de la Ferté, 1956, pp. 36 ff.), the immediate prototype for this earring can be found in the Greco-Roman period in Egypt (see Clark, 1928, p. 253, fig. 9). These Greco-Roman earrings, made entirely of gold, are decorated around the outer edge with radiating projections terminating in spheres. Gold pins mounted with pearls—one is missing—achieve a comparable effect on this Byzantine earring.

The earring is apparently the only surviving early Byzantine crescent-shaped earring with a central vertical projection. For an example of the traditional contemporary crescent-shaped earring, see no. 290.

K. R. B.

Unpublished.



308 Ring with cross

Place of origin uncertain, 6th–7th century
Gold and niello
Diam. 2.4 cm. ($\frac{1}{4}$ in.); diam. bezel 1.2 cm. ($\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
Pforzheim, Schmuckmuseum, 1963/42

Unlike the form of the other ring from Pforzheim (no. 293), that of this ring is highly characteristic of the sixth and seventh centuries. Several examples with plain rounded hoops and heavy circular bezels have been described by Ross (1965, II, nos.

4E, 66, 67 [here additional examples cited], and 68). The simple elegance of the design—an equal-armed cross with flaring arms—is the distinguishing feature of this ring. Gold jewelry decorated with niello enjoyed great favor in this period, but this ring is apparently unique in its simplicity.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Battke, 1963, no. 23.

309 Muse casket

Rome, mid-4th century

Silver

25.4 × 33.2 cm. (10 × 13 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

London; The Trustees of the British Museum, 66, 12–29, 2

The casket, which can be suspended from three chains attached to a large ring, contains five small vessels for perfumes and unguents fitted into openings in a horizontal bronze plate. The domed cover of the casket is joined to the body with a hinge and is closed and secured by means of a tapering hasp and staple. Representations in mosaics and wall paintings have shown objects that closely resemble the muse casket in the context of the Roman bath.

The surfaces of both body and dome have been divided into sixteen panels, alternating flat and concave surfaces. The flat surfaces are decorated with vases, vine motifs, and birds; the eight fluted panels of the dome are undecorated; and those of the body contain female figures under arches. At the top of the dome is a medallion that contains another female figure seated in a landscape setting. The eight figures of the body can be identified as



eight of the nine muses. While it is tempting to identify the ninth figure as the ninth muse, this seated figure—associated with a bird, a basket of fruits, and a tree decked with garlands—seems drawn from another sphere. She does not display an attribute as do the rest; and she does not wear the feather headdress, which unites the band of eight and alludes to the victory of the muses over the Sirens. Whoever she may be, the ninth figure is meant to be associated with the muses, as the portrait figure of a deceased woman may take the place of a ninth muse on sarcophagi reliefs.

To the right of the hasp, reading counterclockwise, the muses are: Urania, muse of astronomy, with a globe; Melpomene, muse of tragedy, with a Heraclean club and a tragic mask; Clio, muse of history, with a book and a capsula with scrolls; Polyhymnia, muse of mime, with a small, "silent" mask; Terpsichore, muse of lyric poetry and dance, with a lyre and a dancing posture; Euterpe, muse of flutes, with her instrument, the double flute; Thalia, muse of comedy, with a Dionysiac pedum and comic mask; and Calliope, muse of epic poetry, with a scroll.

Although distinguished from one another by costume and attribute, the muses are represented as variations of a single, rather stocky type. The treatment of their draperies, facial features, and postures is very similar to the execution of figures on the Projecta casket (no. 310), with which the muse casket was found in 1793, as part of the Esquiline treasure. The identification and sequence of the muses on the casket can be compared with the late fourth-century ewer with nine muses from the Kremlin Armory (no. 244). That the muses would be considered appropriate decorative motifs on objects—however precious—intended for domestic use only testifies to the popularity of the theme in the classical and Late Antique world.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dalton, 1901, no. 305, pl. xix; Poglayen-Neuwall, 1930, pp. 125, 131, pl. 34; Barbier, 1962, pp. 16–22, figs. 10–12; Buschhausen, 1971, no. B8.

310 The Projecta casket

Color plate IX

Rome, mid-4th century

Silver with silver gilt

30 × 55 × 43 cm. ($11\frac{13}{16} \times 21\frac{5}{8} \times 16\frac{15}{16}$ in.)

London, The Trustees of the British Museum, 66, 12–29, 1

The body of the large casket is a truncated rectangular pyramid whose sides are isosceles trapezoids; the lid is smaller and similar in shape, surrounded by a horizontal rim with a narrow vertical lip. Three hinges connect the lid and body. The casket once rested on four corner braces, of which three remain, and the object was carried by two swing handles attached to the short ends of the body. The casket has survived in excellent condition with only one major area of restoration on the right end panel of the lid.

The name by which the casket is known, the Projecta casket, derives from the woman's name in the Latin inscription engraved on the rim across the front of the lid: SECUNDE ET PROIECTA VIVATIS IN CHRISTO ("Secundus and Projecta, live in Christ"). Portraits of the couple, encircled in a wreath, displayed by flanking Erotes, decorate the top of the casket lid.

A representation of the Toilette of Venus rises directly above the inscription. The combination is not unusual; the subject is understood not so much as pagan mythology but as a flattering visual analogy to Projecta. Venus, who performs her toilette surrounded by sea creatures, Erotes, and Nereids extending to either side, is the model for the Roman matron on the casket body, who adjusts her coiffure in the company of torchbearers and handmaidens. Projecta and Venus are aligned with one another on a vertical axis; they perform the same functions, in similar postures, however distinct their environments.

The back panel of the casket lid is occupied by a toilette procession. In an active scene from daily life, Projecta, with her properly braided and coiled fourth-century hairstyle, proceeds to an elaborately domed Roman bath in the company of attendants. Some of the boxes and containers carried by the attendants depicted on the casket body resemble the Projecta casket itself, and one on the back panel of the body resembles the muse casket (no. 309).



The relationship between the two caskets extends beyond a common find-site and general function: the standing female figures of the Projecta casket closely resemble their counterparts on the muse casket in facial and postural type and in the handling and decoration of draperies. The statuettes of four city goddesses from the Esquiline treasure (no. 155) also follow this style.

All six pieces are best understood as products of the same workshop. A damaged silver vessel from the treasure of Traprain Law (no. 389), dated on numismatic evidence to the late fourth to early fifth century, provides a stylistic parallel to the Esquiline pieces. The analogies of the figural decoration of the Corbridge lanx (no. 110) and the Parabiago plate (no. 164) also support a fourth-century date for the pieces. The Esquiline treasure, a large find of over sixty pieces and seventy pounds of silver plate, was found in 1793 on the Esquiline Hill in Rome.

K. J. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dalton, 1901, no. 304, pls. XIII–XVIII; Barbier, 1962; de Francovich, 1970, pp. 34, 81–87, fig. 38; Buschhausen, 1971, no. B7, pls. 21–26.

****311 Panels from a bridal casket**

Egypt, 4th century

Wood, bone, and wax

Est. original cover 45 × 36 cm. ($17\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{3}{16}$ in.);

H. body about 35 cm. ($13\frac{3}{4}$ in.); base 32 × 24 cm. ($12\frac{5}{8} \times 9\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

Cairo, Coptic Museum, 9060–9063

Complete end panel from no. 311



Two complete panels and one half panel are all that remain from this casket. Like the Projecta casket (no. 310), this is considered by many scholars to have been a bridal casket. The lid and body were each in the shape of a truncated pyramid and the principal decorative motif consisted of figures under arches draped with curtains. As far as is known, however, this casket bore no indication of the owner's name or of whether she was a pagan or a Christian. The three remaining plaques are cut in intaglio and filled with red and black wax. They are among the finest examples of incised bone plaques.

The rectangular top of the cover has two plaques framed by canted borders. Each shows the bride standing on the right looking at her attendant on the left, both under one arch. Although portrayed frontally, each figure turns slightly outward. They stand on a row of quatrefoils. The bride wears a full-length tunic and a white palla. Her hair is held in place by a band. Her attendant also wears a long tunic—but it has a decorative band around the neck and ornamented clavi—and over this, a mantle. The attendant's hair is gathered loosely at the nape of the neck. In the right-hand plaque the bride holds a roll or a white tablet and the attendant, a casket. In the left, the bride holds a mirror and the attendant a case. Although much of the image is missing, Buschhausen (1971) has suggested that the bride is probably taking clips for her hair from her attendant.

The representations on the two end panels are similar, except that only one figure stands under each arch and on the second panel the entire lower portion is missing. The complete panel shows the bride on the left gently brushing back her veil with her right hand. The attendant holds a red tablet. An ornamental strip with a bead-and-reel pattern separates the two fields. The other end plaque shows the bride on the right holding a roll and the attendant on the left supporting a large shell (?) on her left arm. A row of quatrefoils separates the two fields, and a small portion of molding still remains on the right side. Two pieces with moldings from the original cover are still intact.

As has been noted by Weitzmann ([1], 1972, III, no. 6), incised plaques like these were fashionable in Egypt for a limited period. They are usually dated in the third or fourth century. On caskets they were used in combination with plaques carved in relief, as in the one in the Walters Art

Gallery in Baltimore. The Cairo casket probably also originally had some panels in relief.

Found at Saqqara.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Strzygowski, 1904, nos. 7060–7064; Buschhausen, 1971, pp. 217–219.

312 Perfume bottle

East Mediterranean, 5th–6th century

Gold

4.5 × 3.2 cm. (1 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 67–52–24

The long neck and spherical body of this delicate flacon are decorated with concentric bands of pressed and incised designs. Simple incised lines embellish the neck, while a pressed herringbone pattern, interrupted by narrow bands of incised vertical lines, decorates the body. The flacon is fitted with a cap top. Ross (1968) has suggested that the flacon could have been worn as part of a chatelaine or suspended from a woman's belt by the large ring that is connected to the flacon and the cap top by three loop-in-loop chains. Ross proposed a sixth- to seventh-century date and noted that bottles of this shape and decoration are also found in contemporary silver. The herringbone motif appears frequently in contemporary mold-blown glass bottles (Harden et al., 1968, no. 80).

Formerly in the De Clercq and De Boisgelin collections.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ross, 1968, p. 23.



313 The Rubens vase

Color plate X

Place of origin uncertain, about 400

Agate and gold

19 cm. (7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 42.562

In 1908 this vase was tentatively identified as the one mentioned in letters of Peter Paul Rubens (Smith and Hutton, 1908, II) in which the artist said he had made a drawing and cast of an antique agate vase he had purchased. When the vase was acquired by the Walters Art Gallery in 1941, Ross (1943) located an engraving of the drawing, which confirmed that the piece had been in Rubens' possession. Apparently, Rubens bought the vase in 1619 at the flea market in Paris. The inventories suggest that it may have been looted from Fontainebleau twenty-nine years earlier; such an item is described in the earlier inventories of Louis de France, duke of Anjou (1139–1384). Recently, it has been suggested that the vase may have been the one in the collection of Charles V (Alcouffe, 1973).

Carved from one mass of honey-colored agate, the vase has a very high relief, while its thin walls are almost translucent. At the shoulders two knob-like handles are carved with heads of Pan cut free from the background. Emerging from the base of an acanthus leaf, under each of these heads, an asymmetrical pattern of grapevines covers the sides. The gold mount of the rim is a later addition. The underside of the vase is carved in low relief with a rosette consisting of two sets of overlapping petals. The very high polish is probably original.

Earlier considerations had placed this agate vase variously in the Greco-Roman period, the Renaissance, or the period of the eighteenth-century classical revival. All were superseded by Ross's study (1943), which established that the vase was made about 400.

The Rothschild Lycurgus cup and the Rubens vase are closely akin in style, decorative elements, and technique (Harden and Toynbee, 1959). However, the Lycurgus cup has finally been proved to be glass, that is, a cage cup (Chirnside and Proffitt, 1963). The Rubens vase is comparable to another cage cup—the hunting situla in Venice—in that each has a rosette on the underside. However, when compared to the other more or less contem-

porary gem carvings (Bühler, 1973, pp. 13–14), there is no doubt that the Rubens vase is the most splendid carving of the era.

Formerly in the collections of the kings of France (?); Peter Paul Rubens; William Beckford; the Duke of Hamilton; Alfred Morrison; and Sir Francis Cook.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Smith and Hutton, 1908, II, no. 271; Ross, 1943; Baltimore, 1947, no. 543; Harden and Toynbee, 1959; Alcouffe, 1973; Bühler, 1973, no. 109.

314 Vase

Place of origin uncertain, 4th–early 5th century
Marble

53.3, diam. 52.1 cm. (21, 20½ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Fletcher Fund, 1952, 52.88

While Early Christian monuments abound with representations of vases of this general type, this unusually beautiful example appears to be the only three-dimensional one to have survived. The



No. 313, the Rubens vase



representations show the same diagonally fluted body, the round fluted base, and the high, round, molded foot, but its unusually broad everted lip and the openwork grapevine that forms a band

around the top of the base and extends up the sides to form handles are unique features. The grapevine is lifelike and energetic, designed with perfect rhythm and balance. The technique of

using occasional drill holes to accentuate the form of the vine leaves helps to place the vase in the fourth to early fifth century. The same use of the drill as well as a similar, highly accurate indication of the veins can be seen on the grape leaves carved in high relief on part of a contemporary drum of a column in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (Volbach [1], 1962, pl. 77). Contemporary but less fine openwork carving is found on the fourth-century relief with Orpheus in the Byzantine Museum in Athens (Grabar [2], 1968, fig. 101).

During the apostolic era, the word *vase* as an epithet was often associated with the faithful (see, e.g., 2 Tim. 2:21). A passage written by an early Church father (Lactant. *Div. inst.* 2.13.321 [Migne, *PL*, 1844, 6, col. 519]) explains the frequent representations of vases on Early Christian funerary monuments: "Our body is like a vase in which the Holy Spirit lives for a time."

K. R. B.

Unpublished.

315 Dish in form of temple

Rome or Carthage, 3rd–4th century

Rock crystal

6.1, diam. 4.1 cm. ($2\frac{3}{8}$, $1\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Bequest of Mrs. William H. Moore, 1955, 55.135.5



This dish is carved in the form of a rotunda with six columns connected by arches. The molded circular base rests on six small rectangular feet. Each arch contains a rosette pierced in the center for the attachment of metal ornaments (Bühler, 1973).

The piece is one of five rock crystal objects, now all in the Metropolitan Museum, that were found together with other objects in a cistern in Carthage (cf. no. 186). Bühler suggested that the find could have been a church treasure hidden during some emergency. He suggested that this piece might have served as a small basin for consecrated water. However, since we cannot be certain that the find was a church treasure and since no comparable object is known, the object may have had a secular use.

Ross (verbally) has noted the similarity between the columns on this piece and those on a bronze polycandelon in the form of a basilica, now in the Hermitage (no. 559). The polycandelon was found in Algiers and has been dated to the fifth century. The similarity between the pieces may indicate that both originated in North Africa.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bühler, 1973, nos. 115a and 115c (for bibliog.).

316 Spoon

Rome or Constantinople, mid-4th century

Silver with partial gilding and niello

12.5, bowl 10.3×5.6 cm. ($4\frac{1}{16}$, $4\frac{1}{16} \times 2\frac{3}{16}$ in.);

52.5 gm.

Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, John L.

Severance Fund, 64.39

This spoon is excellently preserved, except for small scattered corrosive discolorations resulting from burial. Hammered from one piece of silver, the large oval bowl and the graceful swan's-neck handle retain their original shape and curve. The bird's head and long beak are parallel to one edge of the spoon's bowl. The elegant handle and overall condition of the spoon make it one of the best of its type.

The interior of the bowl contains an inscription filled with niello giving the Latin name PAVLVS,



probably referring to the intended male owner rather than to St. Paul. An engraved and gilded image of a standing, youthful, nude figure, apparently hermaphroditic, fills the remaining space of the bowl. A gilded and engraved border follows the inner edge of the bowl. The raised right hand of the figure almost touches its head, which is crowned with flowers (possibly poppies). The left hand holds a stalk of grain. These attributes suggest a genius, as described by Ripa (1765, II, pp. 173–175), and not Dionysos (Dodd, 1973, p. 32). Since a good genius, standing for happiness and well-being, was offered wine, flowers, and dances at an individual's birth, the meaning of the spoon may be taken as "happiness or good life to Paul," an interpretation that could

be taken in either a Christian or non-Christian context (Wixom, 1970, p. 145; Nitzsche, 1975, pp. 15–20).

Parallels may be seen in fourth-century spoons of the smaller pear-shaped type: in the Mildenhall treasure (bearing the inscription *PAPTEDO VIVAS*, or "Long life to Papttedo"), in the former Gréau collections (inscribed *POTENS VIVAS*; Paris, Hôtel Drouot, J. Gréau sale, 1–9 June 1885, no. 275; now in the Duthuit Collection, Petit Palais, Paris), and in the Davillier Collection of the Louvre (with *NAEVI VIVAS*). Each of these may have been intended for presentation, as on the recipient's birth or christening.

The nature and subtlety of the engraving on the Cleveland spoon set it apart from other spoons of its type. The engravings of small bronze plaques in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and the Constantius II silver dish in the Hermitage (fig. 8), together with our spoon, are related to the underlying draftsmanship of the Calendar of 354, known only from fragments of later copies (no. 67). These works indicate the character of an animated pictorial style flourishing within the confines of the empire under the reign of Constantius II (Wixom, 1970, p. 145, figs. 7, 8).

According to Ross (1967–1968, pp. 56–59, figs. 1–7) and Dodd (1973, p. 5), the Cleveland spoon was part of a clandestine find made before 1962 in northern Syria.

W. D. W.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ross, 1967–1968, pp. 59–60; Wixom, 1970, pp. 141–148, figs. 1–3; Dodd, 1973, p. 32, fig. 33.

317 Lamp in shape of foot

Place of origin uncertain, 4th–5th century

Bronze

12.9 × 16.5 cm. (5 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Fletcher Fund, 1962, 62.10.1

In the Greek and Roman periods the foot was one of the most popular forms of lamps. Like this one, most of these lamps represent the right foot wearing a sandal, although there are examples representing the left foot, and still others, a pair of

feet (see Sieveking, 1930, pl. 25, fig. 1, p. 30). Some of these were hanging lamps, while others were portable. With few modifications this form of lamp was adopted by the Christians.

In this hanging lamp the big toe rests against the spout. The thongs of the sandal tie at the ankle and terminate in trefoils. The lamp was filled with oil at an opening at the ankle. The elaborate double-hinged cover is a towerlike structure with two stories of arcades and a crowning floral finial. Attached to either side of the oil cup and to the central thong of the sandal near the big toe are three chains that join into a single chain ending in a hook for suspension. The underside of the sole is decorated with a swastika design formed by dentils. Dentils, simulating nails, are common on foot-shaped bronze lamps. A greenish patina covers the bronze.

As was noted by Ostioia (1969, no. 19), the foot-shaped lamp in the Christian period might have been symbolically connected with the words of Ps. 119:105: "The word is a light unto my feet and a light unto my path."

Said to be from Syria.

K. R. B.

Unpublished.



318 Lamp- or candlestand with Aphrodite

Egypt, 5th–6th century

Bronze

50.2 cm. (19½ in.)

Kansas City, Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum (Nelson Fund), 58.5

The figure of Aphrodite, admiring herself in the mirror she holds in her left hand, forms the central part of this extraordinary lampstand. Naked from the waist up, she has a cloth draped around the lower portion of her body. The object she holds in her right hand is a perfume applicator (Hill, 1965, p. 187). She stands on a short baluster to



which are attached three widespread, elaborately decorated legs. Each of these is formed by a composite figure consisting of a human torso although one has horns and a fishtail. These composite figures carry small figures, human in form but with unidentifiable attributes. A second baluster, resting on the head of Aphrodite, supports the pricket for a lamp or a candle and the broad pan for catching the wax or oil.

Bronzes of larger than ordinary size, such as this one, were made by casting the elements separately and then fitting them together (Ross, 1962, I, no. 38). The bronze casters could reuse their molds repeatedly.

Although this lamp is apparently unique, parallels for its components may be found among pieces attributed to Coptic Egypt (Ross, 1962, I, no. 40, and Ross [3], 1959). To those noted by Ross may be added a bronze figure of Aphrodite between two musicians, in the Louvre, and a lampstand with its lamp, in the Hermitage, which is similar to the one excavated in Ballāna, Nubia (Ross [3], 1959, n. 9, and Essen, 1963, no. 604).

According to Ross, the Aphrodite on our lampstand is preparing to go to a wedding feast accompanied by Nereids, each carried by a fishtailed figure. Originally, the Nereids bore gifts, but the mirror is the only one remaining. Not only is just such a scene described in an account of the marriage of Emperor Honorius to Maria in 398, but a similar scene is illustrated on the cover of the Projecta casket (no. 310), where Aphrodite is flanked by ichthyocentaurs, each with a Nereid bearing a gift on his back, and Projecta is shown with three wedding guests. One guest carries a lampstand as a gift. Thus, the Kansas City lampstand may have been a wedding gift.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ross [3], 1959.

319 Collapsible lamp- or candlestand

Place of origin uncertain, 6th–7th (?) century

Bronze

13.2 cm (5 1/8 in.)

Cologne, Romisch-Germanisches Museum, D-4050

This is the earliest complete, collapsible, bronze lampstand or candlestand known to have survived. Originally thought to be Carolingian, it is now considered Byzantine. Such collapsible stands continued to be popular not only in the tenth through eleventh century in the Byzantine Empire but in medieval Europe as well.

Cast in two separate, interlocking parts, the folding base consists of four legs, terminating at the top in animal protomes. Each leg has an arched lower section ending in a small foot and a straight, central section, which curves outward at the top and terminates in a fantastic animal head. Two similar bases were published by Jantzen (1966). Whereas these were considered Carolingian, an almost identical folding base was found in Corinth on a Byzantine site (Davidson, 1952, no. 863).

The figure of a warrior or servant in a pivot inserted into the base is comparable to several contemporary examples said to have been made



in Constantinople and now in the de Menil collection. Characteristics these pieces share are the sketchy, flat modeling, the prominent nose and projecting ears, and the extended left arm holding a sword pointing upward to support a small lamp or candle. The short tunic draped over the left arm and the hair, or cap, rendered by a series of ridges, are also typical of several of these figures.

The tradition of servants as candle-bearers is well known in Franco-Flemish and Italian art of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (von Falke and Meyer, 1935, nos. 207–212).

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fremersdorf, n.d., p. 28, pl. 31; Brussels, 1954, fig. 31; Ristow, 1966, p. 490.

320 Fragment of a portable lampstand with miniature lamp

Constantinople, 6th–7th century

Bronze

17.1 cm. ($6\frac{3}{4}$ in.); L. lamp 7.7 cm. (3 in.)

Houston, D. and J. de Menil Collection, Byzantine Collection

With seemingly little effort this small figure of a youth balances a lamp on the tip of a sword raised in his left hand while steadying himself with his extended right. His sketchily rendered hair, prominent eyes, and tunic thrown over his left arm, as well as the upheld sword in his left hand, are characteristics shared with several other early Byzantine lamp- or candlestand figures. The figures probably represent servants or guards. Each of them originally stood on a rectangular base with a projection below, which fit into a two-part collapsible base (cf. no. 319). Below the rectangular base of the present figure is a baluster design terminating in a screwlike projection.

This is the only figure to have retained its original lamp that has two nozzles for wicks, a shell-shaped cover, and a handle in the form of a cross. The miniature lamp, unique in size, dates the stand in the sixth to seventh century, when lamps of this type were current in the eastern Mediterranean area. (For a variety of lamps of this period, see Ross, 1962, I, nos. 31–38.)



This lamp and stand, together with another fragmentary stand, were said to have been found in Anatolia. Since the servant holds the lamp at the end of his sword, such portable lampstands were probably used by officers in the army and thus come from some central source such as Constantinople, possibly supplied by the imperial atelier that made equipment for the army.

M. C. R.

Unpublished.

321 Lamp

Syria or Constantinople, 5th–6th century

Bronze

21.4 × 25.7 × 13.5 cm. ($8\frac{7}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{16} \times 5\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Dodge Fund, 1962, 62.185

While many lamps of this period have similar large handles, curving up and around and dividing into two antlerlike projections, the running dog finials on its handle set this lamp apart from all other early Byzantine examples. The bulbous body, the broad flaring nozzle, and the high round foot are common attributes of this type. Such lamps were designed with a depression in the base to fit



on tall stands with prickets. The lid that covered the hole for filling this lamp is now missing.

The handle of a comparable lamp in the Louvre presents the forequarters of a dog (?) resting on a dolphin and holding a cross in his mouth, with his hindquarters curving up and around into two volutes. Each volute bears a cross surmounted by a dove (Coche de la Ferté, 1958, pp. 36, 99, no. 29).

A similar running dog in bronze—identified as a greyhound—which once formed the handle of a vase, was found in Lower Egypt (Perdrizet, 1911, no. 131, pl. xxxvii).

The lamp is said to have been found in Syria. While it may have been cast there, it is of particularly high quality and could have been made in Constantinople.

K. R. B.

Unpublished.

322 Incense jar with bust of Dionysos

Egypt, 4th century (?)

Bronze

19 cm. (7½ in.)

Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 66-29-1



The bust forming this portable vase rises out of a "leaf chalice." Identified as the youthful Dionysos, the young god is represented with an animal skin over his left shoulder and two loose tresses of hair—one over each shoulder. Comparisons with two busts of Dionysos in Cairo confirm the identification (Edgar, 1904, nos. 27741, 27823, pl. VII). A flat, hinged lid covers the opening in the top of the head.

Bust vessels in bronze, terracotta, and glass were popular in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, although those in bronze seem to have been the most common (Goessler, 1928, pp. 75 ff.). A comparison of the Richmond example with earlier ones seems to place it in the fourth century, since it is less realistic and more summarily modeled than its predecessors. There is only one other jar in the form of a bust from this late period (Jucker, 1961, fig. 47).

Such bust vessels usually represent Negroes, although other representations include Orientals, satyrs, grotesques, and some of the more popular gods. Perfume, oil, ointment, incense, and libation water have been suggested as the intended contents of such containers (Goessler, 1928, pp. 77–78), but it is now thought that they were used for incense.

Portable bust vessels have been found most often in Egypt and the northern Roman provinces. Pressouyre (1962) noted that there were Alexandrian colonies along the Rhine and that this contributes to the difficulty of determining the places of origin of these vases.

The Richmond jar was found at a site in Egypt with a Roman jar. This probably indicates that the site was a pagan sanctuary that continued to be used in the Christian Era (Ross, 1970).

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ross, 1970, p. 34.

323 Incense burner

Egypt (?), 5th century

Bronze

16.7, diam. 11.4 (6 $\frac{3}{16}$, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Rogers Fund, 1963, 63.150

Among several bronze incense burners of this type (Essen, 1963, no. 192), this one has a particularly elaborate openwork design. The round body consists of inhabited scrolls with a figure carrying a pack, a panther, and other running figures holding hunting implements. The hinged, domed cover presents birds and grapevine tendrils. The burner rests on three legs, each of which has a mask as its principal decorative element. The handle is missing.

The use of heads and masks at points of attachment is frequent in Coptic art, and they are considered by Gayet (1902, p. 292) to be religious symbols.

Although little figures, like those on this piece, are quite rare in bronze objects from Egypt, they are common on several ivory pyxides generally ascribed to Egypt (no. 170). The style has been related to examples of Coptic sculpture and described as an offshoot of the international Hellenistic style (Beckwith, 1963, pp. 12–13, 32). The same figure style appears in the circus scenes on the Constantinopolitan consular diptychs (no. 88).

It is difficult to date the bronze incense burners precisely, but, on the basis of the figure style, this piece can be placed in the fifth century.

K. R. B.

Unpublished.





324 Weight with emperors

Constantinople, late 4th–early 5th century

Bronze and silver

5.7 × 6.4 cm. (2¼ × 2½ in.); 321.3 gm.

Houston, D. and J. de Menil Collection, Byzantine Collection, 9

Two emperors, each standing under an arch and wearing a cuirass, diadem, and halo, are engraved and inlaid in silver on this weight. Each holds in his outside hand a lance and in the other a globe divided into four parts by engraved lines. The columns and capitals of the low arches are simple and above each capital is an engraved (acanthus ?) leaf. At the feet of each emperor is a leopard and beneath the center column are Greek letters signifying one pound. The faces, hands, and legs of both emperors, the capitals and arches, the heads of the leopards, and the Greek letters are inlaid in silver (some of the inlay is now missing). These are two of the three well-known emperors—Theodosius, Honorius, Arcadius—who frequently appear on late fourth to early fifth-century weights, probably to insure honest weight. An example in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican shows all three (Volbach, 1937, p. 348, fig. 15), and another in the British Museum shows two emperors (incorrectly identified as military saints) spearing a leopard (Dalton, 1901, no. 483). One of the two here recalls the Honorius of the consular diptych of Probus (fig. 4) and, thus, the two may tentatively be considered as Honorius and Arcadius. In the early Byzantine period, the ancient Greek form of

the weight—a square plaque or disc—was revived.

The symbols signifying ounces and pounds on Byzantine weights were introduced by Constantine the Great and remained in use for many centuries. The words for pound, “libra” or “litra,” appeared as a Greek lambda (or Λ) and the sign ℞ for ounce. On the de Menil weight, the symbol for pound, Λ, is followed by the Greek letter Α, the equivalent of the number one.

A number of bronze weights inlaid with silver have survived. They exemplify a Late Antique technique of metal-on-metal inlay that had flourished throughout the late Roman Empire but began to disappear in the seventh century.

Said to have been found in Asia Minor.

M. C. R.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kisch, 1965, pp. 150–154.

325 Weight with emperors

Constantinople, late 4th–early 5th century

Bronze and silver

5.1 × 5.4 cm. (2 × 2⅛ in.); 323.3 gm.

Houston, D. and J. de Menil Collection, Byzantine Collection, 10

The condition of the weight is good. It depicts two emperors flanking a Tyche, the personification of a city—probably Constantinople. Each emperor is dressed in a cuirass and holds a lance in his outside hand and a four-part globe in the other. Each has a diadem and a halo. The Tyche wears a mural



crown. Beneath her are the Greek letters ΛA standing for one pound.

The faces, hands, and legs of both emperors, as well as the Greek letters, are inlaid in silver. The rest of the design is engraved on the bronze.

The emperors represented may be Honorius and Arcadius, since they bear some resemblance to the two emperors so identified on a weight previously described (no. 324). Since the weight represents emperors and was found in Asia Minor, it may have been made in the imperial mint in Constantinople.

M. C. R.

Unpublished.

326 Weight with emperors

Constantinople, late 4th–early 5th century

Bronze and silver

4.1 × 4.5 cm. ($1\frac{5}{8}$ × $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Houston, D. and J. de Menil Collection, Byzantine Collection, 11

Except for the presence of some green patina, the condition of the weight is good. It depicts two emperors flanking a female figure. Each emperor wears a halo and a diadem and holds in his outside hand a scepter and in the other hand a globe divided into four parts. A shield is engraved at the feet of each emperor. Below the feet of the female figure are the letters ΓS , signifying 6 ounces.

The heads of the three figures and the hands, legs, and shoes of the emperors are inlaid in silver with engraved details. Other details are engraved



on the bronze. The weight is said to have been found in Constantinople. This, together with the imperial figures represented, may indicate that it was made in the imperial mint in Constantinople.

M. C. R.

Unpublished.

327 Steelyard weight with bust of empress

Constantinople, early 5th century

Bronze

20.3 × 10.2 cm. (8 × 4 in.)

New York, Collection of Dr. Lillian Malcove

Just as busts of gods and goddesses were favored for steelyard weights in the Roman period (no. 169), imperial busts, usually of empresses, became the most popular form in the ensuing early Byzantine era. This example is one of the very finest among the numerous surviving early Byzantine examples.

Delbrueck (1933, pp. 229 ff., pls. 122 ff.) isolated this particular type—the bust of an empress wearing a snood, a diadem, and usually earrings and a necklace of pearls or beads—and placed it in the fifth century. The Malcove weight shares several features with many other pieces in the group. Her right arm rests in the palla, which originally was decorated all over with incised circles, only a few of which remain. In her left hand she holds a scroll. The large eyes with incised pupils, the small mouth, and the suspension ring from front to back are also features common to the group. Like the majority of these weights, the Malcove piece has lost its lead fill, which brought the piece up to the desired weight. Only traces of its original dark green patina remain. (For similar weights, see von Bothmer, 1961, no. 315; Tatić-Durić, 1960–1961; Ross, 1962, I, esp. nos. 71, 72).

According to Delbrueck, the pendant string of pearls or beads suspended from both sides of the diadem and reaching down to the top of the drop earrings is a distinguishing characteristic of portraits of Licinia Eudoxia, and he identified another weight as a representation of this empress



(Delbrueck, 1933, pl. 122B). Thus, the Malcove weight can be tentatively identified as a portrayal of Licinia Eudoxia, the wife of Valentinian III.

K. R. B.

Unpublished.

328 Steelyard with weight

Place of origin uncertain, 5th century

Bronze

L. horizontal arm 47 cm. (18½ in.); L. chain with hook 44.5 cm. (17½ in.); H. weight 16.5 cm. (6½ in.)
Anonymous loan

The invention of the steelyard is attributed to the Romans, and this type of scale is commonly known as the Roman scale. The name “steelyard” was first used in comparatively modern times, because its first use in England was on the north bank of the Thames, where steel was sold by the merchants of the German hanse. The yard was closed in 1597.

Steelyards are unequal-arm balances. The rod is suspended from a hook. A pan, hook, or both, for holding the load, is attached to the shorter arm and a movable counterpoise is suspended from the longer arm.

The present steelyard, like several of the extant Byzantine examples, is a modification of the basic design: it combines the unequal-arm scale with the changeable fulcrum. The four-sided horizontal

rod is divided into two sections: the longer one is marked on three sides by engraved scale marks, while the shorter one is provided with three loops and hooks (one hook is missing)—each attached to a different side of the rod and corresponding to a different set of scale marks. One hook provided for light objects, one for medium, and the third for heavy objects. A separate, semicircular collar, attached to a U-shaped bar supporting two chains terminating in hooks, supported the objects to be weighed. The movable weight is in the form of the bust of an empress. An unusual detail is the feline head at each end of the horizontal bar. They recall those on the wheel in the Andreadis collection (no. 329). (For similar steelyards with weights, see Ross, 1962, I, nos. 71, 73, 74).

Although the empress represented by this weight does not wear the pendulia, which Delbrueck (1933, pp. 229 ff., pls 122 ff.) associated with Licinia Eudoxia, the wife of Valentinian III, in other details she is closest to representations tentatively identified as that empress (see Ross, 1962, I, no. 72). According to Ross, this tradition of casting weights in the form of imperial busts may have suggested imperial endorsement (Ross, 1962, I, no. 71).

K. R. B.

Unpublished.





329 Wheel with seal

Eastern Mediterranean, 6th–7th century
Bronze
15.4, diam. 5.4 cm. ($6\frac{1}{16}$, $2\frac{1}{8}$ in.)
Athens, Collection of Mrs. R. Andreadis, Private Collection, no. 12

Large bronze stamps like this one were used for commercial or domestic purposes, such as stamping the stoppers of wine jars, or loaves of bread. Whereas seal rings, used for personal purposes, usually had a device, the stamps generally had only the name of the person using them. The letters on the stamps are most often in relief, producing impressions in intaglio (British Museum, 1929, pp. 185–186).

Bronze stamps were made in a variety of shapes (no. 565) but the wheel shape is most unusual. The wheel consists of two discs decorated in openwork with horseshoe arches. The arches resemble those on Early Christian tables for offerings (Athens, 1964, no. 530). The wheel's axis terminates in small lions' heads, to which a

Greek Π-shaped fork is attached. The ends of this fork are decorated with the forequarters of a ram and a bull sculpted in the round. Surmounting the handle is a human hand topped by a capital.

Around the wheel runs the inscription: XPICMA ΘΕΟΦΟΡΙΑΔΟC. Galavaris (to K. R. B., 4 February 1976) has translated it as: "A seal that belongs to one [a woman] who bears God [in herself]."

In the British Museum (1929, pp. 185–186) is a wheel from a similar seal. On both wheels, the inscription reads in the normal fashion, so that the imprint will be in reverse. This is apparently not unusual (Galavaris, 1970, pp. 38–39). A hand and bar from another such seal are in the de Menil collection.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Athens, 1964, no. 530.

330 Lions' heads

Probably Trier, 4th–6th century
Rock crystal
Each, 13 cm. ($5\frac{1}{8}$ in.)
Paris, Musée de Cluny, CL 615–CL 616

Found in a tomb on the banks of the Rhine, these magnificent rock crystal lions' heads—together with an ivory plaque found with them (Volbach, 1976, no. 78)—were thought to have come from a third- or fourth-century imperial chair or throne. Even though it has now been recognized that the lions' heads were carved at least a century earlier than the ivory plaque, their size and hollow interiors seem to support this view. Among the many uses of carved precious and semiprecious stones noted by Lantier (1941, pp. 140–145), this function seems the most plausible.

Although these are the only crystal lions' heads to have survived, monuments of the fourth to sixth century provide ample evidence that lions' heads were used on contemporary thrones. They appear on the top of the back uprights on the Hetoimasia throne in the early fifth-century mosaic of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome and on the imperial throne of the personification of Rome on the coins of Gratian, Valentinian, Theodosius, and



Honorius (Grabar, 1936, p. 215, pl. xxxv). The fact that these heads were found on the banks of the Rhine has led Bielefeld (1972, pp. 443–444) to propose that they were carved in Trier. Evidence that there was a workshop in Trier is provided by the agate bowl in Vienna, which is carved and signed by a Trier artist (“Die Achatschale,” 1953).

Although less plausible, it may be that these heads once adorned a *sella curulis* of the sixth century—for at that time the consul’s chair became more ornate: the cabriole legs of the seat now terminated in lions’ paws, and lions’ heads became a usual component of the decoration below the front seat rail (Delbrueck, 1929, pls. 9–12, 16–25, 32). According to Lenormant (1847–1849, I, p. 167), this association of lions with the *sella curulis* may have come about under the influence of Christian ideas, since, through its association with the throne of Solomon—just king *par excellence*—the lion is the emblem of justice. By the mid-sixth century the emperor, who was considered to be God’s representative on earth, had absorbed the office of the consul, and much of the

ritual of the consular ceremonies had been Christianized (Brown, 1967, pp. 95 ff.).

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bielefeld, 1972, pp. 395 f., 443–444.

331 Chariot mount with horse

Italy or Spain (?), 4th century

Bronze

17.8 × 14.6 cm. (7 × 5¾ in.)

Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, Gift of J. P.

Morgan, 1917.848

There are various theories for the use of chariot mounts; thus, the exact function of this and many others remains uncertain. Although de Aviles (1958) published this piece as a rein guide, Venedikov more convincingly explains this type as a support for a “shock absorber” (1960, pls. 65, 93).

Comparable mounts used in this fashion can be seen on a reconstruction of a Roman chariot in Cologne (Kölnisches Stadtmuseum). The orientation of this piece seems to indicate that it was used on the left side of the chariot.

The type—a double ring surmounted by a figure—is derived from the Middle East and ultimately from the ancient Near East (Rostovtzeff, 1962). The majority of chariot finds have been in Thrace and Pannonia (Seure, 1925; Venedikov, 1960).

The socket, which is flanked by S-shaped parts representing swans'-necks (cf. de Ridder, 1915, II, no. 1549) is decorated on the front with incised lines and tapers toward the top. Supported on the socket is a plinth surmounted by a horse walking to the left.

According to de Aviles (1958), this piece and a similar one now in the *Musées des Antiquités*

Nationales at Saint-Germain-en-Laye are the only surviving mounts with horses not found in Spain, where three such examples have been found. Among them, the one in Madrid (de Aviles, 1958, no. 4, fig. 16) provides the closest parallel for this piece. The Hartford piece was found in Rome and was probably cast either in Italy or in Spain. Both mounts are thought to be of the fourth century. Their elegance and boldly sculptural quality probably indicate their use on ceremonial chariots.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: de Aviles, 1958, pp. 20–21, fig. 7a, n. 86.

332 Tunic

Egypt, 4th century

Undyed linen and purple black wool

137.1 × 184.1 cm. (54 × 72½ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1926, 26.9.8



This elaborate—and well-preserved—tunic must have belonged to a wealthy individual. The clavi have pendant medallions; squares are placed at the shoulders and near the hem; and bands decorate the sleeves, neck, bottom hem, and sides at right angles to the hem band. Attached to the neck band are three semimedallions, each with a leaf-shaped pendant. As on the majority of Coptic tunics, these tapestry-woven decorations are in purple black wool and the subject matter is Hellenistic in inspiration. The clavi and the band at the hem contain warriors, animals, and vine stems within ovals, interrupted by rectangular panels with lions in undyed linen on a purple ground. The neck borders contain four medallions with warriors and the contiguous semimedallions present vases containing vines. Warriors occupy the leaf-shaped pendants. In the shoulder squares two goddesses or personifications are shown seated above two crouching female figures with bound hands. The seated figure on the left, apparently holding a cornucopia and wearing a turreted crown, is probably a city personification; the other is possibly a personification of the sea. The two figures below may depict Nereids or personifications of rivers. In the squares just above the



hem, medallions with lions and vines surround warriors.

From the middle of the third century on, the dead were buried immediately, fully clothed. To this new method of burial and to the dry climate of Egypt we owe the preservation of many Coptic textiles (Dimand, 1930, p. 239).

Although comparable fragments have been dated in the sixth century (du Bourguet, 1964, nos. C30, C33–34), the Metropolitan Museum tunic has traditionally been placed in the fourth century.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dimand, 1930, pp. 240–242, figs. 5–6, 13.

Architecture

Although late Roman religious structures, either as churches or as churches converted into mosques, have been preserved in considerable number, most secular buildings have decayed and vanished. Many flourishing cities in late Roman times, such as Milan, Thessalonike, Alexandria, and Constantinople, continue to prosper today, preventing systematic excavation. And where large-scale excavation has taken place, the focus has most often been on retrieving churches and synagogues. But, from the scattered evidence available, the pattern of civil construction that emerges shows that secular building continued to be much what it had been in the high imperial period, just as the character of everyday life stayed much the same.

The Roman world has been called an empire of cities. In the fourth century, the poet Ausonius wrote an apostrophe to twenty great cities beginning with Rome and ending with his native Bordeaux. Some of the twenty, like Rome and Athens, emerged from prehistory without conscious planning; others, like Alexandria and Antioch, were founded by Hellenistic kings according to fixed principles of gridiron planning like those underlying American cities; still others, like Trier and Carthage, were established or refounded along similar lines in the Roman Republican and early imperial periods. Only one of the twenty, Constantinople, was founded in the late Roman period, and it was established on the matrix of the earlier Greco-Roman Byzantium. The late Roman citizen lived surrounded by reminders of the past—monumental and mundane. With the exception of Rome, however, where Christian buildings did not invade the old ceremonial center until the sixth century, the late Roman city betrays its period by the prominence of Christian churches on the skyline. Philippi in Thrace (no. 333) offers a good illustration, as its vast second-century forum—initially surrounded by temples, offices, and shops—was sub-

sequently overshadowed by large churches, each of a different profile, erected around it.

If the period made no innovations in urban planning, it did see the reintroduction into the Mediterranean world of the walled city. In the halcyon days of the Pax Romana, cities of the heartland allowed their old walls to fall into disrepair. Rome itself outgrew its old walls. New cities as close to the frontier as Trier sprung up without walls. But the barbarian invasions of the second half of the third century broke the bubble of security surrounding Roman cities, and new walls were erected, as in Rome, or walls were rebuilt on earlier foundations, as at Philippi. Thereafter, entering a late Roman city was not an experience of gradually increasing density and congestion, but a ritual passage from without to within through large daunting gates, as in the old capital (no. 334) and in the new (no. 335).

Everyday life within the walls was organized around three nodes: the agora or forum, the circus, and the home. The fora and agorai of old cities continued in use, usually peacefully, but, at least on one occasion in the fifth century, the Forum of Peace in Rome was the site of a pitched battle between two opposing Christian factions. At Constantinople new fora were constructed, ultimately at least six in number. These were strung like beads along the Mese, the new capital's major street. Although they were surrounded by porticoes and contained honorific monuments like columns, they were not enclosed within the high walls that were characteristic of the imperial fora of the old capital.

Among recreational buildings, the bath continued a favorite center of social resort. Many older baths were still used, and new ones were built, although, as far as is known, none could rival those of the high imperial period in size. Baths at Trier and at Antioch, however, show that their formal, symmetrical disposition survived into the late Roman period (fig. 40).

But the asymmetrical, less rigidly planned Scholastika Baths at Ephesus (no. 336) may represent a more widespread type, which is based on the earlier neighborhood bath, or *balneum*, as distinguished from the monumental *thermae*.

The hippodrome was even more important than the bath, at least in capital cities, because its fans were even more rabid than those of modern spectator sports. As the circus was the one place the man in the street was sure of a glimpse of the emperor, whose government or whose officials supported the games, the racecourse straddled the world of everyday life and that of the court. The hippodrome's attenuated hairpin form and its accouterments had long before achieved their definitive forms.

The dwelling was the one place, outside of church, where master and mistress, freedman and slave were bound to meet. Sites such as Ephesus in Asia Minor (no. 337), Stobi in southern Yugoslavia (no. 339), and Ostia, Rome's seaport (no. 338), offer excellent views of the late Roman city dwelling of the ruling class and the upper bourgeoisie. So far no slum has been excavated, but in such a socially unjust society they must have existed. They need not have been exceptionally large, as domestic slaves lived in odd corners or underneath the roofs of their masters' houses and the journeyman slave may have lived at the shop. Small merchants and their servile surrogates commonly lived over the store, as one sees in the shops before the hillside houses of Ephesus (no. 337).

The most widespread late Roman city dwelling was an independent house, organized around a small peristyle, which formed one element in a densely built-up block. It was a continuation of the Hellenistic peristyle house, but conditions of terrain and local economy produced variations on the basic theme. At Ephesus, for example, the sloping site required the construction of artificial terraces upon which the two-storied houses were built. Their rooms were functionally differentiated, and some of the dwellings included private bath suites. These amenities and the lively painted wall decoration, some of which is pictorial and some imitation marble revetment, demonstrate the houses to have been occupied by the affluent upper middle class.

The houses of Ephesus are those of a prosperous late Roman city; the houses at Ostia provide a picture

of life in a contemporary city in decline. The old port of Rome, because of silting of the Tiber River's mouth, lost its economic position to a new harbor town to the north of the city. As the population declined, the large, multifamily, multistoried tenements that housed the city's work force in the bustling second century fell vacant. In the fourth and fifth centuries certain rich families took the opportunity offered by reduced real-estate values to alter some of these tenements into large townhouses (no. 338). It may well have been such a remodeled house where St. Augustine and his mother, St. Monica, stopped on their return from Milan to North Africa and where she died. By erecting new partitions and demolishing old ones, a new plan was created in these houses that brought one into the house by a deliberately screened, off-axis entrance so unlike the axial portals of the old Romano-Pompeian house type. A vestibule gave onto a court, which often was focused on a disproportionately large and richly appointed fountain. Social rooms, as at Ephesus, gave onto the court and afforded views of the fountain. There was always one principal reception room, frequently apsidal, which contained the house's richest decoration, usually a patterned marble floor and wainscot. The resulting effect of the house was one of color, of dappled light and shade, and of cascading water. But it was all a patchwork elegance, a grubbing among the *disiecta membra* of the past; the house was a makeshift mansion, paved and sheathed with marble that was often purloined from abandoned cemeteries, whose epitaphs were set face down in the floors.

The Ephesian and Ostian houses were comfortable and attractive, but they were not grand. At Stobi, however, is a genuinely noble late Roman town mansion, the so-called Theodosian Palace (no. 339). Its entrance is as inauspicious as those at the other two sites, and gives no clue to the interior magnificence until one is actually in the large and showy peristyle. Unlike rooms in Hellenistic or even Roman houses, these rooms have no axial relationship to the central court. Notable among them is the apsed hall in which the master of the house surely received his clients, a reflection of the audience halls of genuine palaces, and the triclinium, whose mosaic floor pattern reflects the U-shaped dining couch that once ran along three of its walls. The great wall fountain that

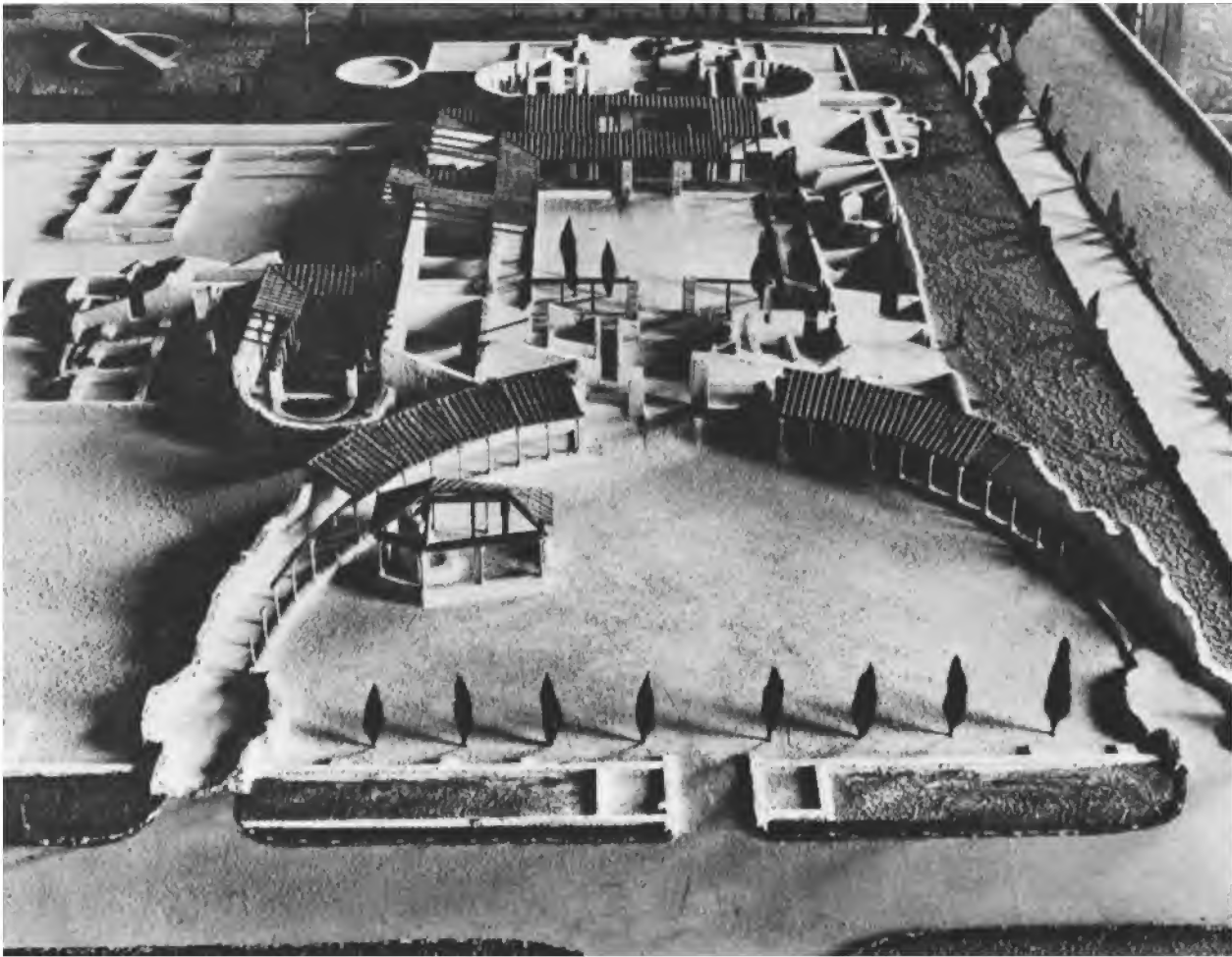


FIG. 41 *Model of villa at Montmaurin.* Constructed by Claude Bassier in collaboration with Georges Fouet

filled the entire southeast side of the court is not only the most impressive feature of the house but, even more than the fountains at Ostia, is evidence that the art of water display, which had reached such a degree of sophistication in the high imperial period, had not been lost in late Roman times.

Another building in Ostia combines features of domestic and public architecture (no. 340). Facing the old seashore, it has been identified by its excavator as a late Roman corporation house that was destroyed around 390 before its decoration was complete. A Roman corporation resembled a modern club whose membership is based on a common trade or profession or on patriotism. The corporation house, therefore, was like a private house with enlarged social rooms. Of particular note is the hall open to the seashore

through an arcade that was totally sheathed in a polychromatic marble revetment of superbly rendered abstract, floral, and figural motifs. It is difficult to imagine an individual owner of less than consular rank affording so costly a decor, but the membership of the corporation, perhaps drawn from the owners of the rich townhouses, could collectively create this sumptuous setting for their reunions, which took place beneath an austere marble image of the blessing Christ (no. 468).

Since late Republican times the Roman upper class had spent much of its time in luxurious villas in the suburbs or in the countryside. In late antiquity, as earlier, the taste for villa life was more developed in the Latin West than in the Greek East. The villa at Piazza Armerina in Sicily (no. 105) is unique in the

seemingly deliberate helter-skelter juxtaposition of its constituent elements, which are consistently regular within themselves. Its off-axis entrance resembles those found in contemporary townhouses and may be an authentically late Roman characteristic. Piazza Armerina also differs from villas of earlier times in taking no advantage of distant prospects and vistas. Rather, it is wholly internally focused.

Villas of such magnificence in the late Roman age were not restricted to imperial ownership, for, at least in the generally tranquil fourth century, villas continued to be erected throughout western Europe

by the rich members of the provincial aristocracy. The recently excavated villa at Montmaurin in southwestern France (fig. 41) with its enormous semi-circular portico and its axial enfilade of peristyle and reception rooms, so unlike Piazza Armerina, matches the splendor of the Trianons of Hadrian's famous villa near Tivoli. Until the barbarian incursions of the fifth century rendered such establishments untenable, Romans of means enjoyed the aesthetic pleasures of country life, just as Horace had done in the Golden Age.

ALFRED FRAZER

*333 City of Philippi, Greece

14 km. (8.4 miles) north of Kavalla (Neapolis)

The city bears the name of Philip II of Macedon, who in 357/356 B.C. brought the then gold-mining town under Macedonian hegemony. Under Roman rule after 167 B.C., it became a Roman colony in 42 B.C. following the defeat of Caesar's assassins at the Battle of Philippi. The city's prosperity in Roman times was due to its position on the Via Egnatia, the east-west highway that linked the Bosphorus and Asia with the Adriatic coast and Italy. Within the walls outlining a roughly trapezoidal area, with an acropolis at its northern tip, the city was organized in the characteristically Greco-Roman orthogonal plan. By the end of the prosperous second century, Philippi exhibited most of the civic amenities found in Roman provincial cities, such as a forum surrounded by temples, municipal offices, a library and shops; a theater tucked—in Greek fashion—into a hillside; public baths; and a gymnasium for the training of youth of the privileged class.

The low, unexciting profile of the pagan cityscape was broken, after the triumph of Christianity, by a succession of large, elaborately decorated, and diversely designed churches. Philippi was the first city in Europe in which St. Paul preached the gospel (about A.D. 50); he revisited it several times. His Epistle to the Philippians is testimony to his concern for the Christian community, which by the time of Constantine must have been large. Even had not the modern excavations at Philippi by French and Greek archaeologists concentrated on its churches, they would be its most conspicuous features. On the hill to the north of the main east-west street were two large basilicas; the better known, Basilica A, was of the timber-roofed, cross-transept type preceded by a forecourt and an atrium with an elaborately colonnaded fountain for ablutions. Both basilicas were probably built around 500.

South of the high street and east of the forum,



an octagonal church, of only slightly later date, has recently been discovered. Replacing an apparently three-aisled basilica of the early fifth century, it was part of a larger complex, comprising a pedimented propylon on the high street, an inner colonnaded street leading to the Octagon, a baptistery, a bath, and what its excavator identifies as the episcopal palace.

Finally, south of the forum, Philippi's largest church, Basilica B, was built shortly before 540 on the site of the earlier gymnasium and a market. A cross-transept basilica, it was covered by a brick dome and vaults. This feature and its architectural sculpture link it with Justinianic buildings in Constantinople.

The Christian buildings of the fifth and sixth centuries mark the city's short-lived apogee. Basilica A was destroyed by earthquake, perhaps as early as the sixth century, and the vaults of Basilica B collapsed soon after their construction and were never restored. Philippi passed out of history in the tenth century.

A. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lemerle, 1945, pp. 284–513; Pelekanides, 1958–1974.

No. 334, *Porta S. Sebastiano*



*334 *Porta S. Sebastiano*

Rome, begun A.D. 271, remodeled 4th and 5th centuries

Max. L. about 30 m. (98 ft. 5 in.)

In its present form, the *Porta S. Sebastiano* (or *Porta Appia*, as it was originally known) comprises a single arched gateway and two flanking towers, rectangular at the bottom and U-shaped above. The bases of the towers and the curtain wall between them are revetted with marble blocks; elsewhere the concrete structure is faced with reused bricks and roof tiles.

The gate was initially constructed as part of the fortified wall that was built around the city by the emperor Aurelian. The wall was a colossus: a solid, battlemented mass about 12 feet thick, 20 feet high, and 12 miles long. It had eighteen principal gates, of which four, spanning the major roads, were distinguished by size from the rest: *Appia*, *Flaminia*, *Ostiensis*, and *Portuensis*. As plainly functional as the wall itself, *Porta Appia* was two stories high, with a travertine curtain and twin, brick-faced semicircular towers.

In a second building phase, possibly sponsored by Maxentius, the wall was more than doubled in height, and many gates and towers were remodeled. At *Porta Appia*, masonry applied to the original towers created two enormous U-shaped bastions, about 70 feet high; each had five stories, with artillery in the third. Grand and formidable, *Porta Appia* now resembled the monumental gateways of such northern cities as Turin and Trier. Except for nearby *Porta Asinaria*, no other Roman gate was accorded such treatment; and it is probably significant that the route between Rome and Maxentius' villa and circus (no. 100) passed through it.

Repairs to the wall between 401 and 404, under the emperors Honorius and Arcadius, brought yet a third transformation of *Porta Appia*. Massive rectangular casings were applied to the towers to counteract cracking. The original travertine curtain was replaced; the new one had only one gateway for easier defense. Marble facing was put on the tower buttresses and on the curtain, creating a noble yet austere facade. The imposing Honorian *Porta Appia* may have been echoed in similar gates erected slightly later in the new wall of Constantinople (no. 335).



No. 335, *land walls*

*335 Land walls

Constantinople (Istanbul), about 408–413

L. 6.44 km. (4 miles)

Later alterations of the gate included internal remodelings of the towers, to eliminate their heavy vaults, and the addition of a final story to both towers and curtain. Merlons were added as late as the nineteenth century.

The original construction and successive alterations of the wall of Rome represented responses to threatened invasions by ever more sophisticated foes: Germanic tribes in 271, Constantine before 312, Goths around 401 and again in 536. Remarkably, this series of *ad hoc* and often frantic measures produced a wall that was not only a military success (never breached, except through treachery, until 1870), but also—as one sees most clearly at Porta Appia—of lasting architectural value.

D. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nash, 1968, II, pp. 198–199; Richmond, 1930.

When Constantine dedicated the new capital in 330, the city was surrounded by a circuit wall; all trace of it has now vanished. Constantine was more successful, perhaps, than he had envisaged in attracting inhabitants to his new capital, and within half a century the city had far outgrown its limits. Under Theodosius II, and perhaps as early as about 408, a new land wall was begun by Anthemius, praetorian prefect of the East, and it was completed in 413. Extensive stretches of this wall still stand, one of the most impressive sights of modern-day Istanbul and of the entire Late Antique world.

The land walls were erected over a mile to the west of the Constantinian walls. They stretched from the Sea of Marmara to the Golden Horn. They consisted of five tiered parts: an inner wall (the main defense), a terrace, an outer wall, an embankment, and a ditch. The inner wall was 16

feet thick and 36 feet high and had battered sides, a parapet, battlements, and 96 square or polygonal towers 79 feet high placed at intervals of 164 to 230 feet. Each tower was built against the wall, on the Hellenistic model, and consisted of two stories, both vaulted, the upper one of which, entered from the parapet of the wall, contained munitions and housed guards. A terrace 48 feet broad separated the inner and outer walls. The latter was 26 feet high and only $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick; it, too, had 96 towers. Outside this wall was an embankment, and a stone-lined ditch or moat 59 feet broad, about 23 feet deep, and divided by sluices was situated 39 feet to 49 feet to the west of the wall.

The walls were pierced by seven major and four subsidiary gates, each flanked by twin towers. The most famous was the Golden Gate, through which victorious emperors entered the city. It consisted of two huge square towers flanking a triple entry and was faced with marble on its outer side. In about 425 Theodosius II had its bronze valves gilded, hence its name. On the north side of the main and advanced wall there were many smaller gateways.

The walls are built in the regional technique of bands of brickwork alternating regularly with wider bands of coursed rubble, laid in thick mortar (cf. no. 107).

The system of fortifications apparently represents an innovation, yet the theory underlying the design can be traced ultimately to Philon of Byzantium (third century B.C.), who recommended that three moats of prescribed breadth should be arranged in front of the main wall. The Theodosian builders transformed the outer fortification into an actual wall and heightened the main wall. Philon advised that the first line of defense should lie some 525 feet in front of the wall, but at Constantinople only some 180 feet separates the outer edge of the ditch and the main wall. This difference is explained by the significant decline in the efficiency of artillery, and was compensated for by solid construction and three lines of defense, one above the other.

Many times damaged by earthquake, the walls were kept in good repair until the last assault on the city in 1453.

W. E. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: van Millingen, 1899, pp. 40–177; Lietzmann, 1929, pp. 1–33; Krischen, 1938; Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 1943; Speck, 1973.

*336 Baths of Scholastikia

Ephesus, end 4th century
13,751 sq. m. (148,015 sq. ft.)

These baths were named for a Christian woman who, late in the fourth century, paid for their reconstruction. From the beginning of the second century the baths had stood on the sloping north side of the Street of the Kuretes, a major artery of the city (cf. no. 337). This thermal complex illustrates the changes made in late antiquity in both the design and the functions of the palaestra, exercise grounds, and chambers for education and social purposes, as well as chambers for the multiple bath procedure of cold, warm, and hot bathing of the typical Roman imperial bath.

Because of their location at a bend in the Kuretes Street, the baths have an asymmetrical plan. The earlier bath included a two-storied structure that is identified by inscription as a brothel. Franz Miltner, the excavator of the site, believed that the rooms on the upper floor were reserved for the prostitutes and the main hall on the ground floor for visitors. This hall included a common dining room (*paidiskeion*) carpeted with a mosaic pavement and a chamber that evidently served for the common bath of lovers. When the brothel was restored under Scholastikia's sponsorship, it apparently continued to serve its original purpose until the sack of the town in the seventh century.

The renovated bath was entered from Kuretes Street by a broad marble staircase alongside the Temple of Hadrian built into the south facade of the complex and leading to the upper story. The visitor first entered a large L-shaped chamber that served as the reception room. The south end of the northwest arm of the reception hall—115 by 28 feet—terminated in an apse that was probably pierced by a large window overlooking the landscape to the south; the walls to the east and west had niches, one of which contained a marble statue of the seated donor Scholastikia resting on an inscribed base. From that room one walked north to a nearly square chamber lined with benches that served as the changing room (*apodyterium*). To the west was the cold bath (*frigidarium*), provided with an elliptical basin. Two large rooms to the north of the *frigidarium* were hot baths (*caldaria*). North of them was the steamroom (*sudatorium*), whose substructure was dotted with

brick supports, between which hot air circulated. To the west lay the firechambers that provided hot air. From the sudatorium one proceeded south to a chamber for massage and anointing.

The asymmetrically arranged Baths of Scholastikia bear little resemblance to earlier imperial bath complexes in Ephesus (e.g., the symmetrically laid out Baths of Vadius of the mid-second century) but illustrate the norm of usage at other sites in Asia Minor far more closely (e.g., the mid-second century Baths of Faustina in Miletus). Since the Baths of Scholastikia provided only a single basin for the cold bath and emphasized the hot baths, it represents part of the gradual transition from the triple bathing procedure of the early empire to the single one of the Byzantine bath, which is essentially the same type as the Turkish bath.

W. E. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Miltner, 1955, cols. 36–40; Miltner, 1956, cols. 17–25; Miltner, 1959, cols. 250–278; Miltner, 1960, cols. 2–11; Vetter (1), 1974, pp. 223–224.



Plan of no. 336

*337 Blocks of townhouses

Ephesus, 1st–7th century A.D.

Eastern block 74.7 × 54.6, 46.5 × 50.1 m.

(245 × 179, 152 ft. 6 in. × 164 ft. 4 in.);

2540 sq. m. (27,340 sq. ft.)

Ephesus, one of the oldest Greek settlements on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor, was moved to a new site around 290 B.C. by the Hellenistic diadoch Lysimachus. The new city, laid out in the gridiron of streets typical of planned Greek cities, comprised two parts: a lower half at harborside and an upper half on a plateau some 147 feet above sea level. The two halves were linked by a monumental artery, called the Street of the Kuretes, whose diagonal path was dictated by the narrow defile between the two hills that divide the city in two.

Under Roman rule since 133 B.C., Ephesus became the capital of the province of Asia in 29 B.C. and entered a period of great prosperity. This was reflected in sumptuous buildings erected throughout the city in the first two centuries A.D. Major buildings rose at the head, the foot, and along the northern side of the Street of the Kuretes (no. 336). Recent Austrian excavations have revealed that the precipitous slope on the street's southern side (maximum rise over 75 feet) was occupied by two blocks of townhouses. This intensive occupation, replacing earlier isolated dwellings, began in the Augustan period. As the result of recurring earthquakes, the houses experienced many phases, but they continued to be densely occupied, rebuilt, remodeled, and redecorated through the late Roman period until their destruction and general abandonment in the second decade of the seventh century after an especially destructive earthquake.

The dwellings in the two blocks excavated vary from hovels in the vaulted basements of the eastern block to a mansion of some ten thousand square feet in the same block and were occupied by every level of the Ephesian population from slaves and impoverished freemen to the very rich. They vividly document the vast social and economic inequality of late Roman society.

A peristyle formed the core of the most characteristic plan of the middle and upper class dwelling of the period. Reception rooms and dining rooms opened irregularly on to it. Other necessary chambers also opened onto the court or were placed on a second floor. A more elaborate house could

contain more than one court and even a private bath. But even the most modest dwelling was supplied with water and a drainage system.

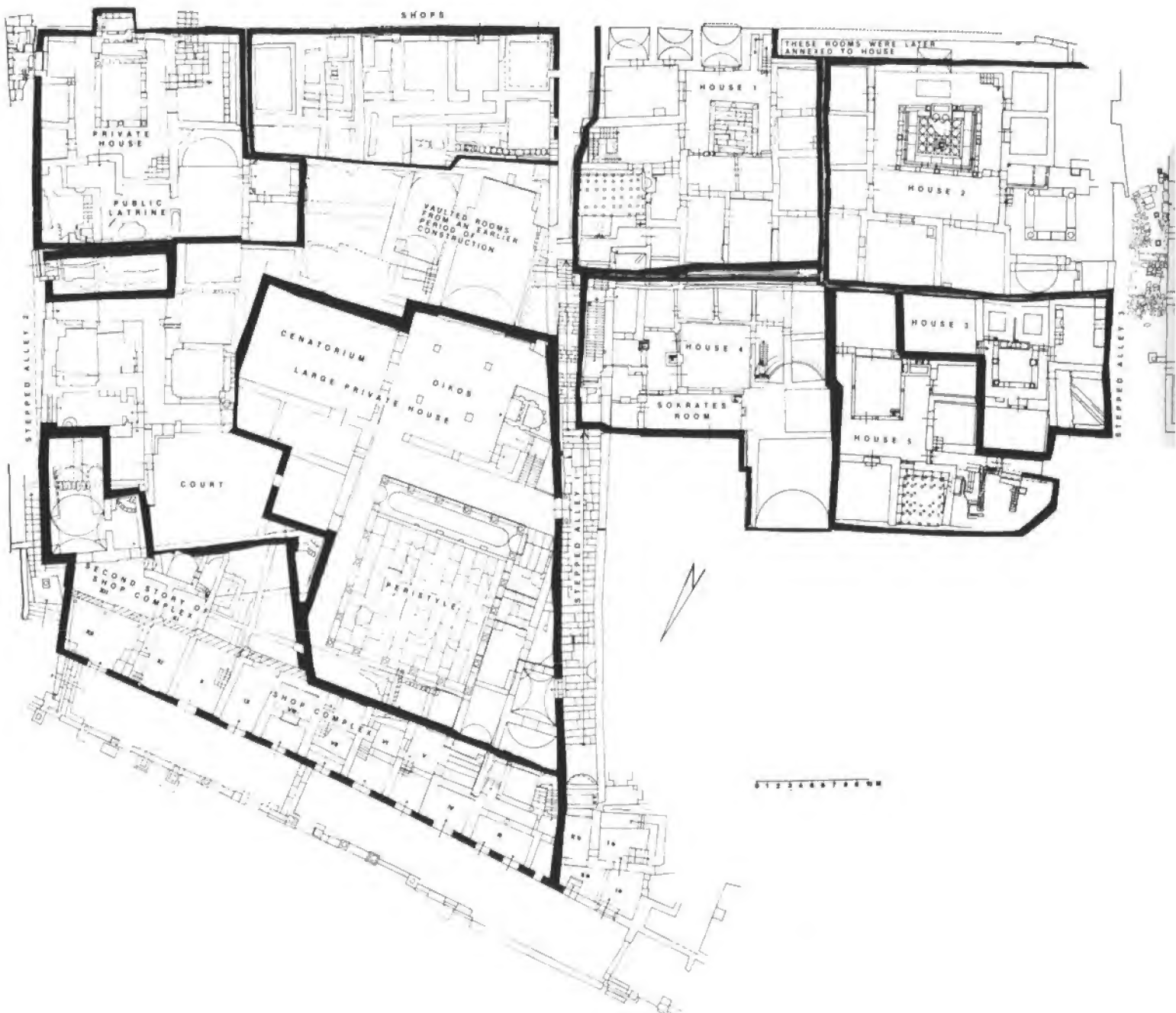
The Ephesian houses, although conditioned by the steep terrain, clearly belonged to the traditional peristyle house, documented from Hellenistic times at nearby Priene and on Delos. But they represent the adaptation of the type to conform to the demands of the heavily built-up block of the Roman period, while they clearly differ from the multifamily block constructed in Rome. In the

character of the main social rooms and in the predilection for elaborate fountains, late Roman parallels are found in Antioch and Ostia. The floors were of marble plaques or mosaic. The walls were painted and repainted in forms that are extensions of the modes earlier documented in Rome and the buried cities of Campania. But over the centuries, as elsewhere in the late Roman world, figure painting gave way in house decoration to marble revetment or, more frequently, to its painted imitation.

A. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vetters (2), 1974.

Plan of no. 337



*338 House of Cupid and Psyche

Ostia, late 4th century (?)

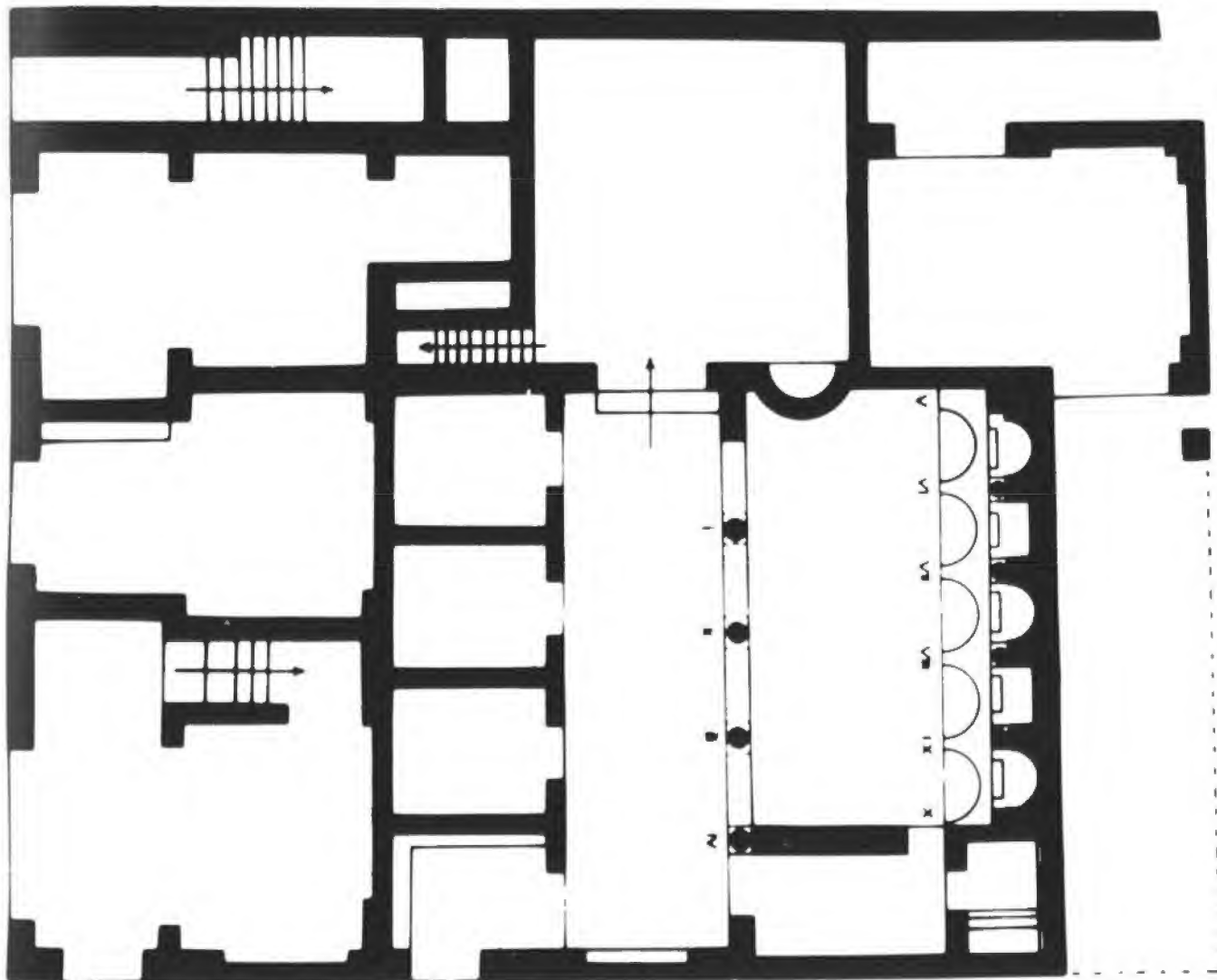
Max. interior plan without shops about 13.5 × 19.5 m. (44 ft. 4 in. × 64 ft.)

The second century brought great mercantile prosperity to Ostia, the seaport of Rome. Commercial buildings dominated the central districts, and everyone, rich and poor, lived in land-intensive apartment houses (insulae). The third century saw an equally dramatic decline. Rents fell, buildings decayed, and by 300 some insulae had been abandoned. A small but vigorous aristocracy was

able to take advantage of this situation. By purchasing the apartment shells and transforming parts of them into luxurious single-family dwellings (domus), they made of Ostia an elegant resort.

The House of Cupid and Psyche, named for a marble statue found in one of its rooms, is an especially charming example of the late domus. It was erected within a ruined, second-century insula with ground-floor shops, of which the western three were retained and enlarged in the remodeling. The other early walls were mostly eliminated, to be replaced by new partitions in a masonry of brick courses alternating with single rows of tufa blocks. Today the walls survive to a height of approximately 6½ feet; where they

Plan of no. 338



stand higher, they are modern reconstructions.

The entrance to the house, near the middle of the south facade, opened into a vestibule with benches along two walls and a doorway in the third. A broad corridor led from the vestibule to the principal room, passing three smaller, two-storied rooms on the west, and, on the east, a four-columned arcade, beyond which was a garden (viridarium). Forming the east wall of the garden was a nymphaeum (architectural fountain), a characteristic feature of the dwellings of the rich in late antiquity (cf. no. 339). The nymphaeum had five mosaic-covered niches, framed by columns and standing on a podium faced with marble. Water spilled from pipes in the upper niches, was channeled to spouts on the podium, and finally splashed into a basin. Another, simpler fountain stood in an alcove in the main room. This room and others on the ground floor had elaborate marble paving and wall revetment. The combination of running water and marble surfaces must have made the interior of the house very cool—especially pleasant in the summer.

The ornamentation of houses like this one reflected, in miniature, the decoration of the grandest imperial (no. 102) and Christian (no. 247) buildings of the age. Like them, the House of Cupid and Psyche was externally unpretentious, splendid within. Inner surfaces were similarly flat and shining with colorful marbles, mosaics, and painted plaster. More peculiar to domestic architecture (cf. no. 105) was the insistence on the picturesque effects of asymmetry and surprise: note the disorienting 90 degree turns between street, vestibule, and inner corridor, as well as the disposition of the garden arcade, aligned neither with the doorways across the corridor nor with the niches of the nymphaeum. Another characteristic was the abundance of water, probably for show as much as for aesthetic effect.

The house is of the late fourth, or possibly early fifth century, depending on the disputed dates of the "schematic" composite capitals (with uncut acanthus leaves) used in the nymphaeum and the arcade. It is one of about a dozen roughly contemporary houses discovered in Ostia so far, all reflecting a pleasure in varied and unpredictable layouts and a taste for expensive, even ostentatious, decor.

D. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Becatti, 1948, pp. 102–128; Packer, 1967; Boyle, 1972, pp. 259–260; Meiggs, 1973, pp. 260–261, 552; Pensabene, 1973, nos. 481–487.

*339 Theodosian Palace and House of Parthenius

Stobi, 4th–5th century

Plan 57.93 × 42.07 m. (190 × 138 ft.); larger

residence 57.93 × 23.48 m. (190 × 77 ft.)

A Hellenistic foundation at the crossroads between the Aegean world and the central Balkans, some 100 miles north of Thessalonike, Stobi became a prosperous community in the first century, when it attained the rank of municipium. By the fourth century it had its own bishop, and in 386 it became the capital of Macedonia Secunda. In 388 the emperor Theodosius I sojourned at Stobi.

Stobi's most elegant late Roman residential block comprises two mansions, occupying the entire city block, which are today called the Theodosian Palace and the House of Parthenius. The walls stand to a height of from 3 to 10 feet.

The plans of both mansions are L-shaped and are grouped round a peristyle with colonnades on two adjacent sides. Both peristyles contain a large rectangular basin with niches for statues in the wall above. The larger peristyle, in the Theodosian Palace, has seven niches framed by columns of green marble. Within the basin are eight spiral fluted pedestals that once supported statues. The columns in the peristyle were reused and vary in height, but the capitals were apparently of uniform size, type, and material—a grayish white marble. The pavement of the peristyle was of coarsely cut stone and marble fragments forming a geometric pattern, that of its porticoes, mosaics in a geometric pattern. The structure may have been two-storied north and south of the peristyle. Three of the four rooms to the northwest of the peristyle were lavishly appointed with marble facades, opus sectile, and, against a wall in one room, four columns raised on a platform. These rooms may have served as a library, a museum, and social halls. The apsidal triclinium to the west of the peristyle was ornamented with an opus



sectile pavement, marble revetments on the lower walls, and mosaics and frescoes above.

The Theodosian Palace is now attributed to the second half of the fourth century. The House of Parthenius is either coeval or slightly later in date. Named after the Greek inscription on a wheel stamp found in it, the House of Parthenius shares a same wall with the Theodosian Palace but does not communicate with it. Both residences are constructed of rough stonework with occasional brick fragments; their arches were built of brick. But the decoration differs. In the House of Parthenius the niches above the water basin against the west wall of the peristyle were carved from a local green sandstone. The columns, which are uniform in size and of the same green stone, carry red marble capitals crowned by green impostes with either crosses or rosettes on the short sides.

Differing fundamentally from the type of town-house preserved at Pompeii, the plan of both residences derives from the Greek Hellenistic model. Major points of comparison mark houses and villas of the third to sixth century in North Africa (e.g., the villa at Leptis Magna), Syria (e.g., the villa at Daphne-Harbie, outside of Antioch-on-the-Orontes), Asia Minor (e.g., Ephesus, see no. 337), Italy (e.g., at Ostia), and Germany (e.g., the Legate's House in Vetera [Xanten]). Unlike the houses in Ephesus and the typical Roman insulae,

neither residence in Stobi had any shops (*tabernae*) along the streets.

The rich display of columns, pools, niches, statuary—much of it *spolia*—and mosaics and revetment of these peristyle houses documents the character of upper middle class life and material wealth that was common throughout the Late Antique world.

W. E. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nestorović, 1936; Petković, 1937; Kitzinger, 1946, pp. 118–128; Wiseman, 1973, pp. 44–49.

*340 Guild Hall

Ostia, about 390

Decorated room $7.8 \times 7.45 \times 6.7$ m.

(about $26 \times 24 \times 22$ ft.); exedra: $7.5 \times 6 \times$

3.9 m. (about $25 \times 20 \times 13$ ft.)

Unique among the archaeological discoveries at Ostia is a room excavated in 1959, the walls of which were entirely covered with *opus sectile*, an ancient decorative technique lavishly used in late antiquity. The Ostian building contained the most complete ensemble of *opus sectile* yet found in western Europe, and it is of exceptionally fine quality.

The room was part of an enlargement of a second-century building located outside the Porta Marina (Sea Gate), directly overlooking the beach. The remodeled building was L-shaped, with an entrance in the northeast corner. From there an imposing vestibule led to a partially colonnaded courtyard, open toward the sea. The other, western wing comprised: the decorated room, probably an assembly hall, with flanking pairs of smaller rooms; a stairway leading to a partial second story; a second, even larger hall, with a rectangular exedra and two flanking chambers. More rooms existed farther westward, but the sea has washed them away.

The entire western wing was built in the fourth century, in the characteristic masonry of alternating courses of brick and tufa (cf. no. 100). Coins found in the decorated room prove that its ornament was being executed about 385–393. With the lowest zone of wall revetment and the pave-



Restoration drawing of no. 340 (M. A. Ricciardi)

ment still unfinished, the room mysteriously collapsed. Fortunately, both side walls fell inward, so that their revetment was preserved, though shattered, and could be reassembled.

The room was entered through a triple arcade in its south wall. A door and a window were in the east wall, and a rectangular exedra was at the northern end. The opus sectile on the lateral walls contained five zones: large rectangles surrounded by rhombs, peltas, and other ornamental shapes; a floreate rinceau frieze; a narrow frieze with rosettes and geometric designs; architectural fantasies framing depictions of paired lions (on the east wall) and tigresses attacking harts; and rectangular panels with geometric designs. On the east wall also appeared two human busts: a youth in a medallion to the left of the door, and Christ, bearded and making a blessing gesture, over the central rectangle of the first zone (see no. 468).

Simulated pilasters with exquisite floral scrolls covered the antae flanking the exedra. On the three walls of the exedra itself were displayed: a variegated checkerboard pattern, a dentil frieze

rendered in perspective, and a startling simulation of opus mixtum, a facing for concrete walls combining bricks and opus reticulatum, which had not been used in Ostia for centuries. Above a frieze of veined yellow marble, the exedra had a flat mosaic-covered ceiling, representing golden vine scrolls on a background of tones of blue.

Because the building's preserved parts lack domestic facilities, it is thought to have been designed for a society, a patriotic or professional guild. It has been suggested that the youthful portrait represents a benefactor of the group, possibly the sponsor of the room. The society must have been Christian, because of the bust of Christ; but the otherwise mostly ornamental opus sectile gives no indication that the room was used for cult purposes. Perhaps, as has been suggested, ceremonial dinners were served at couches placed in the exedra. Several questions about the room remain unanswered, including the reason for its destruction and the meaning, if any, of the representational motifs in its decor.

D. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Becatti, 1969; Frazer, 1971; Bielefeld, 1972, p. 420; Meiggs, 1973, pp. 588–589; Stern (1), 1973.

IV

THE JEWISH REALM

Representational Art

The Second Commandment, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image . . ." (Exod. 20:4), did not deter the Jews from expressing their beliefs artistically. Even during the time of Moses, the Second Commandment was evidently understood together with its complementary verse, "Thou shalt not bow down to them nor serve them" (Exod. 20:5). Thus, God ordered Moses to install in the Holy of Holies of the sanctuary images of two cherubim above the Ark of the Covenant, between whom God dwelt (Exod. 25:18–22). The Temple of Solomon was likewise adorned with images of cherubim (1 Kings 6:23–29) and twelve oxen carrying the Molten Sea (1 Kings 7:24–26).

Ever since, the Jews have created images, except when there was a danger that the nation would turn to idolatry or when they lived under iconophobic rule. A typical example of the first case is the period of persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes, the Seleucid Hellenistic king of the second century B.C., who forced the Jews to worship pagan idols. This was the direct cause of the Hasmonaean revolt, which resulted in a strong revulsion against Hellenistic culture, mainly in its physical and visual manifestations. The second case is illustrated by the Jews' abstention from the use of human images on religious objects under Islamic rule. The Moslems interpreted the Second Commandment as prohibition from representing images on religious artifacts, but not on secular ones.

The wealth of artistic material produced and used by the Jews in the Late Antique period includes wall paintings, floor mosaics, sculptured objects, and household artifacts. Representational and narrative scenes are incorporated in this group, as well as decorative and symbolic elements. Since the discovery in the 1930s of the third-century painted synagogue of Dura Europos on the Euphrates, Syria (no. 341), and the sixth-century floor mosaic of the

synagogue of Beth Alpha in the Beth Shean valley, Israel (no. 343), the existence of Jewish narrative art in the Late Antique and early Middle Ages can hardly be disputed.

An example of a narrative scene is the David lifting his sling to kill Goliath embossed on a clay lamp, probably used in a Jewish home in Alexandria (no. 352). The scene was probably chosen to encourage a depressed Jewish community, which was weakened and oppressed after the many uprisings against the Roman emperors during the first half of the second century. Another example of a biblical episode appears between 193 and 253 on a coin from Apamea in Phrygia, representing Noah and his wife leaving the ark (no. 350). The coin was produced by a proud, Greek-speaking community that believed a section of the ark to be in its possession. Another example is a picture of the Judgment of Solomon, enacted by pygmies, which was found painted on the wall of a house in Pompeii (fig. 42).

Biblical scenes must therefore have been used by Hellenized Jews to adorn monumental and minor art objects during the Late Antique period, in the East as well as in the West. In most cases such narrative scenes were dependent on earlier representations of mythological or historical scenes in Greek art. The artist of Solomon's judgment could have used as a model a similar judgment of the legendary wise Egyptian king, Bocchoris, giving it a Jewish interpretation. In the same way, the story of David could have been modeled on the story of one of the Greek heroes. The classical episodes were probably adapted from sketch and model books with conventional gestures to illustrate biblical episodes. In turn, illustrated scrolls and codices of the Bible text or biblical picture books without any text could have served as convenient models.

The use of a manuscript as a model is suggested by the inclusion of more than one scene within a

single composition. A representation of this kind occurs on the coin from Apamea, where Noah and his wife are depicted twice, once within the ark and once standing by it (no. 350). Third and fourth scenes are implied by the appearance of both the raven and the dove on top of the ark. Such an assemblage of scenes was fairly common during the Late Antique

pictures of the finding of Moses, episodes from the Books of Esther and Ezekiel, and the depiction of the Exodus from Egypt and the crossing of the Red Sea (Exod. 13:17–14:29; fig. 43). This latter depiction has four scenes reading from right to left within a wide, rectangular frame: the armed Israelites leaving Egypt; a very large figure of Moses lifting his rod



FIG. 42 *Fresco with Judgment of Solomon from Pompeii.*

Naples, Museo Nazionale

period and indicates the conflation of consecutive scenes into a single one in an attempt to create a symbolic or monumental representation.

The Dura Europos synagogue, of the mid-third century (no. 341), contains many examples of combined scenes that point to models with more detailed narrative cycles depending on texts, possibly illustrated manuscripts. Examples are the conflated

to cleave the sea; the reunited sea, in which the Egyptians are drowning, while another figure of Moses points with his rod to the middle of the sea; and a third figure of Moses pointing to the twelve paths into which the sea was cleaved for the passage of the Israelites. It is therefore clear that the artist of Dura used a model with several consecutive

FIG. 43 *Fresco with Exodus from Egypt and crossing of the Red Sea, from Dura Europos synagogue.*

Damascus, National Museum



episodes depicting the story of Exodus, rearranging their sequence. By placing the drowning Egyptians in the center, he avoided showing the Israelites advancing toward the reunited sea. The reversed position of the scenes stresses the individuality of each scene in the artist's model. The rearrangement need not have been made by the Dura artist himself; it could have existed in his immediate model. Ultimately, however, an earlier model had to depend directly on a written or oral text, possibly an illustrated manuscript with single scenes depicted next to the relevant text.

It would be interesting to determine the sort of text the ultimate model contained. This can perhaps be deduced by studying the iconographical nature of the Dura synagogue paintings. It appears that numerous scenes in the Dura synagogue are not related directly to the biblical text. For instance, in the Exodus picture the Israelites are crossing the Red Sea by twelve paths in accordance with the Midrash (Exod. Raba 24:1) and with the Aramaic Pseudo-Jonathan translation of Exod. 14:21.

The Midrash and the Targum incorporate exegeses of the Hebrew Bible with additional stories and legendary material, called in Hebrew "aggadah." The term Midrash is borrowed from a method of interpreting one biblical verse by quoting another. Early Midrashim are incorporated in the Mishnah (compiled about 200) and in the Aramaic Targumim (third

to fifth century). The latter were recited verse by verse while reading the Torah in the synagogue every Sabbath.

The nonbiblical illustrations in the Dura synagogue can only be interpreted with the knowledge of specific Jewish exegeses, perhaps taken from an illustrated Midrash, a Targum paraphrase, or a consecutive picture cycle with additional captions quoted from the Targum. Similar types of illustrated paraphrases in the Jewish or Christian realms are known to us from later periods.

The illustrated Targumim and Midrashim could hardly have been made before their compilation at the beginning of the third century. These illustrations were probably added to the text before the middle of the third century, when they may have been used as models for the decoration of the walls of the Dura synagogue.

Some biblical illustrations exist in synagogue floor mosaics in and around Israel of the fifth and sixth centuries: Noah and his sons coming out of the ark with a herd of animals, in a fifth-century synagogue in Gerasa, Jordan (fig. 44); Daniel and the lions, from Na'aran, near Jericho, Israel; and the Sacrifice of Isaac from Beth Alpha, both of the sixth century (fig. 45). These are but a few scenes from what must have been an extensive range of biblical pictures. Among these, some midrashic elements appear: for example, the ram in the Beth Alpha synagogue is not caught in a thicket but tied to a tree, as in all Targumim (Gen. 22:13).

However, no biblical scenes appear in Jewish art

FIG. 44 *Mosaic with animals from Noah's Ark.*

Gerasa, Jordan, synagogue





FIG. 45 *Mosaic with Sacrifice of Isaac.*
Beth Alpha, synagogue

between the sixth and thirteenth centuries. It is possible that Jews stopped representing biblical scenes in the seventh century with the rise of Islam, which forbade human representation in religious art, and Byzantine iconoclasm may also have influenced the Jews in the East. In the West, Jews may have possessed or even continued to reproduce biblical pictures, which were later destroyed during the long persecution of the Jews in the Middle Ages.

The existence of biblical cycles in Jewish art in late antiquity raises the question of their relation to biblical cycles and single scenes in Christian art. Many Jewish elements appear in Christian art. It is known that some early Church fathers were familiar with midrashic texts, as were early Jewish Christians. This, however, does not explain the sporadic, non-systematic appearance of Midrashim in Christian art, nor why certain midrashic episodes were preferred to others. Most of them occur in Roman catacombs, on sarcophagi and minor objects. For instance, in the Via Latina catacomb in Rome, Jacob's dream is rendered with Jacob resting on three stones, in accordance with the Midrash (Gen. Raba 68:11). Another midrashic representation in the same catacomb is of Abraham welcoming the three angels at Mamre; Abraham is seated, convalescing from his circumcision three days earlier, a composition that follows different midrashic sources (e.g., the Neophyti Targum on Gen. 18:1). This example may point to an earlier Jewish source in art, though no such representation is known to us.

The iconography of different scenes in the illustrated narrative Targum or Midrash was no doubt

fashioned after classical art. Quotations of classical gestures, modes of expression, and even pagan motifs such as temple facades, Greco-Roman gods, and mythological figures can be found in the Dura wall paintings and in most early Jewish art. An example of how a pagan element is used to define the meaning of a Jewish midrashic narrative can be found in the panel of the childhood of Moses (fig. 46): a narrative is condensed from at least five episodes, most of them midrashic. The third scene, the finding of Moses,



FIG. 46 *Fresco with childhood of Moses from Dura Europos synagogue.*
Damascus, National Museum

depicts the daughter of Pharaoh in the water, naked, holding the naked baby. The fact that Pharaoh's daughter and not one of her maidens is in the water is based on the Onkelos Targum (Exod. 2:5). On the shore behind her stand three of her attendants carrying vessels and dressed in the peplos usually worn by nymphs. Such water nymphs, carrying pitchers and bowls, or washing a baby, appear in classical representations of the birth of children of distinction or demigods, such as Alexander, Achilles (no. 213), and Dionysos. The artists and congregation of the Dura synagogue probably understood the classical language and its implications.

Another classical figure with a widely understood significance is the image of the Thracian musician Orpheus charming the animals (fig. 22; nos. 161, 162), which appears in the main panel above the Torah niche in the Dura synagogue (fig. 47). Although Orpheus was worshiped as the god of a pagan mystery cult that promised salvation and life after death, the Dura congregation did not fear idolatry. They must have interpreted the figure, who is

FIG. 47 *Fresco with Jacob blessing Ephraim and Manasseh and David as Orpheus from Dura Europos synagogue.*

Damascus, National Museum



FIG. 48 *Floor mosaic with David/Orpheus.*

Gaza, synagogue



wearing a Phrygian cap (normally used as a royal crown in the Dura paintings), as the Messianic king David, who was a musician and compiler of the Psalms. David has assumed the image of Orpheus not only in Dura but also in the floor mosaic of the Gaza synagogue of 508–509, where the name David is written above in Hebrew (fig. 48). An image of Christ-Orpheus of the House of David is known from the Roman catacombs, such as the fourth-century catacomb of Domitilla. Another representation of a Christian Orpheus charming the animals appears in a fifth-century floor mosaic from a funerary chapel in Jerusalem, now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (Grabar [1], 1966, fig. 119). In a world of religious syncretism, images and their meanings were sometimes conflated, each religion giving a specific meaning to images used in common.

In another example, the figure of Helios, the pagan sun god, driving a quadriga, appears in floor mosaics of the synagogues of Hamat Tiberias (no. 342), Na'aran, Beth Alpha (fig. 45), and others. He is depicted as Christ driving his chariot in the center of the vaulted ceiling in the early Christian cemetery now in the grotto of St. Peter's in the Vatican (no. 467). For the Jews, the depiction of Helios in the center of the zodiac wheel in their synagogue floor mosaics may have symbolized eternity or the continuous cycle of the agricultural seasons.

A seasons sarcophagus from Rome (no. 346) depicts, besides the four genii of the seasons, a seven-branched menorah in a clipeus, where the image of the deceased is normally depicted. Under the wreath are Dionysiac putti pressing grapes, denoting personal salvation and life after death. This example, like many others, illustrates that specific symbols of Jewish identity appear on Jewish edifices and artifacts with a composition and ornamentation common to pagan and Christian art. The seven-branched menorah represents the candelabrum from the destroyed Temple of Jerusalem. One of the main cult objects, it became a symbol of the temple while it was still in existence and after its destruction symbolized aspirations for national redemption. The deceased, or his family, chose a ready-made sarcophagus with pagan subjects implying eternal life and personal salvation. However, instead of a personal portrait, a Jewish national symbol of redemption was inserted.

The menorah is only one of the symbols of identity.



FIG. 49 *Fresco with Torah ark and temple implements.*

Rome, Jewish catacomb of Villa Torlonia

According to the Mishnaic rule, it was forbidden to portray an exact image of the temple menorah. Indeed, there are no extant replicas of the menorah, and, moreover, no two depicted menorot look alike. The same applies to other temple and sanctuary implements, such as the Ark of the Covenant, the sacrificial altar, the incense altar, the shewbread table, and others. At times a conventional temple facade is represented. This was later transformed into a Torah ark with curtains. Some or all of these implements may be found represented in synagogues: above the Torah niche, as at Dura (no. 341); in stone capitals, as at Caesarea; on the marble screen, as at Sardis or Ashkelon (no. 345); and in numerous floor mosaics, such as at Beth Shean (no. 343), Beth Alpha (fig. 45), and Hamat Tiberias (no. 342). Minor art objects also show sanctuary implements. Examples include clay and bronze oil lamps (no. 351), glass bottles (no. 354), gold glass (nos. 347, 348), coins, and other objects. The menorah is sometimes accompanied by a flat shovel used to collect the burnt wicks or live coal from the altar upon which incense was burned.

In addition to these sanctuary implements there are sometimes elements that belong to the Feast of Tabernacles. These are the shofar (ram's horn), the ethrog (citron), the lulav (palm branch), aravah (willow), and others. The Feast of Tabernacles was

the main feast of the temple, and so the objects used for its ritual also came to symbolize the temple and national redemption. Another common national symbol is the lion of David's tribe, Judah (Gen. 49:9), represented in gold glass and the Dura synagogue, as well as in the Hamat Tiberias and Beth Alpha floor mosaics. These symbols were depicted not only on ritual and household goods and in public houses of assembly, as an expression of pride in identification with the Jewish nation, but also on sepulchral objects and in burial chambers.

Unlike the Christians or adherents of pagan mystery cults, the Jews believed that their personal salvation was contingent on redemption of the entire Jewish nation. When the Messiah of the House of David comes, states the Jewish daily prayer, he will gather the Jews from among the nations and raise the dead; he will rebuild the temple in Jerusalem and his reign will usher in eternal peace. This belief is reflected in the Jewish catacombs in Rome, as, for example, in the Villa Torlonia, where a part of the walls was covered with national symbols (fig. 49), including the menorah, lulav, ethrog, and shofar. Most of the tomb slabs, sarcophagi, ossuaries, and gold-glass fragments bear these symbols of identification. Only a few have symbols of personal salvation, such as birds of paradise (no. 344).

BEZALEL NARKISS

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Goodenough, 1953–1968, I–XIII; Urbach, 1959; Grabar (1), 1966; Gutmann, 1971; Roth, 1971.

*341 Synagogue wall painting with biblical representations

Dura Europos, Syria, 245–256
 Tempera on plaster
 Damascus, National Museum

The synagogue (no. 358) was discovered in 1932, close to the western city walls. In an attempt to strengthen the walls during the Sassanian siege of 256, it had been partly filled with rubble. Consequently, only sections of the four painted walls survived. Almost the entire height of the western wall with a protruding Torah niche in the center is preserved. Of the north and south walls only a trapezoidal shape, and of the eastern wall only the lower part are extant. Some of the decorated ceiling tiles that fell on the rubble heap have dedicatory inscriptions in Aramaic dating from A.D. 244–245.

The wall paintings are tempera on dry plaster, arranged in framed panels. Remnants of under-

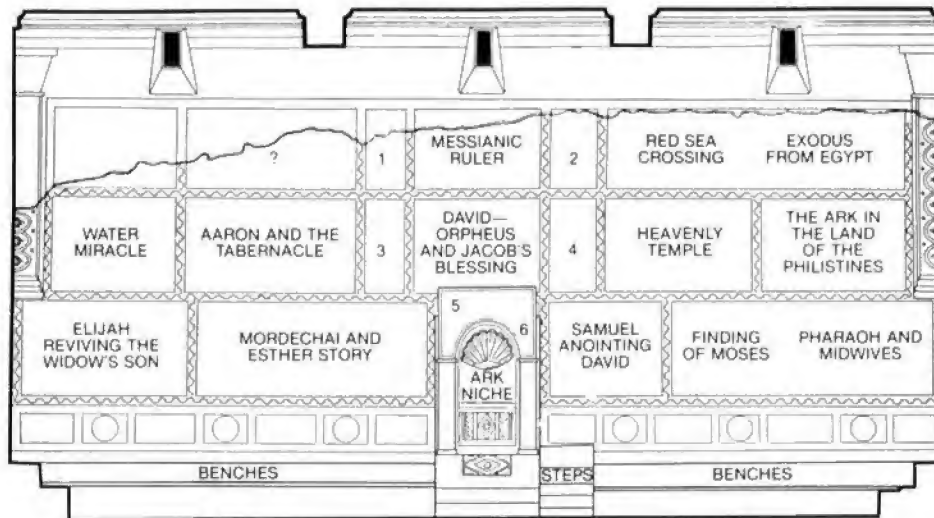
drawings survive. The main colors are different shades of brown, yellow, white, red, blue, green, and black. Shadings and highlights are linear, in either black or white.

The protruding panel over the Torah niche depicts the temple facade flanked on the right by the Sacrifice of Isaac, symbolizing the covenant between God and his chosen people, and on the left by a treelike menorah, a lulav, and an ethrog.

The area above this panel was overpainted several times during 245–265. The earliest stage had a large tree of life flanked by two tables. In the second stage the area was divided horizontally into two panels. An enthroned figure with two interpreters and other courtiers was painted in the top panel. In the lower panel Jacob was depicted blessing Ephraim and Manasseh on the right and his other sons on the left (fig. 47). In the middle between the two scenes, the lion of Judah was probably painted at the same time. In the third stage, an Orpheus-like David playing a harp, charming an eagle, a duck, and a lion was

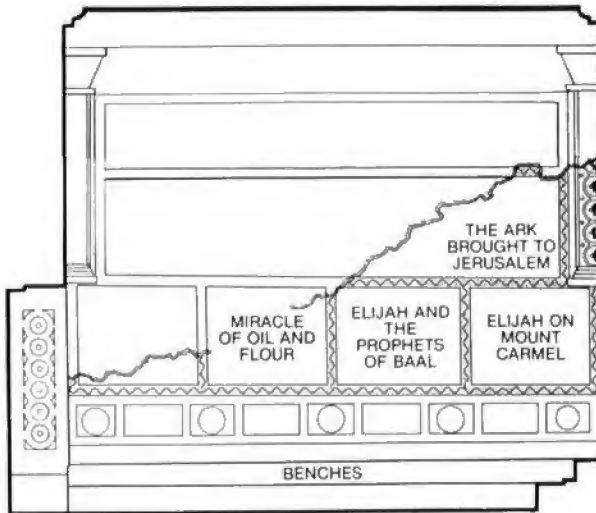


WEST WALL

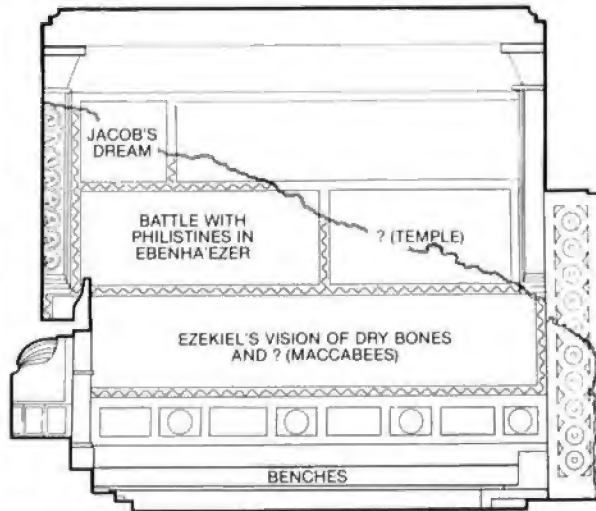


- 1 MOSES ON MOUNT SINAI
- 2 MOSES NEAR THE BURNING BUSH
- 3 ABRAHAM OR JOSHUA
- 4 MOSES, JOSHUA OR EZRA
- 5 TEMPLE
- 6 SACRIFICE OF ISAAC

SOUTH WALL



NORTH WALL



EAST WALL



SIDE ENTRANCE

MAIN DOOR

added between the panels to the left of the lion above Jacob blessing his sons.

Flanking this central area are four panels with single figures. The two at the top are surely Moses; the figures below are identified as either Moses, Joshua, or Ezra on the right, and Abraham or Joshua on the left, leaders of the Jewish nation reestablishing the covenant with God through the Torah.

Most of the painted panels in the synagogue depict biblical episodes of Jewish national and personal redemption. These scenes are mingled with midrashic elements, most of which are taken from the Aramaic Targumim.

The most obvious midrashic elements are based mainly on the Jonathan Targum. Those appear on the western wall: (fig. 43) in the Exodus from Egypt Moses is depicted larger than other figures and the Israelites, bearing twelve standards and crossing the sea in twelve paths; (fig. 46) in the story of the rescue of Moses, the two midwives are dressed exactly like Moses' mother, Yocheved, and his sister, Miriam. Pharaoh's daughter takes Moses out of the water herself; in the central panel in front of the enthroned Messiah are two interpreters alluded to by the Jonathan Targum to Gen. 49: 10. On the south wall another example is found in the panel dealing with Elijah's contest with the prophets of Baal. Within Baal's altar stands Hiel Beth Haeli ready to kindle the fire, but God sends a serpent to kill him.

Other subjects represent eschatological scenes, such as the Heavenly Temple, which, according to the Midrash, will descend from heaven surrounded by seven walls, when the Messiah comes.

The subjects of the paintings (see diagram, page 373) are haphazardly arranged and do not follow the narrative sequence of the Bible. None of the many attempts to uncover a theological plan for the paintings has been successful. The Dura synagogue is provincial, and may have been inspired by another unknown painted synagogue, executed by better artists and with a clearer theological plan.

The style of the wall paintings is Eastern Hellenistic with much Parthian influence. One chief artist-draughtsman did most of the preliminary sketches and painted with the help of several apprentices.

B. N.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rostovtzeff, 1938; Wischnitzer, 1948; Kraeling, 1956; Goodenough, 1964; IX-XI; Gutmann, 1973 (with the most important bibliography); Perkins, 1973; Schubert et al., 1974, pp. 35 ff.

*342 Synagogue floor mosaic with ark, temple implements, Helios, and zodiac signs

Hamat Tiberias, Israel, about 300

About 6.8 × 3 m. (22 ft. 4 in. × 9 ft. 9 in.)

The well-preserved mosaic floor of Hamat Tiberias belongs to a synagogue built in the late third or early fourth century, on the site of an earlier synagogue. The building was in use until the eighth century.

The four halls of this synagogue were paved mainly with ornamental mosaic in about thirty colors. The nave mosaic is partly figurative, and is divided into three panels. In the southern, top panel is a representation of the ark, symbolizing the temple, flanked by lighted menorot, as well as the lulav, ethrog, aravah, hadas, shofar, and incense shovel. In the middle panel are the signs of the zodiac, each inscribed in Hebrew, surrounding the figure of the sun god Helios riding his celestial chariot above the sea. This figure and the chariot were partly destroyed by the builders of the later synagogues. Helios wears a rayed crown surrounded by a nimbus, and a red paludamentum; his right hand is raised in benediction and the other holds the globe, symbol of sovereignty. There are also stars and a moon in the background. The corners of the panel depict female busts, personifications of the four seasons, each inscribed with its Hebrew name.

The northern panel contains a dedicatory inscription in Greek to the founders of the synagogue, flanked by two lions. The two eastern halls contain geometric mosaics and three inscriptions, one in Aramaic and two in Greek. From the main Greek inscription in the nave we learn that the principal founder was Severos, probably a highly successful disciple and a member of the entourage of the presidents of the Sanhedrin at Tiberias. The text ends with a blessing to him

and to a certain Youllos, probably the administrator of the synagogue. The Aramaic inscription asserts that the building was a "holy site," that is, a synagogue.

The figure of Helios has all the attributes of Roman emperors, who were widely depicted in Roman art of the third and the beginning of the fourth centuries A.D., as "Sol Invictus," and in the Mithraic cult as Mithras. The Christian representation of Sol was widespread, as in the mosaics of the mausoleum of the Julii below St. Peter's basilica (no. 467); and in the liturgy, where he was identified with Christ as Cosmocrator.

The figure of Helios, surrounded by the signs of the zodiac and the four seasons, was found in three other synagogues in Israel: in Beth Alpha, Na'aran, and Husefa. They may have represented to an agricultural Jewish community the perpetuation of the annual cycle of the universe, or, as was suggested by Avi-Yonah (1964), the central part of a calendar.

The style of the human representations is close to that of the mosaics of Antioch dated to the days of Constantine the Great, such as the so-called Constantinian villa (Levi, 1947, I, pp. 226–257; II, pls. CLX–CLXII).

The architectural style of the synagogue, together with finds of coins and pottery, indicate that the mosaic dates to the beginning of the fourth century.

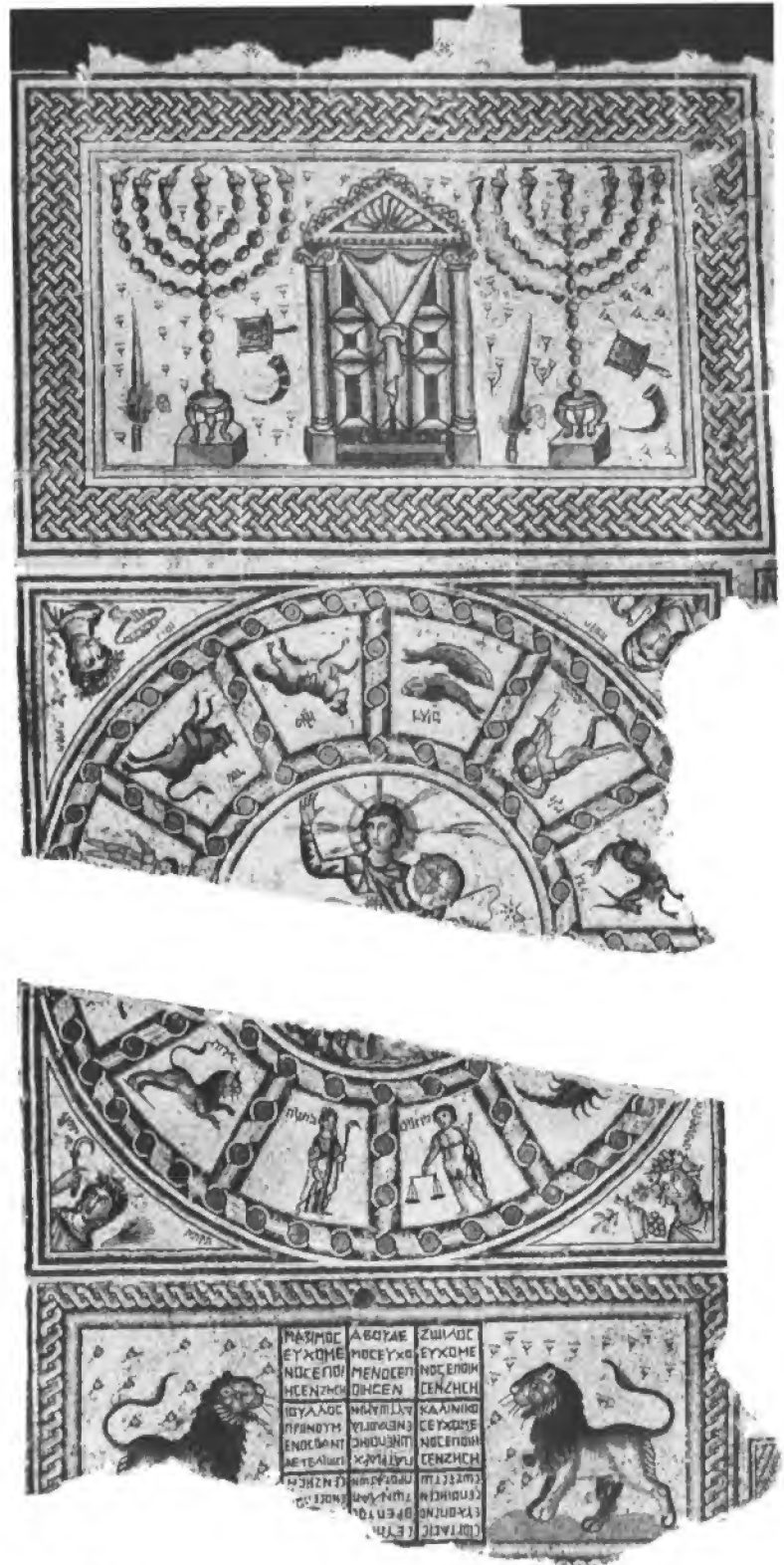
M. D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Levi, 1947, I, pp. 226–257; II, pls. CLX–CLXII; Avi-Yonah, 1964; Dothan (1), 1968; Dothan (2), 1968; Dothan, 1970.

*343 Synagogue floor mosaic with temple facade and implements

Beth Shean, 6th century
3.90 × 4.35 m. (12 ft. 9½ in. × 14 ft. 3¼ in.)
Jerusalem, Israel Museum

Excavated in 1962, the synagogue to which this mosaic belongs was an elongated basilical house, with a semicircular apse directed to the northwest and measuring about 55 feet 9 inches by 46 feet



No. 342

7 inches. Four columns separate each aisle from the nave. The entire floor of the basilica, including the apse, was covered by mosaic. Adjoining the main structure were four rooms and a stone-paved narthex. This mosaic, from the nave, dates to the second phase of building, from the mid-fifth to early sixth century. The remains of a Greek inscription on the floor at the entrance to the nave reads: $\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu\varsigma\ldots\mu\eta(\nu\omicron\varsigma)\iota\alpha\nu\omicron\nu\alpha\pi$ ($\iota\omicron\nu$)... ("Year . . . /January"). In the adjoining rooms, two other inscriptions of a later (sixth- to seventh-century, before 624), third phase of building were found. A Greek inscription gives the artists' names, Marianos and his son Hanina ($\chi\iota\pi\omicron\theta\epsilon/\kappa\iota\alpha\ \mu\alpha\pi\iota\alpha/\nu\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron/\nu\tau\omicron\nu\ \alpha\nu\tau\omicron/\nu\ \alpha\nu\iota\eta\alpha$). These are the same artists who signed the mosaic in Beth Alpha (fig. 45).

The pavement of the nave is made of stone and some glass tesserae of six colors in different shades. Of the five fields of mosaic, the best preserved is the temple implements panel, which was the closest to the apse. There are in this field, however, a few patches of missing tesserae. The symmetrical composition is contained within a frame. In the center are two arches, one within the other. The outer is like a temple facade, comprised of two columns and capitals surmounted by a pediment, with a curtain hanging above it. The inner structure has a round arch containing a conch. It resembles the Torah ark, with a curtain hanging between the columns. The round arch is flanked by two green curtains. The outer pedimented arch may represent

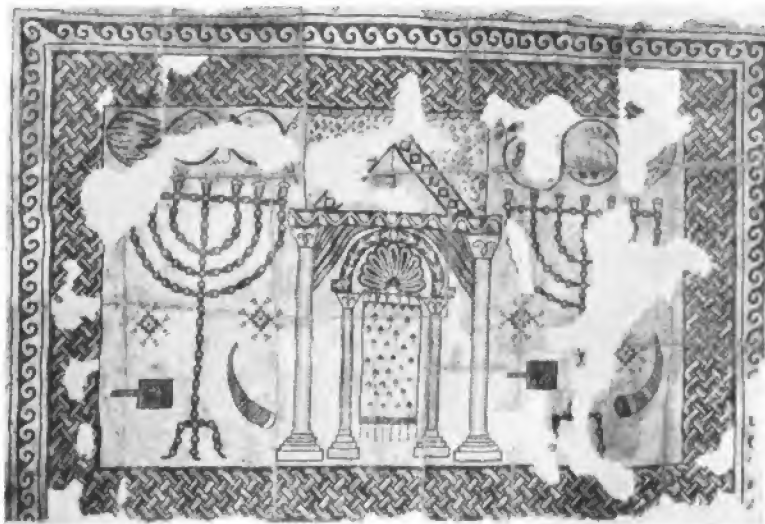
the temple facade, and the inner may depict the Holy of Holies with its dividing curtain, or the two may represent a synagogue facade and the Torah ark. In either case, they are symbolical representations of the temple in Jerusalem.

On either side of the central structure stands a three-legged seven-branched menorah composed of floral buds. The semicircular branches terminate in cone-shaped cups enclosing flames and are connected at the top by a crossbar. Each menorah is flanked on the left by a square incense shovel, and on the right by a shofar, as well as open geometric rosettes on either side. Above each menorah is a vine scroll emanating horizontally from a large acanthus leaf. The border surrounding the composition consists of an inner double plait motif and an outer "running dog" framed between two lines.

The symmetrical arrangement of the objects and the large scale of the menorah in relation to the temple facade enhance the monumentality of the composition. However, the dense arrangement of the objects and the abundance of decorative elements—such as the geometric rosettes adorning the curtains; the ivy scroll, lozenges, and trefoil motifs decorating the pediment and arch; the tendrils on the capitals; and the squares on the shofarot and shovels—augment the decorative qualities of this mosaic, which resembles a colorful carpet. The other panels of this floor mosaic are merely decorative.

A. C. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zori, 1967, pp. 149–167, pls. 27–34; Katz, Kahane, and Broshi, 1968, fig. 102.



*344 Fragments of a synagogue floor mosaic

Naro (Hammam-Lif), Tunisia, 2nd half 5th century

(a) large palm tree: 173 × 79 cm. ($68\frac{1}{8} \times 31\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

(b) head of large whale: 71 × 82 cm. ($27\frac{1}{16} \times 32\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

(c) striding lion: 72 × 107 cm. ($28\frac{3}{8} \times 42\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

(d) menorah: 57 × 88 cm. ($22\frac{7}{16} \times 34\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

New York, The Brooklyn Museum, (a) 05.14; (b) 05.15; (c) 05.18; and (d) 05.26.



a, large palm tree

c, striding lion



b, head of large whale



d, menorah



The synagogue of Hammam-Lif was discovered in 1883 within the garden of a building about 9.32 miles from the city of Tunis. The building probably existed in the third century, but the present mosaic floor is later, possibly from the second half of the fifth century. The entire floor was covered by mosaic, preserved until its discovery, when it was cut into panels and sold separately. The design of the floor in the main hall of the synagogue was copied together with a plan of the complex and published in color in Renan (1883). A more accurate sketch of the mosaic by M. Balagny was published in 1886 (Reinach).

The main hall is a broadhouse with a round Torah niche in the long wall, not in its center but nearer the entrance, as Goodenough has shown (1953, II, p. 91). It is preceded by a narthex with an entrance on the short wall. Both narthex and hall floor mosaics, now in the Musée National du Bardo, Tunis, have Latin inscriptions. That on the threshold of the narthex reads: "Asterius, the son of the archisynagogos Rusticus [and his wife] Margarita, daughter of Riddeus, paved this part [of the synagogue] with [mosaic] tesserae." That in the center of the hall reads: "The holy synagogue of Naro was paved with mosaic at the expense of thy servant Juliana P., for her salvation"; the line ends with a menorah. A third inscription, in a room opposite the apse, refers to "instruments of thy servants in Naro," which may mean the scroll of the Pentateuch, and may indicate, according to Goodenough (1953, II, p. 91), that this was the room where the Torah was kept. The mosaic in the hall is divided into three uneven sections and was to be observed from the apse of the Torah niche.

The central section is divided in two by the inscription, which is flanked by two menorot, each within lozenges, the left with a stylized shofar, and lulav (or shofar) with an ethrog (d). The top part of this section has a seascape with a large whale (b), a dolphin, ducks, a wheel, and rays descending from the sky. The bottom part has a large standing vase as a fountain, with peacocks perched on it, flanked by two large palm trees (a), and two other birds. In the right section are a lion (c) and a duck within a double scroll. In the left section are other sea birds, a quadruped, and two wicker baskets, all within double undulating scrolls. Besides the inscriptions, which mention the synagogue, an archisynagogos, and three menorot, the repertory is pagan with some Christian overtones. The large

whale, the dolphin, the wheel, the rays from heaven, and the large vase with peacocks may also indicate Jewish symbols of salvation and eternal life.

The style of the Naro synagogue mosaic is rather flat and not very crowded. Highlights and shading are produced by linear modulation.

B. N.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Renan, 1883; Reinach, 1886, pp. 217–223; Biebel, 1936, pp. 541–551; Goodenough, 1953, II, pp. 89–100; III, figs. 890–891, 897–906, 919–921.

345 Fragment of a synagogue screen

Ashkelon, Israel, 6th–7th century

19 × 43–46.5 × 10 cm. ($7\frac{1}{2} \times 16\frac{5}{16}$ – $18\frac{5}{16} \times 3\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Jerusalem, Israel Museum, lent by the Deutsches

Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft
des Heiligen Landes, Jerusalem

The fragment of an elongated block of marble is decorated in shallow relief on two faces. On each side a guilloche is filled with different kinds of rosettes of four to eight petals, framed by a row of lozenges and roundels on top and a foliage scroll at the bottom, and terminating in a seven-branched menorah, flanked by a lulav and ethrog on the left and a shofar on the right. The stylized menorah has a three-legged base and a bar across the top of the seven branches. On the obverse this bar is surmounted by four three-petaled leaves; on the reverse by seven triangles simulating fire. The appearance of the menorah on the right side of the guilloche on the obverse and on the left of the guilloche on the reverse may indicate that the damaged fragment was the center of a slab. On the top side of the slab are two parallel lines cut into the stone $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches apart. Along the bottom of the slab is a groove $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep, which may indicate that the slab was originally placed atop a large oblong slab of marble that formed the main part of a conventional screen in the synagogue, between the Torah ark and the congregation.

Several such large stone slabs decorated with the menorah and other Jewish symbols are known from the fifth and sixth centuries (Suknik, 1935, pp. 58–69). Such screens may have originated in



No. 345, reverse

Christian churches as partitions between priest and congregation, a usage unknown in Jewish ritual; they may also have been used to separate women's quarters in a synagogue from the men's (Suknik, 1935, pp. 72–73).

Two other blocks of similar size were found together with this one in a grave near Ashkelon, according to the man who sold them to the Institute. The other two blocks bear fragments of dedicatory inscriptions on both faces, in two lines with a narrow line between them. The inscriptions say that a *Κυρα Δομνα*, *Κυρος Μαρ* son of *Νοννος*, and *Κυρος Κομμοδος* ("Lady Domna, Lord Mari son of Nunos, and Lord Komodos") presented this for their salvation in the year 709. Dalman (1903) thinks that the inscriptions refer to the time of emperor Commodus, and the date, counting from the Seleucid era, corresponds to A.D. 397. Clermont-Ganneau (1905) suggests that the inscription is later in style and paleography and reads it differently. The date refers to the era of Ashkelon (starting from 104 B.C.) and is accordingly A.D. 604. Both inscribed blocks have grooves in their top and bottom surfaces.

Though of the same size, the decorated block may be of a somewhat earlier date than the inscribed one. The stylized, crude, and shallow relief does not allow for the exact stylistic dating of the slab.

B. N.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dalman, 1903, pp. 23–28; Clermont-Ganneau, 1905; Suknik, 1935, pp. 62–65, pls. xv, xvi, fig. 21; Goodenough, 1953, I, pp. 219–221; III, figs. 575, 576.

346 Front of sarcophagus with menorah

Rome, 4th quarter 3rd century

Marble

72 × 126 cm. (28½ × 49½ in.)

Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 67611

The large slab is part of the front of a Four Seasons sarcophagus. In the center are two winged Victories holding a clipeus in which is depicted a seven-branched menorah instead of the usual pagan or Christian portrait-bust of the deceased. The branches of the menorah are like strands of beads and are surmounted by lamps. The menorah stands on a three-legged base. Of the personifications of the Four Seasons, originally represented as two winged genii on each side, only Autumn is preserved. He stands on the right looking left and carries a basket of fruit in his right hand, a pair of geese in the left. Further right are fragments of the personification of Winter, holding up a boar. To the left of the clipeus were no doubt the personifications of Spring and Summer. Under the menorah clipeata are three Dionysiac putti treading grapes in a vat. Other putti appear next to the feet of the genii, one riding a hare and the other a boar.



As in any pagan sarcophagus, the seasons and the putti represent salvation and eternal life. The menorah, instead of the portrait, represents the identity of the deceased with the Jewish nation and his hope for salvation. No doubt the sarcophagus was not specifically intended for use by a Jew. Such a sarcophagus could have been found at a pagan Roman stonecutter's workshop, and the menorah was probably added when it was acquired for Jewish use. The seasons sarcophagus had by that time become interreligious.

The iconography of the "seasons sarcophagi" was well established in the Roman world, exemplified in such monuments as the Barberini sarcophagus of A.D. 330 in Dumbarton Oaks, that in the Campo Santo in Pisa of A.D. 260, and others (e.g., no. 159). In style, however, our slab is less elegant than these, dating probably from the last quarter of the third century.

From the Jewish catacomb at Vigna Rondanini; formerly in the Kircher collection.

B. N.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cumont, 1942, pp. 484–498, pl. XLVII, 1–3; Hanfmann, 1951, II, p. 179, no. 493; Goodenough, 1953, II, pp. 26–28; III, 1954, fig. 789.

347 Bottom of a cup with Torah ark and temple implements

Color plate XI

Rome, 1st half 4th century

Gold glass

Diam. 9.8–10 cm. (3 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Gift of Jakob Michael, New York, in memory of his wife, Erna Sondheimer-Michael, 66.36.14

The thinly beaten gold leaf, placed between two layers of fused glass, has incised decoration. The very fine glass is greenish with many small bubbles and blurred in places, with no patina. The low, encircling foot ring is broken in places. The central part of the decoration is rectangular, divided horizontally into two registers. In the upper one the arched and couched open Torah ark reveals six Torah scrolls on three shelves. The shrine is flanked by two crouching lions of Judah, each with a scroll between its paws. A curtain is drawn back to either side. Two three-legged menorot, each with seven semicircular branches and red flames converging toward the central shaft, dominate the lower register. In the center are a

lulav with an ethrog to the right and a shofar to the left. Two blue sprigs, probably aravah branches, emerge from each side of the hold of the lulav. On the outside of each menorah stands an oil amphora. Above the rectangular frame is inscribed a Greek toast transliterated into Latin characters: *PIE ZESES ELARES*, meaning "Drink, so you may live, Elares." The remaining three sides are bordered with alternating blue and red roundels dotted with gold. Four separate gold-leaf triangles form the outer border.

This gold glass and similar ones were found in Roman catacombs, pressed into the mortar of newly sealed tombs. Most of the Jewish gold-leaf glasses depict various sanctuary implements, mainly Torah shrines and menorot, which symbolize the Jewish national aspirations; the inscription conveys in addition the hope for personal salvation. The Christian (no. 388) and contemporary gold-glass fragments, on the other hand, depict among other subjects portraits of the deceased, sometimes with additional Christian symbols emphasizing only the personal salvation of the deceased through belief in Christ.

Formerly in the Goluchów Castle collection, Poland, and then in the Zealinska collection in Paris.

A. C. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Goodenough, 1953, II, pp. 108–110; III, fig. 966; Schüler, 1966, pp. 59–60, no. 5, fig. 18; Katz, Kahane, and Broshi, 1968, p. 129, fig. 103 (in color); Barag, 1972, cols. 604–612.



348 Fragments of cup bottom with Torah ark and temple implements

Rome, 1st half 4th century

Gold glass

a) 8.9×3.8 cm. ($3\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ in.); b) 3.8×3.2 cm. ($1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1918, 18.145.1, a, b



Two fragments from the base of a drinking vessel (cf. no. 347). The compositional division into upper and lower registers can still be seen, though little remains of the lower register. Some of the left part of the upper register is missing. In the center of the upper register is a gabled Torah ark with acroteria, two Corinthian columns, and open doors revealing six Torah scrolls on four shelves, partly covered by a curtain hanging inside the ark. The shrine is flanked by two different types of seven-branched menorot. The one on the right has semi-circular branches, with the lighted lamps connected by a crossbar. The flames bend toward the central shaft, which has a solid base. To the right of this menorah is a shofar, and to the left, near the shrine, is a small unidentified roundel. The branches of the menorah on the left are treelike, and have a crossbar on top. To its right stands a scroll and to left the remains of an ethrog. The

background is filled in with ornamental foliage. In the lower register a banqueting daïs is represented. A fish can be seen on a round table in front of a semicircular, strapped bolster, above which hang swags. The remains of a Latin inscription, encircling the composition, reads: *CI BIBAS CVM EVLOGIA CONP(arare)*, or "Drink with blessing in preparation. . . ."

A similar Jewish gold glass, in Berlin (Goodenough, 1953, III, fig. 974), has its lower register intact with the fish on a round tripod table.

Banqueting scenes with tripod tables and a fish are also known in Christian and pagan funerary art. They symbolize the agape, the fellowship meal, to honor the deceased and ensure his felicity in the afterlife. Our glass base is, according to the inscription, a cup of blessing for a deceased Jew. His belief that he will be saved through the national redemption of his people is symbolized by the eschatological scene in the upper register: the temple implements and the Torah shrine.

A. C. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frey, 1952, no. 518; Garrucci, 1864, pl. v, no. 3; Reifenberg, 1950, p. 151; Goodenough, 1953, II, pp. 111–112; III, fig. 973; Schüller, 1966, pp. 56, 60, no. 7, fig. 14; Barag, 1972, cols. 604–612.

349 Medallion with menorah

Asia Minor, 7th century
Gold
Diam. about 6.5 cm. ($2\frac{9}{16}$ in.)
London, The Jewish Museum, JM 2

The very thin gold relief of this medallion is worn in places, but is still in one piece. The main feature is the seven-branched menorah, with a crossbar on top of the branches and a three-legged base. On the right is a lulav within a case, and on the left a shofar upside down. The Greek inscription at the top is carelessly written in capital letters. It reads: *ΥΠΕΡ ΕΥΧΗΣ ΙΑΚΩΒ ΑΡΧΙΓΟΝ/ΠΙΝΝΩΝΑ* ("For the vow of Jacob the Leader, the pearl-seller"). The medallion is framed by a beaded border and has a hole for hanging at the top.

The medallion is unique, and its specific use is



not known. Because the name of a community leader appears in its inscription, it can hardly be an amulet for private use. In a synagogue, such inscriptions stating the fulfillment of a vow are common on floor mosaics, wall paintings, and stone reliefs but are very rarely found on minor objects, perhaps because so few have survived. In a synagogue a medallion of this size might have hung on the staves of a Torah scroll, which Jacob probably donated together with a dedicatory inscription, since no writing except that of the Pentateuch is allowed on the scroll. Gold and silver pendants of this kind are known from the post-Renaissance period as "breastplates" (Barnett, 1974, pp. 30–33) and may be descended from such ornamentations from the Late Antique and early medieval periods. Unlike Byzantine Christian medallions, the Jewish have no human images and are therefore difficult to place and date.

The provenance is unknown. The monumental script, the schematic rendering of the implements, and the denseness of the composition suggest an origin in the eastern Mediterranean, possibly seventh-century Asia Minor.

Presented in 1938.

A. C. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barnett, 1938, p. 255; Barnett, 1974, p. 4, no. 2, pl. 1, pp. 30–33, nos. 136–147A, pls. LXII–LXV; Appelbaum, 1971, fig. 81.

350 Coin from Apamea Kibotos with Noah's Ark

Asia Minor, 222–235

Bronze

Diam. 3.3 cm. (1¼ in.); 20.22 gm.

Private Collection

OBV: Bust of Alexander Severus looking to the right, wearing radiating crown, body armor, and paludamentum. Inscribed in Greek around from lower left: AVT(οκράτωρ) Κ(αίσαρ) Μ AVP(ηλίου) CE(ουηρος) ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC ("Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander"). The coin is bordered by a bead motif.

REV: At the right are Noah and his wife standing within an open-lidded, chestlike ark (inscribed ΝΩΕ). On the right-hand edge of the lid is perched the dove, having been sent out of the ark (Gen. 8:9). To the left is the dove returning from its second expedition, with a branch (not a leaf!) of olive held in her claws (not her beak as in Gen. 8:11). At the left are Noah and his wife standing (facing left) outside the ark, raising their right hands (Gen. 8:18). Inscribed in Greek from the lower left: ΕΠΙ ΠΟ(πλίου) ΑΙΑ(ίου) ΤΡΥΦΩΝΟC ΙΠΠΙ(κον) ΑCΙΑΡ(χον) ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ("The people of Apamea, during the magistracy of P. Aelius Tryphon, of the equestrian [rank], the archon of [the province] Asia")

This is one of several coins of its type from Apamea Kibotos in ancient Phrygia. Others were struck in Apamea under the rule of Septimius Severus (193–211), Gordian III (238–244), Philipus I Arabus (244–249), and Trebonianus Gallus (251–253). All have bust portraits of the Caesars and similar renderings of the Noah episode, except for the last, on which the scene is reversed from left to right. The names of the various magistrates of games mentioned on the coins do not help to date them more accurately, since we have no records of the chronological sequence of these magistrates.

The coin was struck while P. Aelius Tryphon was archon; he held this post three times (*IG Rom.*, IV, 795) during the reign of Alexander Severus, but it is impossible to be more precise about chronology.

Apamea Kibotos, which was situated near the source of the River Maeander, became an im-



portant transit center for merchants dealing with the East. There is no explanation for why the city of Apamea is called *kibotos* ("chest") or why Noah's episodes are depicted on the coins. According to local tradition, the mountain above the city, on which the fortress of Celaenae once stood, is identified as Mt. Ararat, on which Noah's Ark came to rest (Gen. 8:4). The well-established Jewish community of Apamea may have had depictions of the story of Noah in its synagogue, and this may have become a model for the coin. The rarity of the coins may be explained by the fact that they were probably struck only periodically for the national Panegyrian games.

Noah's scenes occur in Roman catacomb paintings and in floor mosaics like those of the synagogue of Gerasa and the church or synagogue of Mopsuestia (now Misis) in Cilicia.

There is no doubt that the coins were minted by a pagan government in Apamea familiar with Jewish tradition and perhaps with a relic of Noah's Ark. The Christians may later have fashioned Noah in his chest-ark according to a Jewish model.

Found at the base of Mt. Ararat.

B. N.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hill, 1899, p. 170; Reinach, 1903, pp. 61–63, pl. XI; Grabar (2), 1951; Goodenough, 1953, II, pp. 119–120; III, fig. 700; Kindler, 1971, pp. 24–32, pl. v.



351 Oil lamp with menorah

Syria-Palestine, late 3rd–early 4th century
Terracotta
3 × 7.5 × 10 cm. ($1\frac{3}{16} \times 2\frac{5}{16} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$ in.)
Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Collection of the
Archaeological Institute, The Hebrew University,
780

The mold-cast round lamp has a protruding, fan-shaped nozzle with a wick hole on one side, and a projecting, triangular handle on the other. The central disc, with two filling holes, is decorated with a three-legged, seven-branched menorah. The lower pair of the semicircular branches is decorated with alternating roundels and squares. The others resemble palm branches, with rows of beads between them. The menorah is flanked by an ethrog on the left and mahtah on the right. A wide frame round the central disc is decorated with concentric bands of foliage scrolls, a row of beads, and palm leaves. The nozzle is decorated with linear geometric forms.

Jewish oil lamps of the second to sixth century

are usually decorated with a seven-branched menorah. The provenance of this lamp is unknown, but oil lamps similar in shape, style, and workmanship have been found in a cistern used by a potter's workshop in Beth Natif in the Judean hills. Coins found with them date from the end of the third to the beginning of the fourth century. The lamps found in this cistern were decorated with various symbols which identify them as Jewish, pagan, or Christian. It is apparent that such oil lamps were used by households of the various religions: at home, as well as in public places and burial chambers, for practical as well as ritual and commemorative purposes.

A. C. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baramki, 1936, pp. 3–10, pls. vi–vii, x–xii;
Reifenberg, 1936, pp. 166–179, figs. 9, 10; Sukenik, 1949;
Goodenough, 1953, I, p. 159; III, figs. 334, 336, 337.

352 Oil lamp with David and Goliath

Alexandria (?), 4th century (?)
Terracotta
3.8 × 9.5 × 13 cm. ($1\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ in.); H. with
handle 5.7 cm. ($2\frac{1}{4}$ in.)
New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of
Rebecca Darlington Stoddard, 1913.653

The lamp, in excellent condition, is mold-cast in the shape of a trapezoid with rounded corners and a large round filling hole in the center. A row of seven wick holes ranges along the wider side, and on the opposite side is a short, protruding handle decorated with a palm branch. A thin line outlines the lamp, sloping upward and backward at an angle. The lamp is made of unglazed, reddish brown, lightweight clay not found in Egypt but known to have been imported to Alexandria. The shape with many wick holes is similar to that of some lamps from Egypt of the third century in the British Museum (Walters, 1914, p. 65, nos. 446, 447, pl. xv, and fig. 70) and especially to a rectangular mold with a scene from a hippodrome (Walters, 1914, p. 211, no. 1398, fig. 330).

Flanking the central filling hole are the figures of Goliath on the left and David on the right. Goliath, wearing a tunic of chain mail and a sword,

holds a spear in his right hand and protects himself with a shield in his left hand against two stones slung by David; a third stone hits him on the forehead. David whirls a fourth stone in the sling in his raised right hand and holds a spear in his left. The figures are identified by vertical Greek inscriptions: ΓΟΛΙΑΘ for Goliath (the Γ is reversed, and the ΑΔ is written from right to left), and ΔΑΥΙΔ for David.

This lamp is rare in depicting a narrative biblical scene (1 Sam. 17:49). The David and Goliath theme probably signified for the owner the victory of the weak over the strong, stressing the power of faith. The subject was not very popular in Early Christian art. It was perhaps depicted on some sarcophagi (e.g., Wilpert, 1932, II, pp. 264–265, pl. CLXXXIV, 1, 2). David is painted alone, with a sling, on the damaged ceiling of cubiculum 3 in the catacomb of Domitilla, Rome (Wilpert, 1903, pp. 356–357, pl. 55). In Egypt the scene appears in the sixth-century wall painting in chapel III at Bawīt, but its composition is reversed and David's sling is not raised. The scene on our lamp must stem from another iconographic recension, possibly a Jewish one belonging to a life cycle of David.

This scene could well have suited the Jewish cause, since by the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century, while Christianity in Alexandria was an established religion, the Jewish faith was oppressed after several rebellions there. The seven wick holes may symbolize the destroyed

seven-branched menorah of the temple, which is not represented on our lamp.

From the Stoddard collection.

A. C. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baur, 1928; Goodenough, 1953, II, pp. 105–106; III, fig. 959.

353 Incense burner

Egypt, 5th century

Bronze

28.3 cm., diam. 14 cm. (11 $\frac{1}{8}$, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

New York, The Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin

Wilbour Fund, 41.684

This incense burner was cast in three separate parts: a tripod base with claw feet, a baluster, and a bowl. The rim of the bowl has a register of openwork rings, each surmounted by a conventionalized bird, two of which are missing. On the exterior of the bowl, in punchwork, are three crude lines of inscription in illiterate Greek. The first line is preceded by an incised seven-branched menorah. The baluster and bowl remain connected by the original rivet, but the base has been rethreaded and attached to the baluster by a new screw (Herbert, 1972, p. 23). There is some pitting on the baluster.

Parallels for the base and baluster abound in Coptic art. The openwork on the rim of the bowl was designed to ventilate the coals on which the incense was sprinkled, an especially necessary feature in a stationary censer (Herbert, 1972, p. 23).

Several attempts have been made to transcribe and translate the Greek inscription, which reads: $\text{VΠΙΕΡ ΕΥΧΗC ΑΥΞΑΝΟΝΤΟC} / \text{ΕΥΛΟΓΑ Κ(υρι)C ΧΑΡΙΤΟΝ ΟCΤΑ/ΚΑΙ ΑΝ(...)}$.

The first line has been interpreted as "in fulfillment of the vow of Auxanon" and by Herbert (1972) as "on behalf of a vow of Auxanon." Although scholars are not in agreement concerning the text that follows, Herbert suggests the key to understanding the inscription in its entirety is the menorah, the distinctive symbol of Judaism. Herbert proposes that the last two lines of the inscription are an attempt to render into Greek some verses from a Hebrew prayer: "Blessed art thou, O Lord (who gives graciously?)."



According to Narkiss (verbally), an incense burner was used by the Jews at the end of the Sabbath for the benediction of *habdalah*—"separation" between holy and profane.

Herbert also suggests that the contrast between the elegance of the piece and the crudeness of the lettering may indicate that Auxanon came into possession of the censer, intending to dedicate it in his synagogue, after it had originally served some other purpose. The Greek text may not have been finished because the censer never reached a synagogue but was used for the *habdalah* ceremony at home.

Acquired through the Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund from Max Nahman, Cairo.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baltimore, 1947, no. 271; Herbert, 1972, no. 32.



No. 354

354–356 Hexagonal pilgrim flasks

Jerusalem, 578–636

Glass

354 12.7 cm. (5 in.)

Toledo, Ohio, The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, 23.1360

355 13.8 cm. (5½ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Dodge Fund, 1959, 59.22.1

356 14 cm. (5½ in.)

Toledo, Ohio, The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, 23.1353

The many hexagonal and octagonal glass flasks that bear Jewish, Christian, or other symbols were probably used to transport consecrated oil from holy places in and around Jerusalem. They may all have been used as blessed *eulogiae*, souvenirs from holy places, believed to carry special properties, especially with regard to resurrection of the dead. Christians took the oil from shrines such as the Holy Sepulcher, the Rotunda of the Ascension, the Church of the Eleona, and others, while Jews probably took it from the many synagogues around David's tomb on Mt. Zion, or from the



No. 355

neighborhood of the Western Wall. They were found all over Europe—many in tombs—and the indications are that they were produced in the same workshop, as Barag proved (1970; [1], 1971; [2], 1971). He pointed to the similar motifs in all types, similar glass consistency, shapes, sometimes identical measurements and molds, and dated the entire range of flasks between 578 and 626. He assumed that the *crux fourchée* of the Christian flasks was to be identified with the *crux gemmata*, which was placed on the rock of Golgotha by Theodosius II in A.D. 420 (Frolow, 1948, pp. 78 ff.) but was first depicted on coins of Tiberius II Constantine (578–582). A forked cross surmounting a globe resting on steps, which is depicted in another class of flasks, appears on coins of Heraclius (610–641). The ultimate date for Christian flasks could have been 636, with the conquest of the Holy Land by the Moslems, and for the Jewish flasks 629, when the Jews were forbidden to enter Jerusalem.

The use of glass flasks for carrying holy oil was concurrent with the use of Christian lead ampullae (nos. 524, 526, 527), but there are no Jewish metal ampullae extant.

To produce such flasks, the sides of the body were first blown into a mold with movable panels. Then, the bottom and the neck were blown and



No. 356

shaped, and finally the tubular handle and flange were added. This method becomes quite clear from the fact that one or more vessels were found with the motif upside down. Of the three main types, the three examples in this exhibition all represent the second type, which has an elongated neck, a tubular handle, and sometimes a flange on top. The similarity in their shapes and in some motifs stresses the differences in the identifying symbols in their decoration. The decorated panels of all the classes are framed by beaded dots.

The Jewish flask (no. 354; cf. Barag, 1970, pp. 45, 57, class v, no. 9, fig. 22) is translucent light brown. One panel carries a seven-branched menorah on a three-legged base; others a stylized palm, which may be identified as a tree of life, and an arch resting on columns perhaps symbolizing a Torah ark of a temple facade; and two show two concentric lozenges, which may indicate the sacred character of the objects in Jewish as well as in Christian art as they do in early tombs and leather bindings of Gospel books (Goodenough, 1953, I, pp. 86, 169; Barag, 1970, p. 43). The sixth panel has an unidentified X-shaped element, terminating in stylized ivy leaves. Motifs in other Jewish flasks include a shofar and shovel flanking the menorah, or an amphora.

On the Christian flask (no. 355), also translucent

light brown, three of the six panels are decorated with three different forked crosses, alternating with three concentric lozenges. One of the crosses, that of the Golgotha, is standing on three steps. The second cross stems from a bulbous base, placed within two circles; this may be identified as the Omphalos of the Earth. The third cross has equal arms, tipped with short crossbars, standing on a tree trunk (?) flanked by stylized leaves, which can be defined as a "life-giving cross," connecting the tree of life and paradise with the cross of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulcher (Barag, 1970, pp. 39–42). The concentric lozenges appearing in alternate panels should be interpreted as signifying the sacred character of the flask. All the Christian flasks are hexagonal, possibly because the ciboria above the Holy Sepulcher as well as above the Golgotha were hexagonal (Barag [2], 1971). Other motifs in the Christian flasks include a cross on an anchor or a cross on a ring and others which may represent later types of actual crosses of the Holy Sepulcher.

The unassigned flask (no. 356; cf. Barag [1], 1971, p. 49, class IV, no. 1, fig. 37), of blue glass, bears motifs also found on Christian and Jewish vessels; the group was intended for use by either Jews or Christians, since no vessels have pagan symbols (Barag [1], 1971, pp. 45–46). The first panel is decorated with an amphora, the second shows an unidentified object, with a triangular top. The third, fifth, and sixth depict other amphorae, or represent a stylized human figure. The fourth panel has two concentric lozenges. Other motifs on "unassigned" flasks represent various trees, birds, and fish.

B. N.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barag, 1970; Barag (1), 1971; Barag (2), 1971.

357 Plaque against the "evil eye"

Syria-Palestine, 5th century

Limestone

31.5 × 27 cm. (12 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Collection of the

Archaeological Institute, The Hebrew University,
2473

The rectangular stone plaque surmounted by a gable is worked in shallow bas-relief. The plaque is decorated with an arch containing a colonnaded shrine in the center and with a stylized conch above it. The shrine is flanked by two menorot, each with three legs and V-shaped branches, all formed by rows of beadlike segments. The narrow base is decorated with three birds pecking each other. There is a large round depression in the center of the shrine and three lunette-shaped depressions above the menorot and within the conch, originally inlaid with mirrors or glass. Some of the glass still survives. A small hole above the conch indicates that the plaque was made to be hung on the wall. Signs of repair appear at the bottom of the back.

Several limestone or clay plaques with similar Jewish symbols and remnants of inlaid glass have been found (Mayer and Reifenberg, 1937). While the menorot and the shrine symbolize the Jewish hope for deliverance, the birds may symbolize eternal life in paradise and personal salvation in life after death. Christian and pagan plaques and many figurines with such inlaid glass have also been found, a few in graves, while others are of unknown origin (Rahmani, 1964).

Yael Israeli of the Israel Museum, who studied the glass and mirror plaques and figurines of



pagan, Christian, and Jewish origins, found them all to be of Syro-Palestinian and Egyptian provenance, mainly from the fifth and sixth centuries. The lack of archaeological data and the primitive workmanship prevent exact dating.

No one knows for sure the function of the plaques inlaid with glass or mirrors. Mayer and Reifenberg (1937) suggested that those with holes for hanging on the wall were used in Judaism as a prototype for a "mizrah," that is, the east, pointing in the direction of prayer, toward Jerusalem. This

does not explain the plaques found in graves, those without hanging holes, or the many Christian plaques and pagan figurines. Rahmani (1964) suggested that they were used by all religions for either ceremonial, magical, or symbolical reasons, and assumed that they were used for personal protection against evil spirits, as an "autofascination of the evil eye." These "served their owners in life, and were placed in their tombs with some hope that they might here, too, prove effective against the perils of after-life."

A. C. M.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mayer and Reifenberg, 1937; Goodenough, 1953, I, pp. 174–177; III, figs. 440, 442, 445, 446; 1954, IV, p. 124, fig. 49; Willoughby, 1957, pp. 65 ff.; Rahmani, 1964, pp. 55 ff.

Architecture

Midrashic and New Testament sources testify to the existence of synagogues as early as the Hellenistic period and during the time of the Herodian Temple, when Jesus and his disciples preached in them. Even in Jerusalem, near the temple itself, there were synagogues. From its inception the synagogue, *συναγωγή* in Greek, was not only a place for prayer and reading the Torah, but also a proper Beth Knesset, a "house of assembly." Most of the communal business of the congregation took place in this house, including election of community officials, the evaluation of taxes, legal proceedings, and education. Many of the synagogues had a school for younger children, a ritual bath, a bakery, an infirmary, a hostel, and other amenities for the citizens and guests of the community.

The "house of assembly," like most large assembly halls during the Late Antique period, was constructed like a basilica, with a high nave and side aisles built somewhat lower to enable windows to admit light. The size and wealth of the community determined the size of its synagogue. Alexandria, for instance, had a very large diplostoon with many aisles. The largest excavated synagogue, that at Sardis (no. 359), was probably originally a secular Roman basilica acquired by the Jewish community and remodeled for its own use. Other civic basilicas may have been converted into synagogues in this period, though most of the synagogues now known were built specifically for that purpose. Smaller buildings could have been adapted from private houses.

Of about 120 known synagogues of the first to seventh century in Europe and the East, about 100 have been excavated in the Holy Land. The extant basilical synagogues are either square or rectangular; most have only two aisles, one on either side of the nave, separated from it by arcades, and a few have more than two aisles (e.g., Hamat Tiberias, no. 342; Sardis; and Gaza). Most Galilean synagogues have

transverse colonnades opposite their entrance, as in Capernaum and elsewhere. Among the rectangular buildings a distinct group is formed by the "broad-house," with its focal point in the long wall, as in Dura Europos (no. 358) and some Judean synagogues of which Khirbet Sham'a has the double arcades of a basilica, while the rest are single halls.

Most existing synagogues have the wall facing Jerusalem specially indicated either by a niche (e.g., Dura Europos), a rounded apse (e.g., Beth Alpha, fig. 45), a square apse (e.g., Hamat Tiberias), or a raised bema (e.g., Khirbet Sham'a). This tradition derives from the Book of Daniel (6:10–11), which states that the prophet used to pray three times a day with his window open toward Jerusalem. The niches and apses were probably intended to contain the Torah scrolls, in either movable or fixed arks. Other synagogues, mainly of the Galilean type, have their decorated facades with three portals facing Jerusalem (e.g., Capernaum). One assumes that when reading the Torah and praying in Galilean synagogues the congregation faced the entrance, and that the Torah scrolls were kept in a movable ark somewhere in the hall or in the adjacent rooms that have sometimes survived.

In some synagogues the wall directed toward Jerusalem was so designated in a later period. In Beth She'arim, Hamat Tiberias, and Ostia, for instance, parts of the entrances facing Jerusalem were rebuilt to accommodate a Torah ark. In Sardis aediculae were added in the east entrance at a later date (no. 359).

There is no architectural or literary evidence that suggests special women's quarters existed in synagogues in this period, but the many details of the origin and development of the synagogue are still not known. Some scholars have compared them with local public buildings, such as secular basilicas, temples of Roman, Hellenistic, Syriac, or even Nabataean origin, or with Christian churches.

The decoration of the synagogues differed: carved stone capitals, lintels, and friezes are found in most Galilean as well as European synagogues; floor mosaics were common from the fourth to the sixth century; but wall painting is known only from the Dura synagogue of the mid-third century and from fragments at Sardis and Stobi. The Jerusalem Talmud ('Avodah Zarah, 42b) states that during the life of Rabbi Yohanan (third century) people in his community started to paint the walls of the synagogue and he did not hinder them, while during the life of Rabbi Abun (fourth century) they started to decorate the floors with mosaics and he did not prevent them. These dates accord with the wall paintings of Dura and with the earliest floor mosaics, in Galilee.

The plan of the mosaic decoration is common to most Galilean synagogues. It divides the floor into three areas of different dimensions. That nearest to

the Torah ark is decorated with symbols of national redemption, such as the temple facade or a Torah ark flanked by menorot, mahtah, shofar, lulav, and ethrog. The central area is usually decorated with a circle containing the twelve signs of the zodiac, inscribed in Hebrew, and a victorious sun god in his chariot in the center. The third area sometimes contains a biblical representation, such as the Sacrifice of Isaac (Beth Alpha, fig. 45), Daniel in the lions' den (Na'aran), and Noah's Ark (Gerasa, fig. 44). Other floor mosaics are decorated with undulating, inhabited foliage scrolls (e.g., Nirim, Gaza, Beth Shean), geometrical carpet panels, a lion and an ox facing each other (Hamat Tiberias, no. 342), two rams (Sussia), or David the musician (Gaza, fig. 48). The style of these mosaics is directly related to the Roman and Byzantine mosaics of the period, though some are very crude and primitive.

BEZALEL NARKISS

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sukenik, 1934; Kitzinger, 1965; Avi-Yonah, 1971; Saller, 1972; Gutmann, 1975; Foerster, 1977.

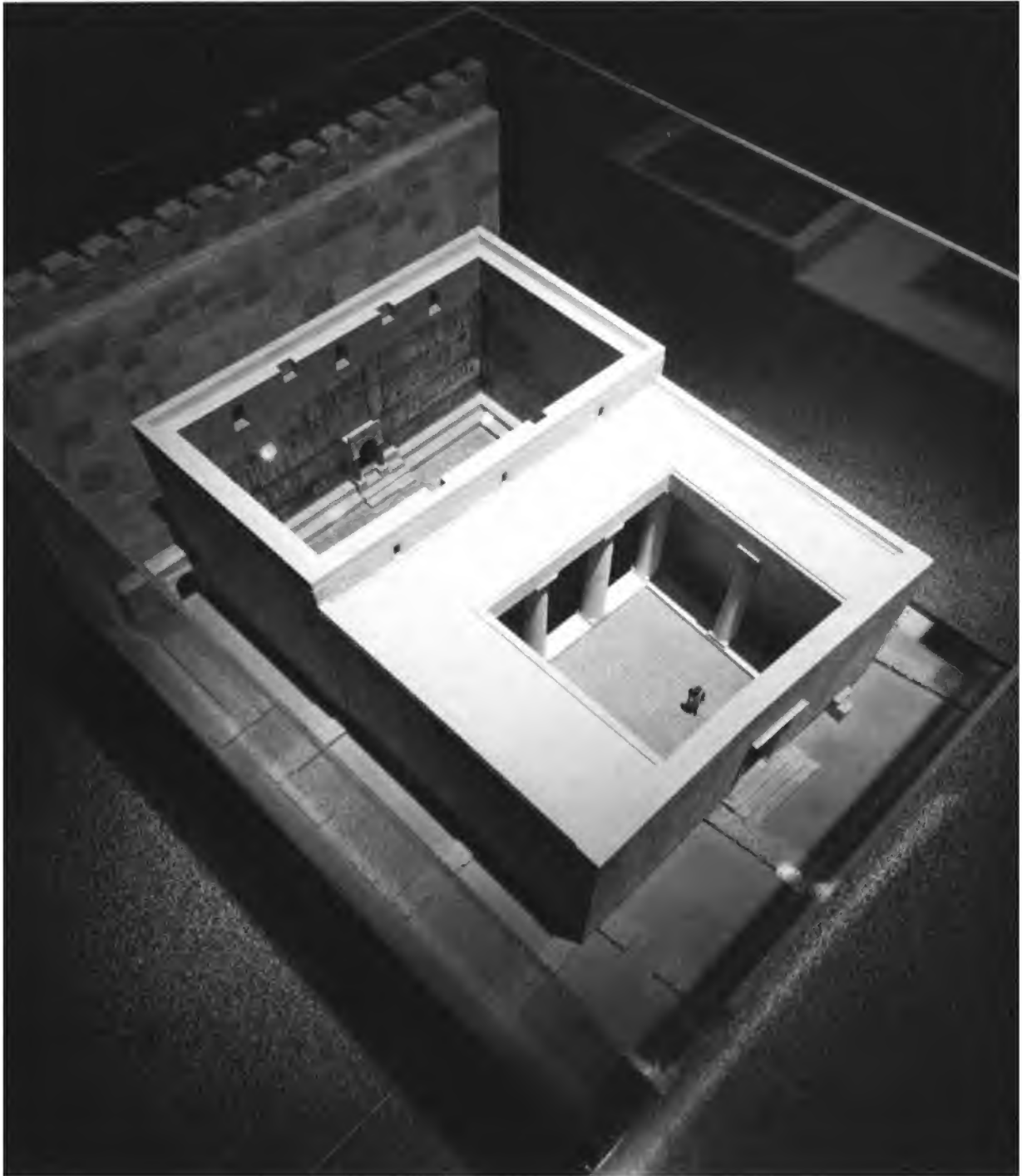
***358 Synagogue**

Dura Europos, Syria, 244/245

Assembly hall plan: 13.72 × 7.62 m. (45 × 25 ft.)

Model: New York, Yeshiva University Museum

The synagogue in Dura Europos, no longer standing, once comprised a mud-brick house, a forecourt accessible only from the house, and a hall of assembly accessible only from the forecourt. Situated in the densely populated west central



section of the city, just inside its ramparts, it was one of a row of houses that formed a typical middle-class city block.

An earlier private house, of the ordinary courtyard type, had been converted into a synagogue, probably between 165 and 200. The Jewish builders paved the forecourt, which occupied the center of the building, and installed colonnades on two sides and a laver in the northeast corner. The building's main entrance was at the northeast corner and led down a long corridor to the forecourt, which gave access to the other rooms. Along the side was the assembly hall, with low stone benches running along its walls and a niche, which may have held Torah scrolls, in the wall opposite the entrance to the forecourt. A square in the middle of the floor may mark the site of a lectern or an early form of Torah shrine. A chamber on the south side of the forecourt with direct access to the assembly hall may have accommodated women worshippers. The remaining three chambers, to the southeast corner of the house, may have served as a residence for an elder or caretaker.

An Aramaic inscription found inside the assembly hall discloses that in 244/245 the first synagogue was enlarged and remodeled, an ambitious undertaking that included the incorporation of a private house at the east. Almost double the size of the first, the second synagogue ran through the whole width of the city block from east to west. Its entrance was moved to the east side. The eastern chambers may have housed transient Jews and a synagogue official, perhaps the "archon" and "elder" Samuel, mentioned in the inscription of 244/245. The forecourt, with a laver in one corner, was enlarged and colonnaded on three sides. The forecourt may have been used for the reading of public announcements, study and debate by Jewish scholars, the instruction of children, and the washing of hands before prayer. To the west of the forecourt is the assembly hall, a rectangular space—45 by 25 feet—with two entrances of different sizes on the long east wall, the Torah niche against the west wall, and stone benches running along all four walls.

Although it is only one-tenth the area of the Sardis synagogue hall (no. 359), the hall of assembly is one of the largest rooms in Dura and is comparable in size to those of other local religions. All four walls from floor to ceiling (nearly 23 feet in height) carry superimposed registers of painted

figural decoration—the oldest extant Old Testament cycle (no. 341)—and the ceiling is made of painted tiles like that of no. 52. The hall resembles other Durene structures serving such cults as those of Mithras and the Palmyrene gods.

The second synagogue was in use for no more than a decade. In response to a threat of a siege by the Sassanian Persians about 256, it and other buildings near the western ramparts were buried in a deep deposit of earth and sand that sloped upward to the top of the defense wall. This preserved the synagogue and its remarkable murals until their excavation in 1932.

W. E. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kraeling, 1956; Gutmann, 1966; Seager, 1973.

*359 Synagogue

Sardis, Turkey, 4th century

L. about 91 m. (300 ft.); assembly hall L. 35.67 ×
18.9 m. (117 × 62 ft.)

The colossal synagogue in Sardis in western Asia Minor, discovered in 1962, is the largest extant such building from antiquity and a key Jewish monument of the late Roman world. Erected in a prominent location at the center of civic life, it occupies the southeast corner of a monumental Roman gymnasium alongside the main east-west thoroughfare of the city, a colonnaded avenue lined with shops, including some operated by Jews and Christians.

The walls were constructed primarily of horizontal bands of carefully coursed mortared rubble alternating with horizontal bands of brick (cf. Rotunda in Thessalonike, no. 107). Symmetrical along the longitudinal, east-west axis, the building consists of a columned porch on the east that leads into a colonnaded forecourt with a fountain in the middle. Three doorways open to the assembly hall, a basilica of seven bays marked by six pairs of powerful piers placed close to the lateral walls. The hall could accommodate at least one thousand persons. At the west end three semicircular tiers of benches were installed in the apse; at the opposite end (facing Jerusalem) two aedicular shrines flanked the central door. One of these



shrines may have contained the Torah scrolls, the other was perhaps for sacred utensils. In the center of the hall four marble slabs supported a small structure, perhaps a bema, possibly of wood. A massive marble table with eagles carved on its supports stood in the first bay before the apse, and freestanding carved lions that were spolia were nearby, perhaps flanking the table. The floor was paved with polychrome mosaics arranged in carpetlike fashion corresponding to the seven bays; mosaic paving also decorated the forecourt. The lower tracts of the walls of the hall were incrustated with marble intarsia set within a framework of carved pilasters and capitals. The upper walls or ceiling bore frescoes and mosaics. A late fourth-century floor mosaic in the apse depicts two symmetrical blue and red vines growing out of a golden krater with a blue "Water of Life" flanked by two (now fragmentary) peacocks. Above the krater, within a wreath, is a dedicatory inscription recording the mosaic as the gift of the two brothers Symphoros and Stratoneikianos Flavioi, who took the family name of the emperor Constantine. The outer border of this mosaic is a rare example of crosses in a non-Christian context.

As excavated, this synagogue represents the fourth phase of construction dating from the second half of the fourth century, possibly after 378. In the first phase this area was arranged as a suite of three chambers serving the gymnasium, transformed in phase II into a columnar basilica

with a forecourt to the east, which was perhaps intended to serve as a civil, forensic basilica. The basilica was turned over to the Jewish community as early as the later second century, perhaps with approval by the emperor Lucius Verus, who visited Sardis in 166. The Jewish architects converted the columnar basilica into a synagogue, which initiated phase III (about 170 to 250 ?), but retained the Roman imperial architectural character and monumental scale of the preceding building.

The fourth-century renovation, the last, and fourth, phase, remained in use as a synagogue until the destruction of Sardis by the Sassanian king Chosroes II in about 616, after which it seems to have fallen into decay.

The size, location, and planning of the edifice contrast sharply with the synagogue at Dura Europos (no. 358), and these differences demonstrate the great variety of synagogue architecture in the Roman Diaspora. The Sardis building has been related to the huge Hellenistic diplostoon of the Jews in Alexandria, which is described in the Talmud and was destroyed in 116, while its planning, three benches, and atriumlike forecourt suggest possible connections with Early Christian architecture.

W. E. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hanfmann, 1972, pp. 135–140, 167–169, 235–237, *passim*; Seager, 1972; Seager, 1973; Hanfmann, 1975, pp. 54–55, 88–89; Foss, 1976, pp. 16, 21, 29, 36, 39, 41–42, 51.

V

THE CHRISTIAN REALM

Abbreviated Representations

Abbreviated representations of biblical themes—reduced to the most essential figures, yet maintaining the recognizability of the scene—appeared in Western Christian art around 200 and about 240 in Eastern art. Together with narrative representations, in which the artist endeavors to pictorialize as many figures and actions as the text can supply, they constitute the earliest form of biblical imagery. Although objective evidence is still lacking, the frescoes in the Christian baptistery of Dura Europos (no. 360) and the coinage minted under Septimius Severus from Apamea Kibotos (no. 350) suggest that antecedents probably go back to the end of the second century. Considering Early Christian art and especially the problem of its beginnings, one must keep in mind the fortuitous character of its preservation—for instance, in Rome—and the systematic destruction of Christian images, particularly in the East.

A typical abbreviated representation is found on the short western wall above the baptismal font in the baptistery at Dura (fig. 50), which was presumably once fully decorated with frescoes. Appropriately for the theme of baptism, the representation shows Adam and Eve on either side of the tree of knowledge, framed by trees of paradise. Above it, a broader presentation of a sheep carrier with his flock introduces a bucolic theme, which, in this context, is to be understood as a symbolic reference to John 10:11. The Good Shepherd was depicted even more frequently without the flock, thus stressing the symbolic significance.

The representation of the healing of the paralytic on the north wall of the Dura baptistery (no. 360) is an abbreviated double scene. Although Christ appears only once—approaching the bed of the lame man—a second phase is also presented, with the paralytic man carrying his bed away, thus showing the effect of Christ's miraculous healing. In portraying this miracle the artist presumably intended to recall

not so much the specific event as the words of Christ connected with it: "My son, your sins are forgiven" (Mark 2:5), which had special significance in the baptismal context.

The lower register on the north wall of the baptistery depicts the five women in the sepulchral cave, a scene that was preceded on the east wall by the same five women (only the feet are still visible) walking toward the sepulcher. Not only do we have here a narrative representation extended over two walls, but the possibility that at the beginning of the third century a larger repertory of images existed in Syria than in the West.

The Cleveland statuettes (nos. 364–368) also attest to the early origin of Christian art in the East. They reflect a separate and original iconography whose existence could not even have been anticipated twenty years ago. The four Jonah statuettes establish the existence and tradition of a Jonah cycle in the East in the third quarter of the third century, and they demonstrate the dissolution of a unified cycle into separate abbreviated representations. Each statuette is a segment of the whole Jonah story. Moreover, the statuette of the Good Shepherd (no. 364) confirms the early transfer of the bucolic theme to Christ, an association implicit in John 10.

The frescoes at Dura, and probably the Cleveland statuettes, do not belong to sepulchral art. In contrast, third-century Christian art in the West is preserved only as funerary art, at least until the fourth century. A repertory of salvation scenes, abbreviated to the essential details toward about the third decade of the third century on wall and ceiling paintings in the Roman catacombs, was transferred to sarcophagi from about 250 onward. With the exception of the Jonah cycle, the abbreviated form predominated. A striking and characteristic trait of Western pagan and Christian art of the second half of the third century is the bucolic and maritime framework.



FIG. 50 *Tracing of fresco from the baptistery of Dura Europos, with Good Shepherd and Adam and Eve.*

New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery

FIG. 51 *Sarcophagus with Jonah scene, orant, reader, Good Shepherd, and baptismal scene.*

Rome, Sta. Maria Antiqua



Christian art in the pre-Constantinian period is relatively well preserved in Rome, Velletri, and Cimitile. A sarcophagus in Sta. Maria Antiqua in Rome dating to about 260 (fig. 51), for example, combines the religiously neutral center—reading scene, orant, Good Shepherd—with a Jonah representation on one side and a baptismal scene on the other. The imagery of the Jonah sarcophagus in Rome (no. 361) presents a biblical anthology: the Jonah trilogy dominates the front side, while around it depictions of the Raising of Lazarus, Moses, and an abbreviated Noah scene enlarge the repertory of images without presenting a unified program.

The most convincing explanation proposed so far of the selection of themes on catacomb walls and sarcophagi imagery is that they are based upon prayers for salvation. In the appeal to God, examples of

his redeeming work are cited: Jonah in the belly of the whale, Daniel in the lions' den, Susanna among the Elders, the Miracle of Cana, and Christ healing the blind, the mute, the lame, and others. Although the earliest Latin version of these prayers dates only from the beginning of the fifth century, the formulae with their references to God's miracle-working activity must have been known as early as the third century; they ultimately go back to Jewish prayers. It appears indeed that we have here liturgical texts that presuppose with Christian congregations a knowledge of similar and older lists of paradigms as they occur, for instance, in the writings of Irenaeus (*Adversus haereses* 2.33.1) and Tertullian (*De bapt.* 9). Prayers spoken for the dying may have influenced the serial presentation of such themes in sepulchral art, though this still does not indicate the icono-

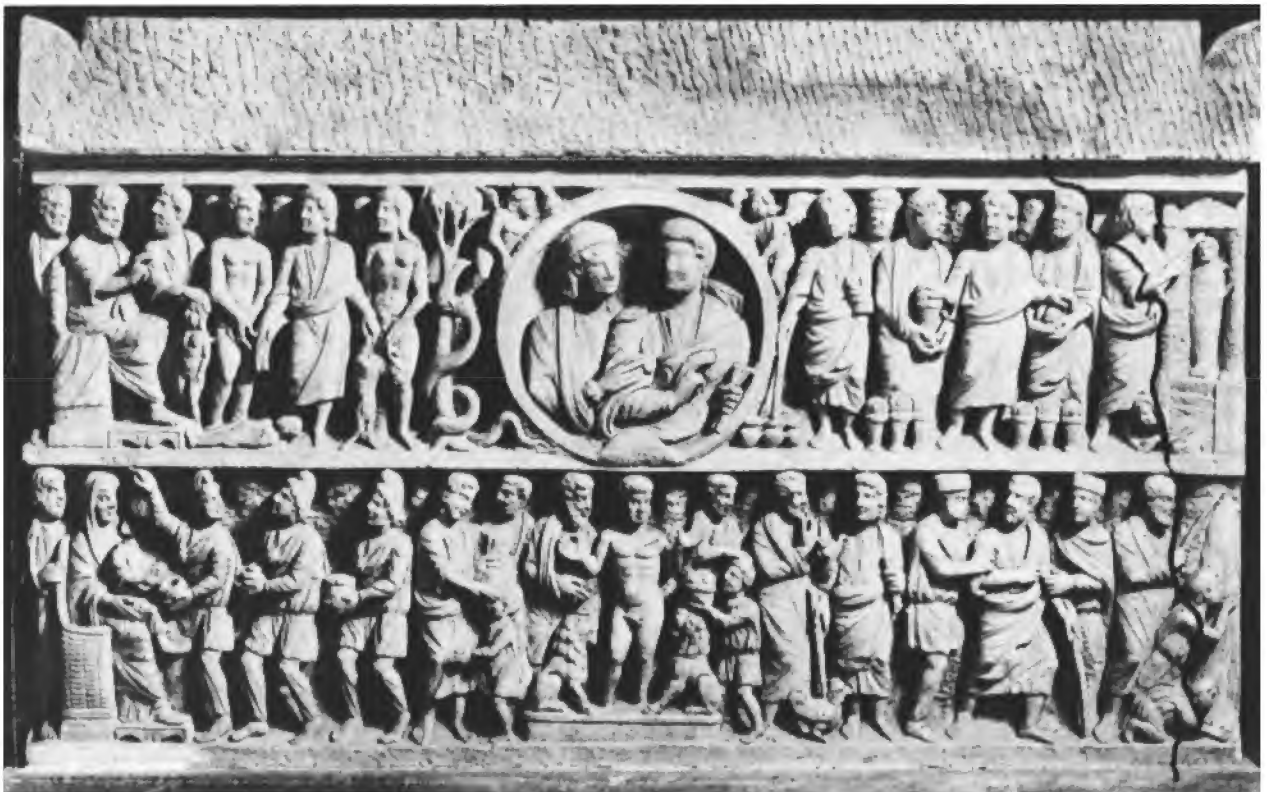


FIG. 52 *Sarcophagus with Jonah scenes.*
London, The Trustees of the British Museum

graphic source of the corresponding abbreviated representations. The individualized portrait of the resting Jonah on the British Museum sarcophagus of about 300 (fig. 52) shows that the Christians wanted to incorporate into the biblical story wishes for the deceased as they were expressed in the prayers.

FIG. 53 *Sarcophagus with Old and New Testament scenes.*
Vatican City, Museo Pio Cristiano

The Velletri plaque (no. 371) demonstrates the fusion of neutral pagan themes—sheep carrier, orant, resting shepherd—with biblical subject



matter: the Fall of Man, Noah, Daniel, and the Jonah cycle, pressed into the smallest space, juxtaposed over the only New Testament scene, the Multiplication of the Loaves (Matt. 15 : 37).

During the pre-Constantinian period most of the biblical representations are taken from the Old Testament, especially Genesis, Exodus, Daniel, and Jonah. In the West, besides the abbreviated scenes from the Old Testament, the repertory of New Testament themes was expanded. Some of them are unique and seem to reflect a pictorial recension that is otherwise lost. The polychrome fragments in Rome (nos. 372, 373), which date to about 300 to 310, are good examples. The representations of the Sermon on the Mount, the Feeding of the Five Thousand, and the adjoining scenes of miraculous healings display certain aspects of narrative compositions. In these we can observe how the separation of the individual scene from a narrative context leads to an abbreviated representation and how in most cases the abbreviation itself constitutes a second stage in the development. Both fragments portray Christ bearded, a type that was to supersede the youthful beardless Christ Logos only toward the end of the fourth century.

It was only after Constantine's victory at the Milvian Bridge in 312 that Christian iconography outgrew its experimental stage and became fixed and that the biblical repertory was greatly enriched. It is important to note that Christian and pagan art were produced in the same workshops. The historical reliefs of the Arch of Constantine (313–315; no. 58), to cite a striking example, come from the same workshops as the Christus-Petrus sarcophagi of one or two registers (fig. 53), as proved by a comparison of the heads of the soldiers on the Arch of Constantine to those on the Lateran sarcophagus 161 (no. 374; fig. 54). What can be observed in sculpture has a counterpart in book illumination of the Constantinian era, when the Vatican Vergil (no. 203) and the Quedlinburg Itala (no. 424) were illustrated in the same scriptoria. The Christian element in representational art lies only in the biblical or christological themes, not in the style of the representation.

These datable Christian sarcophagi also demonstrate that local Roman traditions concerning the apostle Peter entered Christian imagery at the same time that the basilica of St. Peter's in the Vatican

(no. 581) and the Basilica Apostolorum at the Via Appia (later S. Sebastiano) were erected. A trilogy consisting of Peter's Water Miracle, his capture by Roman soldiers, and Christ's prediction of Peter's denial (no. 374) is juxtaposed as a coherent group with a group of Christ's miracles. Recently, a well-balanced example of the same compositional type, close to the archetype, around 330, was found in Arles (fig. 55: on the lid, the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace, at the left, and the Adoration of the Magi, at the right). The main frieze, which lines up abbreviated scenes one after another with heads filling the background space, has compositional analogies in the reliefs on the Arch of Constantine. Thus, the style and principle of composition—

FIG. 54 (top) *Detail of heads of soldiers on the Arch of Constantine.*

Rome

(bottom) *Detail of soldiers on the Lateran sarcophagus 161 (no. 374).*

Vatican City, Museo Pio Cristiano



frontality, centralized composition, two registers—occur in both Christian sarcophagi and imperial reliefs, however different the themes. Likewise influenced by the Roman tradition is the newly found double register sarcophagus in Arles, dated about 330 (fig. 56), which on its lid depicts abbreviated scenes mostly from the Old Testament, and, on the main friezes: in the upper left register, the Creation of Adam and Eve; in the lower right, Peter as teacher of the soldiers and, immediately to the left, their baptism.

Both sarcophagi show the Adoration of the Magi, a favored theme, fashioned after a composition pertaining to the imperial cult. Such imperial traits as scepter, nimbus, and acceptance of homage by prostration were transferred to Christ in the fourth century. The epitaph of Severa in Rome, from 325–350 (fig. 57), shows this theme in an interesting version, as does the engraved ring stone at Oxford (no. 393).

The migration of iconographic schemes from one medium to another can be observed everywhere in the fourth century. The stereotyped iconographic depictions of the Raising of Lazarus, the healing of the lame and the blind, the Water Miracles performed by either Moses or Peter, Daniel in the lions' den, and the Sacrifice of Isaac appear on gold glasses (nos. 377, 382), on terracotta plates (no. 379), and on gems, as well as on catacomb frescoes (no. 381) and

sarcophagi. Common models in fourth-century pattern books must be assumed as the source.

On a sarcophagus relief in the Vatican (no. 375) can be recognized—assuming intermediate stages—the reduction of a narrative presentation of the prophecy of Ezekiel 37 describing the resurrection of the dead, a theme also preserved in one of the synagogue frescoes at Dura Europos (no. 341). Christ as the fulfiller of prophecies is in the relief replacing the prophet, an image that reinterprets the Old Testament event. Two abbreviated Genesis scenes (figs. 53, 56), where Christ participates in the Creation of Man and apportions work to the first parents, are other examples of such replacement.

Klauser ([1], 1961, pp. 142–143) suggested that abbreviated representations originated in gems, and he pointed to a passage by Clement of Alexandria, an early Church father, to support this conclusion. Two considerations, however, contradict this theory: Christian gems postdate the earliest Christian works of art in other media, and, according to some scholars, gems do not show original designs but usually copy models of monumental art. At this time no solution to the problem of the origin of the abbreviated scenes in Early Christian art can be reached.

Recent discoveries have shown that it is unwise to construct elaborate theories based on accidentally preserved artistic monuments. The catacomb of the Via Latina in Rome (nos. 219, 419, 423), which was discovered in 1955 and dates between 320 and 380, offers a pictorial repertory that completely deviates from known catacomb paintings. In addition to mythological scenes, there are about sixty Old

FIG. 55 *Sarcophagus with Old and New Testament scenes.*

Arles, Musée Réattu





FIG. 56 *Sarcophagus with Old and New Testament scenes.*

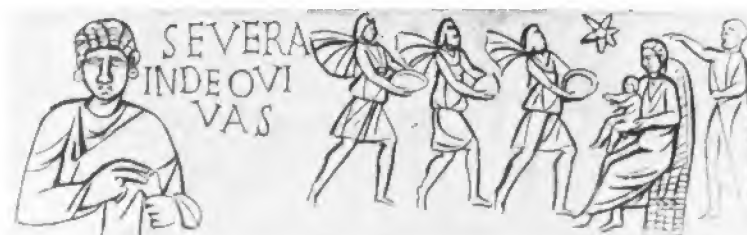
Arles, Musée Réattu

Testament representations in contrast to only seven New Testament ones. Moreover, the depictions have a distinctly narrative character that contrasts with the abbreviated nature of most "orthodox" catacomb art. Their majority most likely derives from three different biblical picture recensions that existed in Rome in the first half of the fourth century.

In the East, the Dura synagogue (no. 341) shows that a Jewish Septuagint illustration must have existed before 240 and suggests that abbreviated representations of Old Testament themes were taken from the narrative Septuagint illustration. As for the Dura baptistery, where abbreviated and narrative scenes occur side by side, the narrative themes were probably derived from Tatian's *Diatessaron*, familiar in the Syrian sphere, or from the Gospels of Matthew and John, predominant in the non-Syrian area. The chronological priority of Old Testament illustrations

FIG. 57 *Tracing of marble epitaph with Adoration of the Magi.*

Vatican City, Museo Pio Cristiano



cannot be doubted. Furthermore, there are many indications that the choice of themes from the New Testament was at first limited to the Gospels, and, finally, that in the East narrative compositions were the earliest form of representation.

The development in the West seems to have differed. Here, Christian art of the pre-Constantinian period—preserved only in the sepulchral realm—depicts Old Testament scenes like the Jonah and Susanna cycle in the narrative mode, while abbreviated compositions appear simultaneously. In the East abbreviated representations probably constitute a second stage of development; in the West abbreviated scenes, possibly through the quoting of miraculous salvation, predominated. The polychrome fragments in Rome (nos. 372, 373), however, with their narrative elements, point to an as yet unidentified source of imagery.

Another problem concerns the adoption of ancient pictorial forms and compositions into Christian art. The representation of the resting nude Jonah was derived and transformed from the picture of Dionysos lying under the vine (fig. 58) or from Endymion sleeping. The Creation of Man (fig. 53, upper left) was fashioned after the Prometheus representation. Samson's struggle with the lion was adapted from a typical image of Heracles' struggle with the lion (nos. 139, 140), the ascension of Elijah was patterned on a typical representation of Sol as seen on the short side of the Arch of Constantine (no. 58), and the represen-

tation of Adam and Eve with the snake may go back to the Hesperides scene. The representation of the Sacrifice of Isaac (no. 380) would have been impossible without the model of ancient execution scenes, and the conversion of the Calydonian meal in the Meleager myth into a Christian funeral meal through substitution of bread and fish for the boar's shank shows the adoption and renewal of older forms.

The types ultimately go back to narrative contexts and thus enhance the likelihood that these were the source of the abbreviated composition. Adaptation and integration within a given context, however, do not exclude the possibility that some iconographic scenes are original in conception, as one has probably to assume for the Passion cycle of around 350.

How firmly fixed iconographic types became during the fourth century, especially in the abbreviated scenes, is evident wherever old themes appear in new compositional contexts and other art forms: for instance, the short scenes on the two-register columnar sarcophagi that were adopted from frieze sarcophagi, or on ivory tablets, such as the Murano diptych, where on either side of Christ enthroned appear miracle scenes abbreviated to two persons (fig. 59). Also, the pictorial repertory of the nave mosaics above the clerestory windows in S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna is partly derived from the tradition of abbreviated scenes: for example, the Raising of Lazarus, the healing of the blind, the Samaritan woman at the well.

Finally, to understand the meaning of any abbreviated composition, its function has to be taken into account. The same scene may suggest different shades of meaning, depending on whether it appears in a catacomb painting, on an ivory pyxis, a liturgical vessel, or on gems or ornaments. Although the abbreviated representation is always rooted in a biblical episode, its symbolic allusions transcend that text. It is intended, at least by the person who gave the commission, as a reference to the function of the object or to the patron's life.

ERICH DINKLER

FIG. 58 *Campanian terracotta with Dionysos under the vine.*

Paris, Musée du Louvre



- BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wilpert, 1903; Gerke, 1940; Morey, 1959; Klauser (1), 1961; Klauser, 1965–1966; Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I; Fremersdorf, 1967; Weitzmann (2), 1971; Brandenburg, 1975; Nestori, 1975; Sotomayor, 1975; Volbach, 1976.



FIG. 59 *Leaf from the Murano diptych, with Christ enthroned and miracle scenes.*

Ravenna, Museo Nazionale



*360 Baptistery wall paintings with New Testament scenes

Dura Europos, about 240

Fresco

2.92 × 6.50 m. (9 ft. 7 in. × 21 ft. 4 in.); register divider 1.80 m. above floor level

New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Art Gallery

The ground plan demonstrates that this earliest pre-Constantinian *domus ecclesiae* was originally a private building with an open inner court (no. 580). Erected probably in the first century, it was transformed, as an inscription indicates, into a Christian building in 232. The wall paintings in room six, which served as a baptistery, were added later on, perhaps around 240.

The paintings on the north wall are among the best preserved. At its western part in the upper register the healing of the paralytic (Mark 2 : 1–12) is depicted in two episodes: the sick man lying

upon a bed and the same walking off with his bed on his back. Christ stands in the background, beardless and without halo, his right arm pointing to the bedridden man. Another scene to the right shows Christ at the left and Peter at the right (head destroyed) walking on the water (Matt. 14 : 22–34) and, in the background, a large ship with the disciples. Christ is identified by his costume, a long-sleeved chiton and himation; he has a beard and thick hair.

In the lower register is a rare representation: the Women at the Tomb—a sarcophagus with large stars at the corners inside the tomb chamber. The women approach from the right: each holds a torch in her right hand and a bowl of unguent in her left. Three women are partly preserved. Very small fragments of two more were still visible after the discovery of the building in 1932. This corresponds to the five women (feet only still visible) at the east wall of the room. At the extreme right of the lower north register an open door is partly preserved. Thus, three parts of a narrative

composition can be identified, as Kraeling (1967, pp. 86–88) has proved on the basis of Tatian's *Diatessaron*. According to this text, five women approach the tomb (east wall), with its open door (north wall, east corner). Inside the tomb chamber, the women need the light of their candles. The stars adorning the corners of the sarcophagus symbolize the angels who announce to the visitors that Christ is risen.

Since the register division is apparently maintained on both the east and west walls, one must assume that a cycle of "God's Mighty Works" was represented there in eight more scenes.

The art historical significance of the paintings lies in the occurrence of abbreviated and narrative scenes side by side and in the combination of two short scenes in one composition, as in the healing of the paralytic.

The New Testament scenes appear here for the first time in the history of art, raising the question of whether Christian art had an earlier beginning in the Eastern Church than in the Western. Though the frescoes are of rather modest quality, their historical value with regard to the origins of Early Christian art can hardly be overestimated.

E. D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kraeling, 1967.

361 Front of sarcophagus with story of Jonah

Rome, about 290

Marble

67 × 220 × 19 cm. (2 ft. 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. × 7 ft. 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Vatican City, Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie, Museo Pio Cristiano, Lat. 119

Chief restorations are enumerated in Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I (note especially the restoration of the head of Christ in the Lazarus scene). The main theme is the Jonah trilogy, flanked by maritime and bucolic scenes: to the left, two fishermen holding a basket with fish; to the right, an angler with a boy and a great heron. The Jonah cycle begins at the left with a sailing boat below a bust of Sol (with crown of rays) and a Wind personification blowing a horn (lost). One member of the three-man crew throws the naked Jonah into the sea, where the ketos is ready to swallow him. In the next scene, Jonah cast up, the monster is repeated, so that the curving bodies and tails form an ornamental center for the relief. Above is a small abbreviated scene: Noah, in a rare profile view, in the ark with the dove approaching, and, to the right, in larger scale, Jonah under the gourd vine, resting in the typical pose of Endymion or Dionysos (Stommel, 1958, pp. 112–115; Sichtermann, 1966, pp. 96–100). To the right is the bucolic scene of a herdsman with sheep and a hut. The water and shore are alive with small creatures—fish, a crab, a snail, a lizard. An analogous Jonah cycle exists on the child sarcophagus in Copenhagen (Klauser, 1965–1966, p. 165), which, better preserved, affords criteria for analysis of style and accuracy of restoration.

On either side of the sail are abbreviated biblical scenes on a ledge: Christ raising Lazarus (John 11) in the presence of both sisters and two male witnesses, the tomb aedicula balancing the hut at the right. This scene is one of the earliest representations of its theme on sarcophagi (cf. no. 370), as is the next scene, Moses Striking the Rock (Exod. 17: 6), with three Israelites drinking. The scene to the right of the tree is unique and controversial,



perhaps representing Moses attacked by the people who "murmur for water" (Exod. 17:3; Num. 20:2-5) or by the men of Korah (Num. 16:1-2).

Style and technique are of excellent quality. The relief is not very high, the drill is rarely used, and most work is chiseled. The composition shows the tendency of marked corner scenes and a distinct center and is at the same time a preliminary step to the two-zone sarcophagi. Noteworthy is the fusion of biblical stories and profane genre subjects. An example of bucolic and maritime genre in profane art is the fountain-sculpture in Rome at the Villa Borghese, probably of the third century (Helbig, 1966, II, no. 1966).

The Jonah story is frequent in funerary art beginning in the third century, mostly as a trilogy. Its Christian significance is rooted in Matt. 12:39-40, where Jesus relates the Jonah story to his own death and Resurrection. The Water Miracle of Moses owes its frequency to its baptismal connotation (see nos. 381, 382).

Found in the sixteenth century in Vatican territory, the sarcophagus was brought to the Medici Gardens on the Pincian Hill to be used as a fountain. At the time of Bosio (1632, p. 103) and Bottari (1737, I, p. 186), the casket—though with damaged relief—was still complete (Ficker, 1890, pp. 61-62).

E. D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gerke, 1940, pp. 38-46, 339 VI/1; Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 35 (biblio. to 1963); Engemann (2), 1973, pp. 72-73, 75, 86.

Portrait busts, Good Shepherd, and Jonah figures

Eastern Mediterranean (probably Asia Minor), end
3rd quarter 3rd century
Marble
Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, John
L. Severance Fund

362 Male portrait bust

33.8 × 20.3 × 11.1 cm. ($13\frac{3}{16}$ × 8 × $4\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
65.247

363 Female portrait bust

33.5 × 20.3 × 12.7 cm. ($13\frac{3}{16}$ × 8 × 5 in.)
65.246

364 Good Shepherd

50.2 × 25.7 × 15.9 cm. ($19\frac{3}{4}$ × $10\frac{1}{8}$ × $6\frac{1}{4}$ in.)
65.241

365 Jonah swallowed

51.6 × 15.6 × 26.2 cm. ($20\frac{5}{16}$ × $6\frac{1}{8}$ × $10\frac{5}{16}$ in.)
65.237

366 Jonah cast up

Color plate XII

40.7 × 21.6 × 37.6 cm. (16 × $8\frac{1}{2}$ × $14\frac{1}{16}$ in.)
65.238

367 Jonah under the gourd vine

32.1 × 46.4 × 17.5 cm. ($12\frac{5}{8}$ × $18\frac{1}{4}$ × $6\frac{7}{8}$ in.)
65.239

368 Jonah praying

47 × 20.6 × 14 cm. ($18\frac{1}{2}$ × $8\frac{1}{8}$ × $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
65.240

The two busts (one of three pairs in Cleveland [Wixom, 1967, figs. 1-6]) and the five symbolic sculptures are each carved from a single block of the same white, fine-grained, well-crystallized, semitranslucent marble. Natural accretions or patinas, varying from yellow to brown, are distributed in a fairly orderly pattern over each piece

according to their positioning in burial. The sculptures are otherwise well preserved, with the chief losses restricted to chipped extremities: small portions of the tail of the ketos are missing in both representations as is Jonah's left hand in Jonah cast up.

The flesh and draperies have been polished. The hair and beards are fairly rough. The drill has been used in the details of the beards, the corners of the mouths, furred edges of drapery in the busts, and in the gourd vine. Chisel strokes are evident on the reverses and underneath the bases, as well as in the beards and hair. Many strengthening or connecting struts remain in the symbolic figures, especially the Jonah praying.

The overall shapes of the six Cleveland busts are similar. Each bears an index plate without any trace of a name. The nearly circular bases have

molded fronts; the reverses are roughly cut with a claw chisel. Each bust is hollowed out on either side of a central stem support at the back.

The man (no. 362) is possibly in his middle thirties, with short-cropped hair, a pronounced widow's peak, a high domed skull, a low brow, a slightly aquiline nose, heavy-lidded eyes, a thin mustache, and a beard with full sideburns. His head is turned slightly to his right. He wears a tunic and a fringed paludamentum fastened over his right shoulder with a disc fibula.

The features of the woman (no. 363)—pointed chin, full cheeks, heavy-lidded but small and close-set eyes, and a flattened, aquiline nose—make her age more difficult to determine. Her hair, parted in the center, is drawn back at the sides over the ears in loose waves, then is dipped down to the nape of the neck, where it is braided,

No. 362, male portrait bust



No. 363, female portrait bust





No. 364, *Good Shepherd*

pulled up over the top of the head, and folded under at the front in a variation of the Scheitelzopf (see nos. 14, 20; and Wessel, 1946–1947, pp. 66–70, pls. II, III). The head is turned slightly to her left. The woman wears a tunic overdressed with a togalike garment with a wide rinceau-decorated border, stolelike or trabealike in character.

The details of male fashion—such as the short-cropped hair, full sideburns, and light mustache—together with an impressionistic style, suggest that the Cleveland male busts may be regarded as

extensions of the type and style of the portraits of the emperor Gallienus (cf. no. 2). Since close parallels are found in central and southern Asia Minor (Wixom, 1967, figs. 10–16), the Cleveland busts may have been carved there. The probable date has been assumed to be in the third quarter of the third century.

The Scheitelzopf of the Cleveland female busts is also imperially derived; closest analogies may be seen in the hairstyle of Ulpia Severina and Magnia Urbica, which may also be compared to Asia Minor portraits (e.g., Wixom, 1967, fig. 21). This fact—plus stylistic parallels in examples found in the southern part of that area with regard to the treatment of the eyes, brows, lips, and modeling of the flesh—allows a localization and date comparable to that of the male busts. If considered alone, the date for the female busts could be given as about 270–280.

Cleveland's freestanding, paired busts, together with several other pairs, suggest that busts in pairs must have been quite common, an assumption further supported by the number of paired busts in relief on Christian sarcophagi in the western Mediterranean dating from the fourth and fifth centuries.

The Good Shepherd (no. 364) is represented as a youth wearing a short, low-waisted, and belted tunic. He stands in contrapposto, with his weight borne by his left leg. His right hand holds the upper end of his heavy walking stick, the other end of which rests on the irregularly modeled ground found in this and three of the Cleveland Jonah sculptures. With his left hand the Good Shepherd holds the four legs of a ram that rests over his shoulders. Three smaller rams rest or stand on the ground. A heavy tree stump strengthens the left leg. The back is summarily cut and unpolished; a shoulder bag hangs against the middle of the back, but neither the bag nor any means of supporting it can be seen at the front. Parallels for many of these features may be seen in criophoros carvings (no. 464) and in marble Good Shepherd statuettes dating from the second to third century in both the eastern and western Mediterranean areas (Wixom, 1967, figs. 22, 52, 53). The head, features, and heavenward gaze may derive, as suggested by Kitzinger, from earlier depictions of Alexander (in Wixom, 1967, p. 88, figs. 41, 42). These elements are also paralleled in Early Christian third-century statuettes and sarcophagi reliefs.

The sculptures of Jonah swallowed (no. 365) and Jonah cast up (no. 366) depict the same type of ketos—with boarlike head, bold, writhing, and winged body, and powerful, leonine paws. Only the legs of Jonah are seen in the first; in the second, Jonah bursts head first out of the monster's mouth, with his arms flung upward. In both cases, Jonah is nude. In his second appearance, he is shown with disheveled hair and full beard. The rear parts of both of these groups are highly finished, suggesting that they may have been meant to be seen in the round. The physiognomic characteristics of the ketos derive from Hellenistic works and may be seen continued in Early

Christian and Byzantine reliefs up to the sixth century (Wixom, 1967, figs. 39, 40).

Jonah under the gourd vine (no. 367) is only roughly carved on the back. Clad in a short tunic he reclines languidly on a drapery-covered rocky shelf, beneath an intricate, almost writhing vine. Jonah's physiognomy, beard, and hair resemble those of the Jonah cast up. This sculpture also may be shown to follow such Hellenistic types as river god personifications (Wixom, 1967, figs. 36–38).

The fifth sculpture, a figure standing with hands upraised and head thrown back, may be identified as Jonah praying (no. 368), from the head type



No. 365, *Jonah swallowed*

No. 366, *Jonah cast up*



and by comparison with a similar figure in a sardonyx intaglio in Boston (Bonner, 1950, no. 347, ill.). The back is cut like that of the Good Shepherd, with a bag hanging from a diagonal shoulder strap, which here continues from front to back. The figure is carved in one piece with the angular-shaped base, which has a molded profile in the front and on the sides. A tree stump behind Jonah's left leg gives the sculpture stability. Kitzinger has compared this imagery with earlier Hellenistic representations of migrant Cynic philosophers, whose short tunics, satchels, and disheveled,



No. 367, *Jonah under the gourd vine*

bearded physiognomies alluded to a moral superiority (in Wixom, 1967, p. 88e).

Each of the symbolic figures is notable for the skillful, easy rendering of active or arrested movement, in keeping with each subject. The technique in the details of the physiognomies, hair, beards, and drapery has a sure shorthand mastery, authority, and freshness. The sculptor has made a creative selection of some of the most expressive elements from the Hellenistic tradition. These figures demonstrate that this tradition continued uninterrupted in Asia Minor into Roman and Early Christian times.

A general dating of these strongly Hellenized, yet individualized, symbolic figures within the



No. 368, *Jonah praying*

second half of the third century depends on stylistic comparisons, proposed chiefly by Kitzinger, with a series of pre-Constantinian sculptures, the sculptures of Orpheus from the third century, and the series of criophoros bone carvings and marble Good Shepherds dating from the second to third century (in Wixom, 1967, figs. 47–54).

The intended function of the symbolic figures is not known. Their relationship to the busts may be more than a shared material and experience in burial. Three of several hypotheses have proposed a relationship to a funerary, baptismal, or private fountain context.

By its association with the Jonah narrative, the Cleveland Good Shepherd reaffirms a probable

Christian significance for many of the previously known marble Early Christian Good Shepherds, which no longer give any evidence of their original contexts.

The discovery of paired busts together with symbolic figures is invaluable. They represent two sculptural modes for two types of subjects, both grounded in established and honored traditions, yet possibly the output of a single workshop. While they lack the impact of many, more imposing Roman imperial portraits, the Cleveland busts embody a personal and intimate impression of the subject, suggesting a sense of introspection. The symbolic figures are notable for their sculptural animation and expressiveness, a rare feature within the body of preserved late Roman and Early Christian sculptures. Compared to the dullness of the several Roman replicas of the Hellenistic river gods, Jonah under the gourd vine offers a feeling of both bodily and spiritual repose. The intensity of the sculptor's vision is especially evident in the sea monster episodes. The Good Shepherd and Jonah praying have an unusual ineffable nobility and monumentality.

The entire group of eleven sculptures, three pairs of male and female bust portraits and five symbolic figures with Early Christian subjects, was acquired in New York in September 1965. An unconfirmed report tells us that they came from the same underground find, a single huge pithos. The shared features—the common material, the similar incrustations and patinas, and a shared general dating made independently for each piece on stylistic grounds—support the theory of a common origin. Stylistic comparisons corroborate suggestions that the sculptures originated from Asia Minor, possibly in ancient Phrygia or to the south. However, the unknown find-site may have been outside this area, a possibility in keeping with ancient commerce and the mobility of workshops and their products.

W. D. W.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wixom, 1967, pp. 65–88k, cover ill., figs. 1–9, 11–13, 17–19, 23–32, 34, 38, 43, 57; du Bourguet, 1971, pp. 116, 118, ill. pp. 105, 106, 107, 109, 110; Weitzmann (1), 1972, III, pp. 10–11; Gough, 1973, pp. 39, 206, pls. 36, 37.

369 Sculpture group with Jonah scenes

Asia Minor, 1st quarter 4th century

Marble

49.5 × 58.4 × 31.8 cm. (19½ × 23 × 12½ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Gift of John Todd Edgar, 1877, 77.7

Upper part of sculpture with sail is almost completely destroyed, so that present proportions are misleading. Heads and shoulders of three sailors amidship and of Jonah cast out are broken away. The reverse, roughly treated, shows a pillar, now partly broken, which supported the sail. The three-dimensional group and pedestal were carved in one piece.

The ship is sailing to the right. Three naked sailors throw Jonah overboard, where he is swallowed by the ketos. To the left, Jonah is cast up by the monster and lies on the ground, his arms raised in the gesture of an orant. Jonah's frontal position is unusual in this scene (Grabar, 1963, p. 46). His face is young and beardless, and his hair frames the head in thick curls. Also rare is Jonah's being swallowed feet first. The iconography has a parallel on a magical amulet (Bonner,



1950, pp. 227–228, fig. 346, pl. xix) and may be influenced by rabbinical tradition telling that the reluctant sailors first dipped Jonah into the water as far as his waist. Another parallel is to be found on a wall mosaic in Tomb M under St. Peter's, dating about 300 (Perler, 1953, pl. ivb).

The figures are stiff, the eyes large and staring, the treatment of hands and hair schematic. A drill is used to mark the corners of eye and mouth. The sea monster is repeated without much variation. In style and iconography, the group differs from the Cleveland marbles (nos. 364–367) and also from the Western Jonah sarcophagi in Rome (no. 361) and Copenhagen (Gerke, 1940, pl. II, fig. 1), suggesting a later date.

The rough treatment of the back indicates that the group was not meant to be seen from the rear. This feature, the pillar support in the back, the shape of the pedestal, and the small size connect the piece with a group of freestanding sculptures from the third and fourth centuries, which treat such mythological subjects as Bellerophon, Orpheus, and Leda and the swan (Mendel, 1914, III, no. 820, and others). They may have been placed in niches in private homes; for the Jonah group, von Schoenebeck (1936) suggests sepulchral use. Among these sculptures, the Jonah group is the only one with nonallegorical, biblical subject matter. Found in Tarsus, Cilicia, in 1876, and acquired by the Metropolitan Museum a year later.

E. D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lowrie, 1901, pp. 51–57; Strzygowski, 1903, p. 198; von Schoenebeck, 1936, pp. 332–333; Lowrie, 1947, pp. 8, 84; Grabar, 1963, p. 46; Wixom, 1967, pp. 88c–88d.

370 Plaque from loculus tomb of a child

Rome, 290–300

Marble

30 × 105 cm. (11 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 41 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Rome, Musei Capitolini, Sala II/70

At three corners small pieces are broken away. Splits occur in the outer panels.

The relief is divided by vertical ledges into five rectangular panels. In the central one is the medallion portrait of a child with a flying bird in each upper spandrel. Underneath is a peasant (in tunica exomis) under a tree, milking a ewe—a bucolic genre subject such as was favored in this period (cf. Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 778; Gerke, 1940, pp. 286–287, 363). Left of center is the only Christian subject on the plaque, the Raising of Lazarus with the mummy standing within the aedicula in frontal view. The youthful Christ, dressed as a philosopher, carries a scroll in his left hand and touches the mummy's feet (unusual) with his staff. Two beardless disciples accompany him. As a counterpart, a youthful teacher with a short beard, seated on a chair with a footstool, reads from an open scroll. Before him stands a woman, her right hand raised in a gesture of speech. (The interpretation by Stuart Jones [1912, p. 361] that this is a Daniel and Susanna scene is unacceptable.) Behind the teacher is another woman making a gesture of acclamation. Two other attentive male pupils contribute to the impression of a crowded audience. In the outer, narrower panels are depicted two standing figures, adapted to the philosophical context of the plaque:

No. 370





No. 371

a man in philosopher's costume with a scroll and an orant female (left hand broken off), both with *scrinia* at their feet.

The plaque gives an explicit Christian notion to the neutral scene of the philosopher-teacher (no. 238), a widespread theme in the second half of the third century. Joined with the Raising of Lazarus, the scene expresses the idea that Christian faith is the true philosophy, proclaiming the resurrection guaranteed by Christ (John 11:25: "I am the resurrection and the life").

The relief is flat; the garment folds are smooth and not schematic. Drill holes mark details of the face. The plaque is significant as one of the rare five-panel compositions (Gerke, 1940) and as the earliest representation in sculpture of the Raising of Lazarus.

E. D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gerke, 1940, p. 337, 1/6, esp. pp. 284–295; Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 811 (biblio. to 1963); Engemann (2), 1973, pp. 19 n. 42, 75, 85.

371 Plaque with biblical scenes

Place of origin uncertain, about 300–310

Marble

86.5 × 197 × 2.5 cm. (34 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 77 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 1 in.)

Velletri, Museo Civico, 171

A vertical break runs through the plaque left of the orant, a shorter one at the right of her head. The plaque is cut at the edges and bottom, the original measurements thus having been slightly larger. The entire surface of the relief is rubbed. The back is polished. Traces of polychromy remain, as, for example, on the legs of left shepherd.

The composition is articulated by three tall figures occupying the height of the relief: at the left, before a tree, a standing shepherd, carrying a sheep on his shoulders; at the right, under a tree, a herdsman with a pensive gesture, resting in the midst of his flock; in the center, an orant with a *palla* framing the face, who has the individual features of an elderly woman. The spaces between these figures are filled with abbreviated biblical scenes arranged in two registers, suggested by ledges serving as groundlines. In the upper left: Daniel, a nude shaped after a classical model, stands between the lions, with the gesture of an orant. Right of him sits a smaller-scaled, bearded philosopher, reading from an open scroll, a *scriinium* filled with *rotuli* at his side. In the lower left is the Jonah trilogy, condensed because of limited space to the *ketos* casting Jonah up to the shore, and Jonah resting under the gourd vine in larger scale. In the right section two iconographic *unica* appear: the Fall of Man—Adam, embracing Eve with his left hand, joins right hands with her in the *dextrarum junctio*, the official marriage gesture (Reekmans, 1958, p. 65, "L'union dans le péché").

The serpent is depicted under, not on, a low "tree." At the right Noah prays in the ark and the dove returns, offering a plant (Kaiser-Minn, 1977, pp. 661 f.). Unique and enigmatic is the scene below: a man wearing boots and tunica exomis stands among seven baskets with food, holding a loaf in each hand. The setting and the baskets recall the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes (Matt. 15:34), but the costume of the man is against the rule for the depiction of Christ. Such irregularities confirm the observation that in this period the iconography of biblical scenes was not yet fixed (cf. nos. 372, 373). As the Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes, the scene would be the only one from the New Testament on the plaque. The pictorial program seems not to be based upon a coherent theological concept, except that the theme of salvation is set against that of man's guilt, epitomized in the Fall.

The relief is rather flat. Some parts seem unfinished. Typical for the time is the combination of biblical and idyllic bucolic subjects (no. 361), but no parallel exists to the specific loose arrangement of the scenes and the unusual iconography of some of them.

Found in Velletri, near Rome. First mentioned by Borgia (1780, pp. 99, 108).

E. D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gerke, 1940, p. 339, VII/3, esp. pp. 73–81; Klauser, 1965–1966, pp. 24–25, 53; Giordani, 1972; Dassmann, 1973, pp. 26, 34, 395, 401, 417; Engemann (2), 1973, pp. 19 n. 42, 75, 86; Sotomayor, 1975, pp. 10, 58, 64.

372, 373 Two fragmentary plaques with biblical scenes

Rome, about 300–310

Marble

372: 58 × 101 cm. (22 $\frac{13}{16}$ × 39 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

373: 92 × 113 cm. (36 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 44 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 67606, 67607

Both fragments still show traces of polychromy, though they are rapidly fading (Reuterswärd, 1960, pp. 237–238). The condition of the upper register of no. 372 does not permit a sure identification of the scenes. Visible are the feet and long garment of a female, the foot of a man and supports of a chair (?), and a pair of sandals (Moses at the burning bush ?). In the lower register at the left Christ (lower part broken off), wearing tunic and pallium and holding a scroll, grasps with his right hand the bed that the paralytic (in tunica exomis, right

No. 372



leg broken off) is carrying away (Mark 2:12). In the background, the head of a bearded disciple is visible. Further right is the Feeding of the Five Thousand (Matt. 14:13–21), designed after a pagan model: behind six baskets of bread are four men, two of whom hold a loaf with a cruciform bread stamp (not the Christian symbol: Dölger, 1943, V, p. 536, no. 12; the christogram seems to be a later addition). Behind the group are three bearded disciples and the bearded Christ holding a scroll in his left hand and laying his right upon one kneeling man's head in a gesture of blessing. Christ wears only the pallium, the costume of an itinerant Cynic philosopher. The next scene shows two men

(one partly destroyed) carrying a bed with dolphin-shaped back, upon which a man, beardless in ungirdled tunic, steps forward with outstretched arms. The break running through the scene and the lack of iconographic parallels make reconstruction and identification impossible. The Miracle of Nain (Luke 7:11–17) seems unlikely, because the paralytic is represented on a bed instead of in a coffin (or on the ground). A mere repetition of the paralytic (Mark 2:1–12; Matt. 9:1–8; Luke 5:17–26) is not probable, but not to be excluded.

On no. 373, the damages concern especially the upper left, which shows a rocky landscape with a resting sheep (bucolic scene ?); a small kneeling

No. 373



figure with head broken away toward the right and, opposite, three youthful men in tunics, seated, looking upward, and stretching out their arms; above them, on a hill, the hem of a pallium and two feet in sandals, which resemble in posture those of the seated figure in the scene below. At the outer right edge is a group of three: in the center, a man in a girdled short tunic holds a basket before him; on either side is a man in tunic and pallium, the left one holding a scroll. It remains open whether a New Testament theme (e.g., John 6:8–10) or, typologically, an Old Testament one (e.g., 2 Kings 4:42–44) was represented. The fragmentary scene in the center is not the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:1 ff.), which forms the main theme of the lower register. Here, Christ, once more wearing only the pallium, his head modeled after an image of Zeus-Asklepios, is seated on the mount. Raising his right hand in a gesture of speech, he is teaching from a scroll in his left hand. At the foot of the hill, six men in tunics look up to him. The iconography is unique (a sarcophagus fragment [Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 110] uses for the same theme an entirely different composition). On either side of Christ the teacher, the healing Christ appears. It is noteworthy that on both fragments the procedure of healing is achieved, not by the *virga thaumaturga*, but by Christ's hand (de Bruyne, 1943, pp. 135 f., 142 f., 159 f.). At the left, Christ heals a seated female, perhaps the bent woman (Luke 13:11–13); behind her, a fragmentary figure, perhaps "the ruler of the synagogue indignant with Jesus" (Luke 13:14). At the right of the seated Christ stands a woman with noble profile, possibly taken from a group of a philosophical teacher with female pupil (no. 370). In front of her, Christ is healing the blind beggar Bartimaeus (?) (Mark 8:1–4); and, at the right edge, the leprous man (?) (Matt. 8:1–4).

Though the interpretation of the single scenes must remain tentative, the general meaning of the imagery can well be grasped in such a text as Matt. 8:16–17, following the Sermon on the Mount: "he healed all who were ill, to make good the prophecy of Isaiah, he took away our illness and lifted our diseases from us."

On both fragments no scenes but the paralytic carrying his bed and the scene of the meal follow the usual pattern, and some take up hitherto unknown themes, for which no iconographic analogies exist. As the source of the "extraordinary

iconography," Hanfmann (1951, II, p. 33, no. 34) assumes a painted cycle. Uncertain also is the function of the plaques; they were probably somehow related to one another. Garrucci (1879, V, p. 154, pl. 404, figs. 1, 2) suggested that they belonged to sarcophagi, and Wilpert (1927, p. 273) that they served for *loculus* tombs; von Schoenebeck (1936, pp. 246–247) and de Bruyne (1948, pp. 115–116) considered them part of a wall frieze of three plaques, with the Sermon on the Mount in the center.

The relief is flat and was partly painted (von Schoenebeck, 1936, p. 293). The loose grouping with empty background suggests a pre-Constantinian date. The drill is used sparingly in the heads.

Their unique features place the fragments among the most significant pre-Constantinian sculptures.

Found in the Vigna Maccarani, on the Aventine Hill, and bought for the Museo Kircheriano by P. Marchi, the fragments came to the newly founded Museo delle Terme, now Museo Nazionale Romano, soon after 1889.

E. D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gerke, 1940, pp. 207–233; Gerke, 1941, pp. 11–14; Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 773 (biblio. to 1963); Dassmann, 1973, pp. 35, 313, 363, 365; Engemann (2), 1973, p. 87.

374 Frieze sarcophagus with Christ and Peter cycles

Rome, about 315–325

Marble

Casket: 63 × 200 × 69 cm. (2 ft. $\frac{13}{16}$ in. × 6 ft. $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. × 2 ft. $3\frac{3}{16}$ in.); lid: 34 × 200 × 59 cm. (1 ft. $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. × 6 ft. $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. × 1 ft. $11\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Vatican City, Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie

Pontificie, Museo Pio Cristiano, Lat. 161

The casket is well preserved, except for minor restorations in the Water Miracle scene. The upper two-thirds of the lid, to the left of the *tabula*, are modern.

Inscriptions: on *tabula*: SABINO CO(n)IVGI QVI VIXIT ANN(OS) XLIII M(enses) X D(ies) XIII B(ene) M(erenti) IN PACE ("To Sabinus, the husband, who lived forty-four years, ten months, thirteen days,



No. 374: above, front; below left, left end with Adam and Eve; below right, right end with Three Hebrews



the man of merit, in peace"). The "IN PACE" formula refers to peace in Christ; on the upper border of the casket is the date of burial: D(epositus) VI K(alendas) MAI (= 26 April).

The lid has the typical Roman shape. At the right, hunters return with prey. At the left, the restoration is not reliable in detail, but the

general theme is certain: a portrait of the deceased before a curtain, probably held by Erotes.

The rectangular casket shows a balanced composition of scenes with Christian themes. In the center is an orant female—though the inscription speaks of a man—flanked by two apostles in the background. To the right are miracles of Christ: A)

the healing of the blind man (Mark 10:46–52). Christ, youthful and beardless, holds a scroll in his left hand and touches the eyes of the man with his right. The man is half size. In the background is Peter with a gesture of penitence; B) Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes (Matt. 14:13–21), with six (instead of the twelve) baskets that were left, and Christ blessing bread and fish; C) the Raising of Lazarus (John 11:1–44) with the sepulchral aedicula forming the right corner of the frieze. Christ touches the mummy's head with his staff, while the sister of Lazarus kneels before him. To the left: A) the Miracle of Cana (John 2:1–11), with the six stone water jars; B) Peter, taken prisoner by two men dressed as Roman soldiers with fur caps; and C) Peter's Water Miracle, which leads to the baptism of his guards in prison. The pattern differs from its prototype, the Water Miracle of Moses (no. 361), only by the typical caps of the military guards. These last scenes are inspired by the apocryphal Acts of Peter. They were introduced into Christian art together with Peter's denial (Matt. 26: 69–75; Porta, 1971), a scene that is here contaminated with the scene of the healing of the blind man. Along the frieze heads of background figures appear, so that no space is empty. The left short side shows the Fall, with Adam and Eve, and the right, the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace (cf. no. 383).

The figures are tall and mobile, tightly arranged, sometimes overlapping, their heads raised with an upward glance. The drapery folds are worked out by use of drill and chisel, and some facial features are marked by drill holes. Typical of the frieze are the marked center and corners. The reliefs of lid and both short sides are rather flat, as usual on Roman sarcophagi.

This sarcophagus is stylistically a good example of early Constantinian single frieze sarcophagi (Hanfmann, 1951, I, pp. 52–54). The iconographical program, adding to the general theme of salvation the new historical and specifically Roman topic of Peter, reflects a concern that eventually led to the Church doctrine of Peter's primacy.

With regard to its Christ and Peter cycles, this sarcophagus is representative of roughly fifty sarcophagi of the Constantinian era. Sometimes the number of scenes is reduced to two: the Water Miracle and Raising of Lazarus (Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 67). Both reflect the leading theme: baptism, the basis of Christian hope in

resurrection, conditioning both past and future of the deceased. It is also by theological reflection that the short sides are arranged in such a way that the Fall is joined to the Water Miracle, which connotes baptism, and that the three Hebrews, saved from the fire, are joined to the Raising of Lazarus, connoting hope for resurrection.

Place of discovery unknown (Ficker, 1890, pp. 105 ff.).

E. D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dinkler, 1939; Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 6 (with pre-1963 biblio.); Sotomayor, 1975, pp. 38–39, 49–54, 85–86, *passim*.

375 Front of frieze sarcophagus with Adoration of the Magi and Resurrection of the Dry Bones

Rome, about 320

Marble

34 × 87 × 8 cm. (13 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 34 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Vatican City, Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie

Pontificie, Museo Pio Cristiano, Lat. 121

At the right is the Adoration of the Magi (Matt. 2:1–11). On the right corner, Mary with the Christ child (in tunic) is seated on a cathedra with suppedaneum, her head veiled with the palla; above Christ's head, a star (restored). The Magi offering gifts are dressed in Oriental costume with high Phrygian caps (cf. no. 393). The first (arm restored) points at the star. In the background appear the heads of their camels (Isa. 60:6). At the left, the Resurrection of the Dry Bones (Ezek. 37) is worked by Christ Logos replacing Ezekiel (Engemann, 1968–1969, p. 21; Dinkler, 1970, p. 19; Sotomayor, 1975, pp. 32–43). Two naked males are standing and another is lying, stiff and lifeless; on the ground are two skulls, one bald, with empty eye sockets. Christ is represented as youthful, dressed in tunic and pallium, a scroll in his left hand. With the staff in his right hand (right arm and staff of Christ restored), he touches the head of the lying figure. Behind him stands a youthful witness to the miracle.

The technique—more finished on the right side than on the left—is that of the negative treatment



of folds. Drill holes mark features of the face and curls of hair (cf. no. 374).

The earliest known depiction of the theme of the Resurrection of the Dry Bones is in the synagogue of Dura Europos (no. 341). The theme appears again in a different iconography in Constantinian Rome as an abbreviated scene on biblical frieze sarcophagi (Brenk, 1966, pp. 149–155). Of these, our relief is the most extensive representation. Related in meaning to the Raising of Lazarus, the Resurrection of the Dry Bones is sometimes contaminated with that scene (cf. Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, nos. 21, 24, 807). On our sarcophagus the program as a whole expresses the faith of the deceased in Christ incarnate and in the resurrection to come. The earliest record is by Bosio, 1632, p. 95.

E. D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brenk, 1966, p. 153; Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 5 (with biblio. to 1963); Sotomayor, 1975, pp. 32, 74.

376 Fragment of frieze sarcophagus with Christ's Entry into Jerusalem

Rome, about 330

Marble

30 × 37–44 × 8–8.5 cm. ($11\frac{13}{16} \times 14\frac{9}{16}$ – $17\frac{5}{16} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$ – $3\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Heidelberg, Private Collection

The fragment is broken at sides and below. On the upper frame is the inscription: HIC IACIT SUCCEPT(us in pace die III [or suchlike] id)US AUG(ustas) ("Here lies [NN] accept[ed in peace, who died such and such a day] in August [?]"). Christ entering Jerusalem (Matt. 21: 1–11) on an ass (head damaged) is rendered youthful and beardless, dressed in tunic and pallium, his right hand raised in a gesture of speech or blessing, his left holding a scroll. With curled locks, he is flanked by two beardless disciples with close-cropped hair. In front of them, on a thick tree branch, sits a man with his head turned back to observe their coming. Under the tree is a man (lower part destroyed) "carpeting the road with a cloak." The man in the tree is not Zacchaeus but one of those who "cut branches from the trees to spread in his path" (verse 8), while Zacchaeus has his place in Luke's story of Christ's Entry into Jericho only (Luke 19:1–10), a scene that appears in art of the last quarter of the fourth century on the so-called Bethesda sarcophagi (e.g., Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 63; Dinkler, 1970, figs. 23, 24). The pictorial theme of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem probably originated in Constantinian Rome. The pattern is borrowed from Roman imperial art and shaped after the emperor's advent (Kantorowicz, 1944, pp. 215–216; Grabar [1], 1968, pp. 44–45).

The drill is used extensively (cf. no. 374), but the heads are softly modeled, with some attempt at individualization. The carving is deep and some detail is undercut.



According to the proportions of the figures, the missing lower part of the relief can be estimated as about 10 to 12 centimeters ($3\frac{11}{16}$ to $4\frac{9}{16}$ inches), the total height of the frieze thus being about 40 centimeters ($15\frac{3}{4}$ inches). This makes it most likely that the fragment was part of a double register sarcophagus of large size (Matz, 1973, p. 68). It belongs to a group of approximately twenty-five Constantinian frieze and columnar sarcophagi, chiefly Roman, which show Christ's Entry into Jerusalem. Distinguished by style and quality, this fragment stands between the hard, flat manner of early Constantinian relief (no. 374) and the "beautiful" style of the second third of the fourth century, the finest extant representative of which is the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus dated to 359 (no. 386).

E. D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dinkler, 1970; Matz, 1973.

377 Bowl with scenes from the Old Testament

Cologne, 326

Gold glass

8.6 cm., diam. 11.4 cm. ($3\frac{3}{8}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, 991

The hollow-cast bowl has been broken several times and glued back together; a small piece of the edge has been restored. The circular pattern was first cut into the interior of the glass bowl. Then a thin gold foil was attached to the outside, and representations were incised on it. Through renewed heating the gold was bound to the glass. Contrary to custom, there was no second layer of glass applied here to cover the gold foil. Therefore, the gold foil is lost, save for very few traces.

The sides of the hemispherical bowl are divided into four large medallions framed by broad leaf ornaments. A fifth, smaller medallion is at the bottom. Each depicts a scene from the Old Testament. In the center, Jonah is thrown to the sea monster from a boat with shortened sails. The other two episodes from the Jonah trilogy, Jonah cast up by the sea monster and his rest under the gourd vine, have been combined in the medallion above. In the medallion on the right, Noah appears as an orant in the ark, which is formed like a chest with a lock. At the upper left is the dove with the olive branch, and below the raven that was sent out first, pecking out the eye of a drowned cow. The raven's pecking is told only in Jewish and Christian legends (Gutmann, 1977). It is also depicted, among other examples, in the fresco of S. Paolo fuori le mura in Rome. The fourth medallion shows Moses Striking the Rock, with three Israelites drinking from the gushing water, and the fifth, Daniel in the lions' den, standing, like Noah, as an orant between two lions. He is not naked here (cf. no. 371), but is clothed in a short tunic, a feature attributed by Klauser ([2], 1961, p. 180) to Jewish influence, since the rabbis had prescribed some form of clothing during prayer at least since the second century.

In the spandrels are four smaller medallions with busts of the sons of Constantine the Great, starting to the right of Jonah with Crispus, Constantius II, Constantinus II, and Constans. Most probably this precious bowl was made on the occasion of Constantine's vicennalia in 326; in the following year Crispus died and suffered damnatio. The Cologne glass, then, is one of the few monuments of the minor arts from Constantine's time with a fixed date. It is also the best-preserved and most beautiful example of Early Christian gold glass.

The scenes from the Old Testament in funeral art symbolically refer to the deceased. Here, however, since they adorn an object from daily life,



Two views of no. 377



Schematic drawing of no. 377

they show that in Early Christian art the same biblical themes were used for the sepulchral realm and daily life, especially in the decorative arts.

The hemispherical form of the bowl, the incised circles, and the many figured scenes suggest an origin in Cologne (Fremersdorf, 1967). La Baume (1974) presumes an imperial workshop in Rome, the place where Constantine celebrated his vicennalia. The bowl was found in Cologne together

with an earthenware pot as a funeral gift in a sarcophagus, which can be dated by its form to the first half of the fourth century.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fremersdorf, 1930, I; Cologne, 1965, pp. 70–73, figs. 17–18; Reusch, 1965, no. 124; Cologne, 1967, no. D 101; Fremersdorf, 1967, pp. 203–207, pls. 285–293; La Baume, 1974, no. I 3, pl. 46, fig. 4.



378 Bowl with Adam and Eve

Cologne, 4th century

Glass

5, diam. 20 cm. (2, 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, N 340

The bowl has been cracked in several places and glued back together. Some small pieces are missing.

This bowl shows Adam and Eve in paradise at the tree of knowledge. The snake coils around the tree. Eve points at the tree, which bends over her, and turns her head to Adam, who stands behind her. His left leg is set forward, and he raises his right hand in a gesture of speech. Behind Adam is another tree. Groundlines are spotted with clumps of grass. The edge of the bowl shows a continuous inscription: *GAVDIAS IN DEO PIE Z(eses)* ("Rejoice in God, drink, live").

This incised shallow bowl belongs to the same group of glass with cut outlines and densely hatched shading lines as the Paris bowl with the christogram, which certainly originated in Cologne (Coche de la Ferté, 1958, no. 54). Like the Paris bowl, this one was a drinking bowl, as indicated by the inscription.

The arrangement of the figures of Adam and Eve, who stand between two trees rather than on either side of one tree, seems unfamiliar at first, but a similar scheme occurs, for example, on the

sarcophagus plaque in Velletri (no. 371). In the fourth century, the symmetrical grouping of the progenitors flanking the tree developed as the accepted picture type for the scene of the Fall.

Found in 1902 together with other glass and many additional gifts in a tomb on Luxemburger Strasse, Cologne.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Harden, 1960, pp. 71, 75, figs. 35, 37; Cologne, 1965, pp. 73–77, pl. 15, fig. 19; Reusch, 1965, no. 123; Cologne, 1967, no. D 100; Fremersdorf, 1967, pp. 168–169, pl. 226.

379 Bowl with Sacrifice of Isaac

Tunisia, 2nd half 4th century

Red earthenware

5.3, diam. 17.9 cm. (2 $\frac{1}{16}$, 7 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

New York, Collection of Dr. Lillian Malcove

The bowl was broken into several pieces; no piece is missing. Around the border and in the center are incised lines.

The chief subject is the Sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. 22: 1–14). Abraham in loincloth is stepping to the right and raises his sword ready to strike. His head is turned back, and he presses down the head of Isaac with his left hand. Isaac, his arms tied behind his back, kneels and bends over a



small rectangular altar. At Abraham's left side is a ram. Below are two animals: a walking lion and a bear with an open jaw seemingly expecting an attack.

This representation of the Sacrifice of Isaac, as many like it, does not follow exactly the biblical text, which says that Isaac was laid upon the altar. Artists may have been influenced by scenes of pagan sacrifices that show the victim kneeling (Geischer, 1967, p. 143). God's interference to prevent the sacrifice is not depicted. The lion and the bear may be remnants of circus representations (cf. nos. 85, 86) or hunting scenes, themes often represented on these bowls. The juxtaposition of Christian and pagan subjects is not uncommon in Late Antique art.

The style is realistic and vigorous but not refined; the figures of the animals are vivid and well characterized. Similar fragments of redware bowls are in the Akademisches Kunstmuseum, Bonn, where even the same matrix may have been used, and in Sta. Prisca, Rome (Vermaseren and van Essen, 1965, p. 369, no. 645, pl. 87,10). The bowl belongs to the group of redware classified by Salomonson (1969, pp. 17, 78, 101) as sigillata chiara C, form A. How such bowls were used is not exactly known; some have been found in tombs. The theme of the Sacrifice of Isaac is common in Early Christian funerary art and was interpreted by Church fathers as prefiguration of the Crucifixion. The Sacrifice of Isaac prevented by God was also a paradigm for salvation and redemption.

E. L. -P.

Unpublished.

380 Relief with Sacrifice of Isaac

East Roman Empire, 2nd half 4th, or 5th century

White marble

24.5 × 49 × 2.5 cm. (9 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 19 $\frac{5}{16}$ × 1 in.)

Nicosia, The Cyprus Museum, E 559

Fractures on three sides; the surface and the rim with bead and reel are intact.

The fragment is part of a semicircular (Sigma-shaped) table with a border decorated by a frieze. The inner part of the table is sunken.

At the right Abraham steps toward Isaac, looking back, clasping a sword with his right hand and holding Isaac's head with the left. Isaac kneels on one knee, his arms tied on his back; before him are a tree and an altar. The ram, too large in proportion, approaches at Abraham's left; a servant bearing wood follows.

The scene represents the moment of the intervention by God (Gen. 22: 10–11). His hand descends from the sky at the central, focal point of the composition. Although the text mentions an angel, it was more usual to depict the hand of God. Isaac's position also deviates from the text (Gen. 22: 9), according to which he should be upon the altar (cf. no. 379).

The figures are well modeled and movements rendered naturally; the clothing is summarily executed. Two other fragments of this table are preserved, one in the Cyprus Museum and one in the Louvre, Paris (Roux, 1973, p. 150). Several fragments of similar tables are known. One of them, in Istanbul, is close in iconography, style, and ornament (Grabar, 1963, pl. iv, fig. 1). Scenes of salvation from need and death seem to have been preferred for these tables (Grabar, 1963, p. 23; Roux, 1973, p. 178). They may have been used as offering tables, probably not as altars (Roux, 1973, p. 179). Similar tables with pagan subjects have also been found. The location of the workshop is not yet known; Grabar suggests a Constantinopolitan origin. Found at Lambousa near Lapithos.

E. L. -P.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leclercq, 1914, III, 2, cols. 3210–3211; Grabar, 1963, pp. 19–24; Roux, 1973, pp. 150–152, 181, no. 4.





*381 Wall painting with Moses Striking the Rock

Rome, 2nd quarter 4th century

Fresco

64 × 52 cm. (25 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Catacomb of SS. Marcellinus and Petrus, cubiculum of the Four Seasons, fresco at entrance wall

The painting is in excellent condition.

Moses, bearded and wearing sandals and white tunic and pallium, is moving left toward the rock, which he is striking with the virga thaumaturga held in his right hand. Water is pouring down in blue waves. In his left hand, partly hidden under the pallium, he holds a scroll. Styled as a Greek philosopher in costume and posture—with the typical philosopher's gesture of the left arm—the figure appears copied from a classical model (cf. statue of Aeschines from Herculaneum, Naples Museo Nazionale [Richter, 1965, II, fig. 1369]).

The painting ranks among the finest in the

catacomb. The short sturdy figure, placed on a clearly outlined ground plain, is firmly modeled by light coming from the left. Delicate shadows on the right side of body and head convey the impression of depth. An attribution to the same phase of classical revival under Constantine as no. 397, or perhaps somewhat later, seems appropriate (for controversial datings see Dassmann, 1973, pp. 18–25).

The significance of the Old Testament Water Miracle (Exod. 17:6) in Christian thought is based upon its interpretation as a type of baptism in the New Testament (1 Cor. 10:2–4), further developed in the exegesis of the Church fathers. Moses Striking the Rock is one of the oldest and most frequent subjects in art (no. 361). In the Four Seasons cubiculum the Water Miracle is part of a composition that frames the door with four favored abbreviated scenes: the Multiplication of the Loaves, and Job (right of entrance); Moses' Water Miracle, and Noah in the ark (left). For the latter two, a point of contact is obvious: the common connotation as baptismal types (Dassmann, 1973, pp. 360–364, 390).

Like that of Nicerus (cf. no. 397), the cubiculum was excavated between 1911 and 1915.

E. D. v. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kirsch, 1930, pp. 226–227; Hempel, 1956, pp. 58–59; du Bourguet, 1965, pl. 83; de Bruyne, 1969, pp. 179–181; Kollwitz, 1969, pp. 78–80, 88–89; Nestori, 1975, p. 59, no. 67.

382 Bottom of bowl with Moses Striking the Rock

Italy, 1st half 4th century

Gold glass

Diam. 10 cm. (3 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Aquileia, Museo Archeologico di Aquileia, R.C. 1096

The sides of the bowl to the base ring are broken away. For the technique, see nos. 377 and 388.

The scene depicts Moses Striking the Rock with the virga thaumaturga, producing the water that saved the Israelites in the desert. The Israelites are not shown (cf. no. 377). Beside Moses is a small tree; in the background are circles and star-shaped



flowers. Around the scene is a round frame of diamond-shaped rectangles, a decorative motif that is unusual for gold glass but common in cut glass and miniatures as a frame pattern (see the Vatican Vergil, no. 203).

Moses' Water Miracle is particularly frequent in Early Christian art in this abbreviated form. The Church fathers interpreted the miracle as a prototype of Christian baptism and the gift of the Holy Spirit. Almost no other scene from the Old Testament is as suitable for the decoration of a Christian drinking vessel.

Stylistically, this glass does not closely resemble other gold glass. It was found in Aquileia in 1877 and was probably made in a north Italian workshop or perhaps in Aquileia itself.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Calvi, 1959; Forlati Tamaro and Bertacchi, 1962, p. 54, fig. p. 50; Zanchi Roppo, 1969, pp. 9–10, fig. 1.

*383 Wall painting with the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace

Rome, late 3rd–beginning of 4th century

Fresco

50 × 87 cm. (19 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 34 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Catacomb of Priscilla

The fresco is located on the right-hand wall of the cubiculum of the Velatio. Damage to left shoulder of central figure; bottom part (with furnace) destroyed by a later tomb cut into the wall below.

The three Hebrews wearing green crested caps and green Oriental dress adorned with a yellow (golden) girdle and stripe, are standing in frontal position, arms raised in the orant gesture. Red flames lick up at their feet. Of the furnace only a few brown stones are still extant. Above the Hebrews, a dove flies from the right with a twig in its beak.

The miracle of the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace is recorded in Dan. 3, the prayer in the furnace occurring in the Greek text only (verses 24–90). The representation of this theme in Early Christian art (no. 374) must be seen against the background of contemporary piety, which understood the three Hebrews as a paradigm of steadfast belief and deliverance from death. In the Velatio chamber this significance is clearly expressed by their placement opposite Abraham sacrificing Isaac; both scenes are linked as types of obedience and salvation from death. The motif of the dove with the olive twig, apparently unique with the depiction of the three Hebrews and adapted from the Noah scene, adds to the symbolic aspect.

The colors are applied in irregular bright patches, the contours heavily lined in dark colors, the figures flat but organic. The placement of the Velatio paintings in the stylistic development of the period and, consequently, their dating are controversial. Suggestions range from 230–240 (de



Wit, 1938, p. 30) up to the Tetrarchic period (Hempel, 1956); for controversial datings, see Dassmann, 1973, p. 15 n. 41. Kollwitz (1969) places them at the beginning of the fourth century, and Tolotti, in his recent topographical study (1970), concurs. The fresco belongs to the early phase of this pictorial theme and possibly is the earliest occurrence. The cubiculum was discovered in 1593 by A. Bosio, the first systematic explorer of Roman catacombs, and was published in his *Roma sotterranea*, 1632.

E. D. v. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wilpert, 1903, p. 358, pl. 78 fig. 1; Hempel, 1956, pp. 44–45; Kollwitz, 1969, pp. 40–44; du Bourguet, 1970, p. 25; Tolotti, 1970, pp. 195–198; Dassmann, 1973, pp. 15, 63–75, 258–259, 434–436; Nestori, 1975, p. 23, no. 7.

384 Bowl with story of Jonah

North Africa, 2nd half 4th century
Red earthenware
Diam. 18.8 cm. (7½ in.)
Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum,
0.39677

The bowl was broken into several pieces, none missing. Around the border and in the center runs a pattern of incised lines.



The story of Jonah is depicted in four episodes: a boat sailing to the right with three men (heads only), the nude Jonah being thrown overboard, and the ketos approaching from the right, ready to swallow him (Jon. 1:15); the nude Jonah sitting on rocks with a pensive gesture, looking to the right; Jonah disgorged by the monster (Jon. 2:11); and Jonah nude, resting under the gourd vine, his right arm stretched out pointing at it (Jon. 4:6).

This cycle presents several iconographical peculiarities: usually the sailors are represented in half or full figure, one of them throwing Jonah overboard (no. 361). Parallels to the relief on the bowl showing only the heads of the sailors occur on other redware (e.g., bowl in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin; fragments in the Benaki Museum, Athens, of Egyptian origin; and in the Museum of Djemila [Salomonson, 1969, pp. 45, 99, 103, figs. 119, 54]).

The figure of the sitting Jonah is rare, and it is not quite clear which scene is represented, perhaps Jonah's distress (Jon. 4:1) or Jonah contemplating the fate of Nineveh (Jon. 4:5); the scene is not in chronological order, perhaps for reasons of composition. A similar picture occurs in several catacomb paintings, but Jonah is sitting under the gourd vine (Mitius, 1897, pp. 38–40; Wilpert, 1903, p. 348). Another peculiarity appears in the last scene: Jonah, usually depicted asleep with one arm bent over his head, is shown awake. Close parallels to this are found on two redware fragments published by Garrucci (1881, VI, pl. 465, figs. 3, 4), now lost; it is even possible that the same matrix was used (Salomonson, 1969, figs. 82, 83).

The style is naturalistic and vigorous but not very refined. The artist is interested in showing details, such as the terrifying body of the monster. The bowl belongs to the group of redware classified by Salomonson (1969, pp. 17, 101) as sigillata chiara C, form A (cf. no. 379). These bowls were widespread in the Mediterranean region. Some of them have been found in tombs in North Africa. For the significance of the theme, see no. 385.

E. L. -P.

Unpublished.



body, his head supported by his left arm, his right arm bent over his head. Above him is a gourd vine with several gourds. Between the two scenes is a place for the now missing lock.

Iconographically, this cycle (Jon. 1:15, 4:6) is a restricted one. It occurs on the Murano diptych in Ravenna (fig. 59). The motif of Jonah asleep is common, although it does not agree with the biblical text. It has been suggested that a sleeping Endymion or Dionysos served as model (Sichtermann, 1966, pp. 96–100). Jonah's position on the monster's back occurs rarely; it was perhaps influenced by classical art (see Rumpf, 1939, nos. 34, 35, 54).

Among the pyxides this one is unique in presenting the story of Jonah, which served as a paradigm for the salvation and the eternal rest of the faithful. It is also a type for the death and the Resurrection of Christ (Matt. 12:39–40). The relief is rather high; the body of the resting Jonah and the gourd vine are well modeled. The scene of the casting into the sea is realistic. The angels' drapery is dry and executed with little skill. The faces have plump cheeks and nearly triangular noses.

The problem of the localization of this pyxis is still to be solved. Pyxides may have had a liturgical function (no. 549).

Originally at S. Ambrogio, Milan, and later in the A. Basilewsky collection.

E. L. -P.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wessel, 1953–1954, p. 11; Volbach, 1976, no. 175.

****385 Pyxis with story of Jonah**

Eastern Empire, 6th century

Ivory

7.8, diam. 11.5 cm. ($3\frac{1}{16}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Leningrad, The State Hermitage Museum, (O) 6

The lid, the bottom, and a piece of the upper edge are missing; some cracks.

The first scene shows a ship with three nude men, one rowing, the second throwing Jonah overboard, head first into the open jaws of a ketos. The ship's high prow ends in a volute. Several fish are swimming in the foreground. At the right stands an angel with a cross-scepter. The second scene shows an angel with a scroll pointing at the right where the nude Jonah sleeps on the monster's

***386 Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus**

Rome, 359

Marble

Sarcophagus: 141 × 243 × 144 cm. (4 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. × 7 ft. $11\frac{3}{4}$ in. × 4 ft. $8\frac{3}{4}$ in.); lid: 40 × 240 × 137 cm. (1 ft. $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. × 7 ft. $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. × 4 ft. $5\frac{15}{16}$ in.)

Vatican City, Reverenda Fabbrica di S. Pietro in Vaticano

The lid is broken away except for a few centimeters at the base molding (Himmelmann, 1973). The figures in the ten niches are well preserved. Missing is the head of the servant on the upper right.

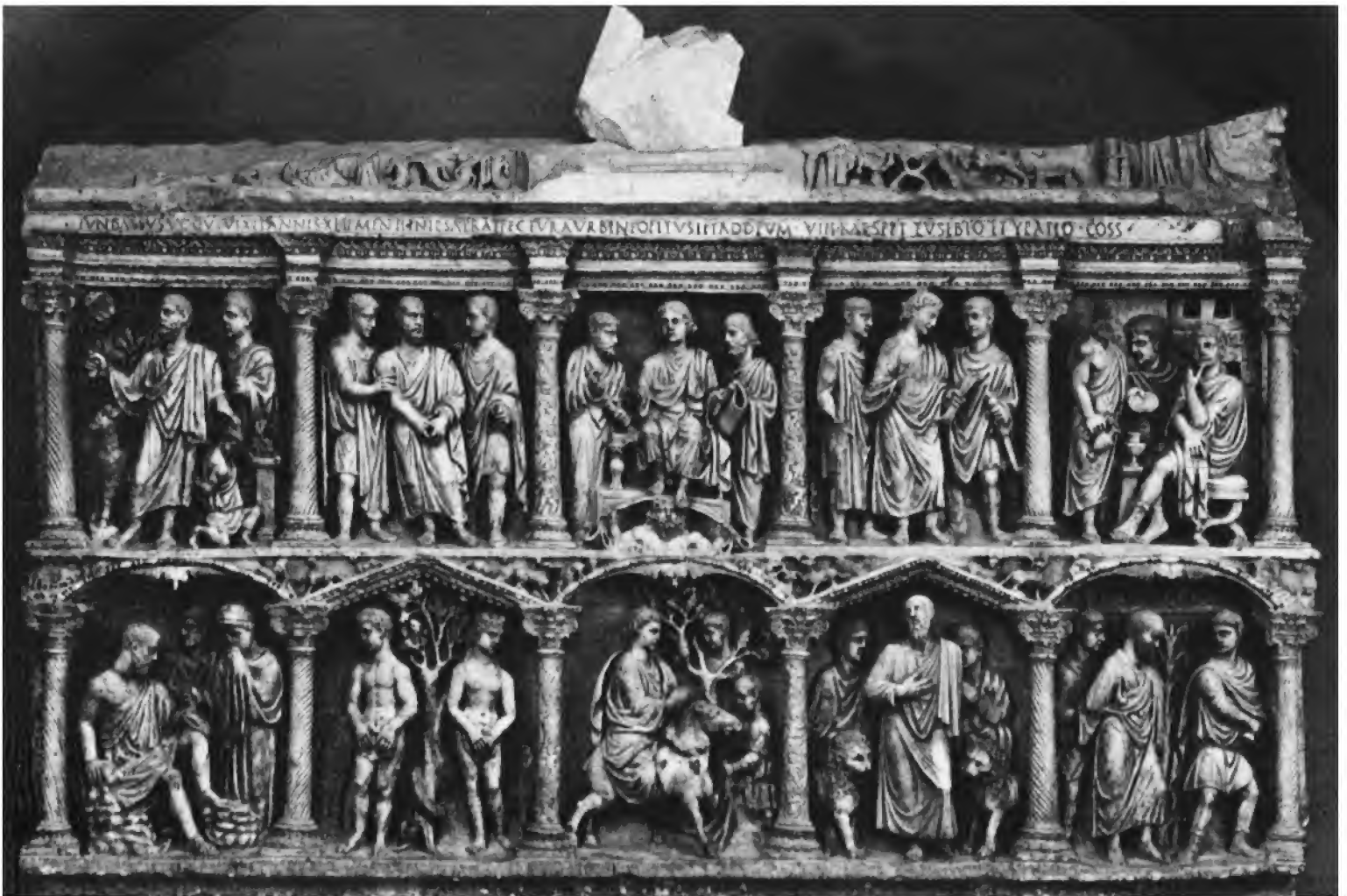
Below, the originally naked Daniel has been replaced by a modern palliatus. The inscription on the upper edge reads: IUN·BASSUS·V·C·QUI VIXIT ANNIS·XLII MEN·II·IN IPSA PRAEFECTURA URBI NEOFITUS IIT AD DEUM·VIII·KAL·SEPT·EUSEBIO ET YPATIO COSS. ("Junius Bassus, vir clarissimus, forty-two years and two months old, performing the duties of city prefect went newly baptized to God on 25 August during the consulate of Eusebius and Hypatius [= in the year A.D. 359]"). On the tabula of the lid a fragmentary inscription honors, originally in eight distiches, the official functions of Bassus and records the dignified funeral.

The sarcophagus is laid out in two registers of five niches, each separated by columns, six on each register; the two columns on the outside are spirally fluted; the two central ones are decorated with grapevines and in them climbing Erotes. The upper niches are covered by richly adorned architraves; below, shells and gables alternate.

The almost fully plastic groups in the niches illustrate scenes of the Old and New Testaments. Upper zone: in the middle the youthful Christ, flanked by two apostles, a scroll in his left hand, is enthroned above the bearded personification of

Caelus with the cloth of heaven. To the right follows the presentation of Christ by two soldiers before the pensive Pilate, who is seated on the sella curulis; at the left are the arrest of Peter and Abraham sacrificing Isaac, who kneels in tunica exomis in front of an altar; behind it is an accompanying servant; on the upper left is the hand of God (broken off); on the lower left, the ram looking up. Lower zone: in the middle, Christ's Entry into Jerusalem on a horselike donkey, with a small figure spreading out a robe and a man cutting branches in the fork of the tree (Matt. 21:1-11); at the right is Daniel, as noted, between the lions and the scene of Paul led to his martyrdom; a clump of reeds in the rear indicates its place by the Tiber; at the left is the Fall of Man, the progenitors flanking the tree with the serpent, and Job sitting on a pile of stones, with his wife and a friend, who are standing.

Noteworthy in the spandrels are the allegorical lambs, from the left to the right: Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace; Peter Striking the Rock; the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes; Baptism of Christ; Moses receiving the law; Raising of Lazarus. On the left short side: above, four Erotes



harvesting grapes; below, ox cart with two baskets of grapes and wine-pressing Erotes. On right short side: three Erotes cutting, binding, and carrying sheaves of grain; below, six Erotes representing seasons: Winter, Autumn, and Spring (Hanfmann, 1951, II, p. 184, no. 540). For the fragmentary representations on the lid, see Himmelmänn, 1973, pp. 13–28.

The sarcophagus belongs to the class of Passion sarcophagi; its upper zone has an accurate iconographical parallel in a Lateran sarcophagus (Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 677), in which the scenes are distributed over seven niches, with the Sacrifice of Isaac in the left corner, a scene that since Melito of Sardes (about A.D. 190) has been interpreted typologically as representing the Crucifixion of Christ. The scenes in the middle expand the heavenly majestas into an earthly majestas: the entry of the Messiah into Jerusalem. The gay representations on the short sides of the seasons passing from spring to winter are typical for third- and fourth-century monuments (Hanfmann, 1951, I, p. 59; II, p. 184, no. 540).

The Bassus sarcophagus belongs to the so-called beautiful style (between 340 and 360), to which belong also the sarcophagus of the Two Brothers and the Lot sarcophagus (Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, nos. 45, 188). All of them show almost fully plastic figures.

Found in 1597 or 1595 (Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, p. 279) under the confessio of St. Peter's. Additional fragments with inscriptions were unearthed in 1940–1943 during the excavations under St. Peter's. An engraving of 1632 (Bosio, fig. 45) shows the sarcophagus before the restoration of the Daniel scene.

E. D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gerke, 1936; Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 680; Himmelmänn, 1973, pp. 13–28.

387 Casket mounts with scenes from the Old and New Testaments

Intercisa (Dunaújvaros, Hungary), 3rd quarter 4th century

Embossed bronzesheet

Casket: 24.5 × 30.5 × about 14 cm. (9 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 12 × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, 0.4651

On these four fragmentary friezes the reliefs are partly damaged and crushed in. The piece is one of the best of the many ornamented *scrinia* originating from the Roman province Pannonia (Mócsy, 1962, cols. 757–758, 765–766). Almost cubic in shape, it was decorated only on the front. The friezes, two of each kind, show two styles of decoration, one with medallions and the other with rectangular panels. For each frieze, three matrices were used. The medallion frieze repeats: a gorgoneion; the bust of an emperor wearing laurel or diadem; and two male profiles facing each other, according to type and legend: (P)ETR(us) and (Pa)ULU(s); above them is the monogram of Christ. In the spandrels are minute (apotropaic ?) motifs: lizard, bird (peacock ?), dolphin, vase (?), and bee. The panels repeat three biblical short scenes: Daniel as orant between the lions, framed by palmlike trees; Moses Striking the Rock, in front of which a small figure is crouching; and the Miracle of Cana, with Christ standing between the jars. Small christograms are added to each scene. The ornament at the bottom, a narrow band with running animals, often occurs on Pannonian mounts. The iconography is influenced by Roman models, especially the Peter-Paul disc, which copies a type current in Rome beginning about the mid-fourth century (Testini, 1969, pp. 260–262).

The medallion style, another recurring feature on the Pannonian caskets, was in all probability developed in workshops that functioned alongside the official imperial mints, using coins as models (Radnóti, 1957, p. 295; Gáspár, 1974, p. 410).

The date can be concluded from a coin of Valentinian I, found with another mount at Intercisa for which the same matrices were used. Also, the invasion of the barbarians in 374–375, when the expensive burials in Intercisa cease, may provide a *terminus ante quem*. The caskets served for



private as well as for official use and were deposited in tombs according to the ancient custom of burying personal belongings with the deceased (Engemann, 1972, p. 172, n. 119; Gorecki, 1976, pp. 235, 264).

Found before 1914 together with fragments of the original casket in the more recent part of the Intercisa cemetery.

E. D. V. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Radnóti, 1957, no. 205, pp. 241–243, 248, 273, 276, 286, 290–294, 362; Buschhausen, 1971, no. 60, pp. 122–124; Gáspár, 1971, p. 21, no. 42; Gáspár, 1973; Gáspár, 1974.

388 Bottom of bowl with portrait and scenes from the Old and New Testaments

Rome (?), end 4th century

Gold glass

Diam. 10.2 cm. (4 in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Rogers Fund, 1916, 16.174.2

The edge of the green glass bowl is broken off all around. On the underside is a foot ring.

The representations were cut out from and engraved in gold foil, which was applied to the bottom of the bowl. A second layer of glass was laid over this, protecting the foil.

In the middle of the bowl is a portrait of a youth, who raises his right hand in a gesture of speech. He is dressed in the tunica contabulata of the Roman citizen. Above the youth's shoulders is an inscription: ZESES ("Live!" [Latin transliteration of the Greek ZHCAIC]).

The portrait medallion is surrounded by scenes from the Old and New Testaments. Above are the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace. They wear Oriental dress, stand in orant position between high flames, and turn to their left toward Christ, who stands with raised virga thaumaturga. On the right follows the scene of the healing of the paralytic, who has shouldered his bed and looks out from between the slats (cf. no. 405). In front of him is Christ, again raising a wand. The other two scenes, one from the Old and one from the New Testament, seem to have been fused. Tobias reaches with his left arm into the mouth of the fish, extracting the liver that will heal his father. He turns to the Miracle of Cana. There, Christ touches with his wand one of the seven vessels surrounding him and turns the water in them into wine.

The central portrait of the youth and the surrounding friezelike biblical scenes point to a date for the glass in the second half of the fourth century. Such gold glass formed the center of larger drinking bowls or cups, the function indicated here by the toast "Live!" Most of them were found as funeral gifts in the Western Empire,

especially in the catacombs of Rome. Rome is believed to have been a center of gold-glass production; another was Cologne (cf. no. 377). The gold glass with the portrait of the youth is among the most beautiful and best-preserved examples and is said to have been found in 1715 in the Roman catacomb S. Callisto. Purchased in 1916 from the Kircher collection, Rome.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vopel, 1899, no. 85; Avery, 1921, pp. 172–173, fig. 2; Stern, 1958, p. 176, fig. 16; Morey, 1959, no. 448.

389 Flagon with scenes from the Old and New Testaments

Western Mediterranean, early 5th century

Silver with partial gilding

21.6 × about 7.6 cm. (8½ × about 3 in.)

Edinburgh, National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, GVA 1

The relief, in repoussé, has been partially crushed. There are numerous cracks and missing pieces. Part of the sides and upper half of the neck are restored with smooth sheets of silver-plated tin. The gilding, lost during conservation, has been renewed.

The slender neck is encircled by a protruding wreath of leaves. The foot ring is formed of globular knobs. The sides of the vessel are arranged in five zones of varying width. The first is a wreath of acanthus leaves, followed by a frieze of lambs, trees, and a stable. Next, a narrow strip with acanthus ornament forms a transition to the fourth zone with four scenes: in the Adoration of the Magi, the three present bowls with their gifts to the enthroned Mother of God; to the right Moses strikes the rock, and two Israelites hold out containers to catch the water that flows from it; the Fall follows, with Adam and Eve next to the tree with the serpent; the last scene, badly damaged in the upper part, has been interpreted as the betrayal by Judas (Curle, 1923; Edinburgh, 1958; Toynbee, 1962). It appears, however, that here, too, we have an episode from the life of Moses—the miracle of the quails in the desert. The right figure has bent his head back and looks





No. 389, Adoration of the Magi

upward. His left hand is either pointing up or catching something. The miracles of the water and quails are depicted together on Roman sarcophagi in a similar arrangement (cf. sarcophagus in Aix-en-Provence [Wilpert, 1929, I, pl. 97, fig. 3]). The Adoration of the Magi and the Fall also fit into the repertory of Early Christian art in the Roman West. A rinceau forms the lower border. The flagon is stylistically close to the silver flask with the healing of the blind in the British Museum (no. 400), as well as the silver pyxis from Pola in Vienna (no. 568). A more



No. 389, Adam and Eve

precise definition of the place of origin of these silver works has not been possible. Such small bottlelike vases with scenes of the Old and New Testaments probably did not have any specific function. In their form, the grouping of the figure friezes, and the ornamental decoration, they resemble contemporary works with pagan representations (cf. no. 244) and were surely produced in the same workshops.

The Edinburgh flagon is part of the treasure of the Traprain Law, East Lothian, outside Roman territory, indicating that the treasure may have

been transported there as the spoils of war. The treasure can be dated to the end of the fourth to the beginning of the fifth century by coins from the time of Valentinian to that of Honorius.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Curle, 1923, no. 1; Edinburgh, 1958, no. 24; Toynbee, 1962, no. 107; Strong, 1966, pp. 182–186, pl. 55A; Beckwith, 1970, p. 22, fig. 41; London, 1977, no. 193.

390 Textile fragment with scenes from the Old and New Testaments

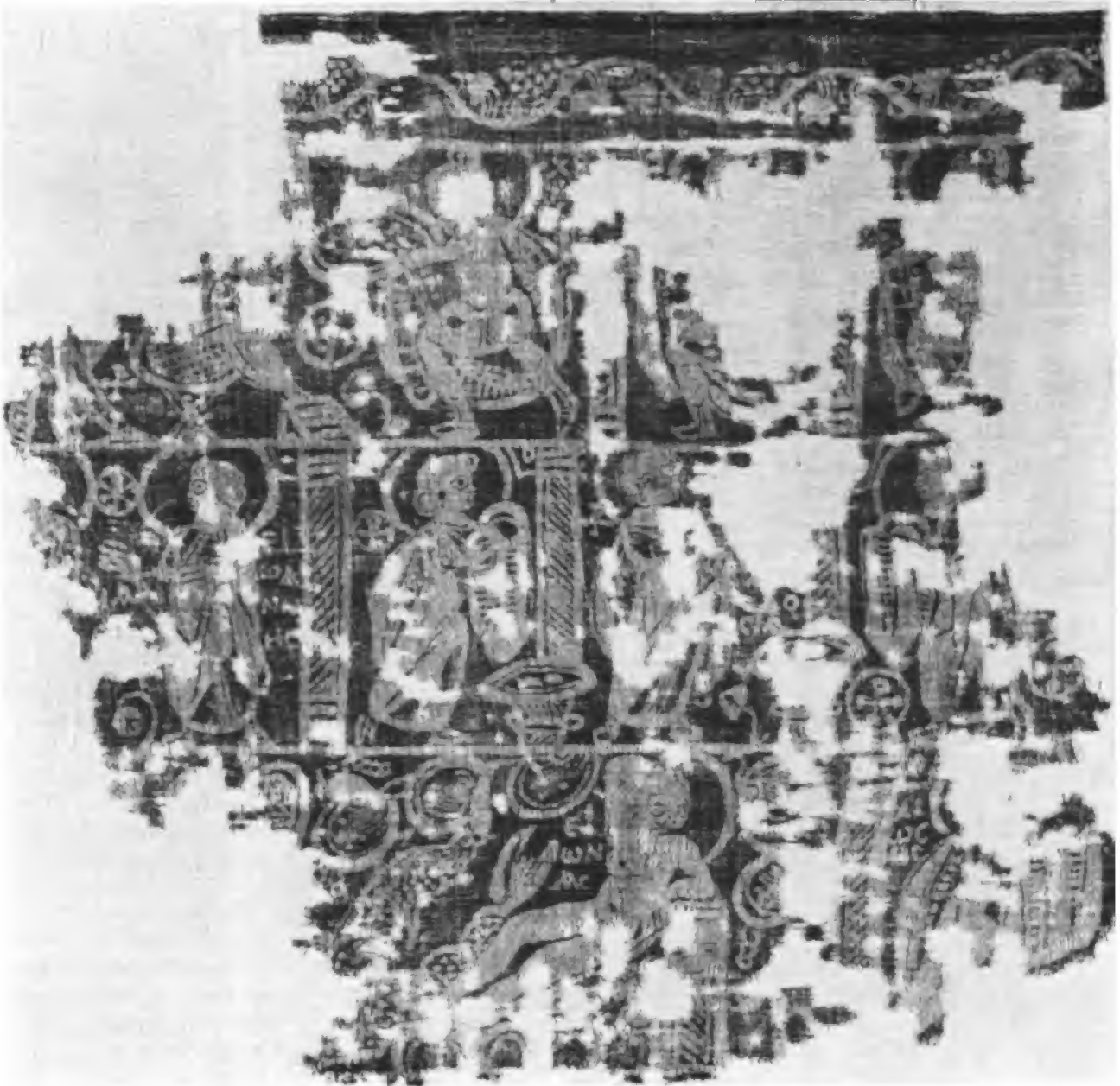
Egypt, 5th century

Dyed linen

97.8 × 104.1 cm. (38½ × 41 in.)

Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, John L.

Severance Fund, 51.400



This fragment of a large piece of cloth, much frayed, is decorated in the resist-print technique, using blue with the natural color.

The upper edge of the textile is marked by a border of grapevines. The first picture zone under it shows the Adoration of the Magi. The three wear Phrygian caps and billowing coats and walk toward Mary and the Christ child. She sits on a folding chair, her feet on a suppedaneum. The Magi are separated by columns. Next to the halo of the first are the letters XP. C . . . , perhaps to be completed XPYCOC ("gold"). In the hand of the first Magus can be recognized a large, shallow bowl. The second picture zone is also segmented by columns into individual areas, the first one on the left showing John (ΕΙΩΑΝΝΗC) probably at the Baptism of Christ, followed by the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes. From each side Christ is offered either bread or fish by disciples with covered hands; at his feet are two large baskets. To his right are the remains of an inscription: ...OCIA (?). The third picture zone depicts two scenes from the Old Testament. On the left, leaning against a short column, Jonah (ΕΙΩΝΑC) reclines under a gourd in the pose of Endymion; to the left is the tail of the ketos. On the right follows a depiction of Moses (ΜΩCΗC), his hands covered. In analogy to the London fragment (no. 391), the sky segment and the roll that Moses received were supposedly depicted here. Between the figures, flowers as well as crosses of various shapes, with and without circles around them, have been added as in the two London fragments (nos. 391, 392). These dyed cloths can be attributed to the fifth century, the time of transition from an underlying Hellenistic Late Antique Christian art of the eastern Mediterranean to Coptic folk art. A lively exchange of motifs and pictorial themes would have been encouraged through such widely exported textiles.

Pliny the Elder (*HN* 35. 42) describes how such materials were dyed in Egypt: the linen cloth was painted with a color-repelling substance and then submerged in a bath of dye. Although there are no examples from the first century, the cloth from late antiquity shows such a sovereign command of this technique that it can only be explained by a long tradition.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Shepherd, 1952, pp. 66–68, ill.; Illgen, 1968, pp. 49–51.

391 Textile fragment with scenes from the Old and New Testaments

Egypt, 5th century

Dyed linen

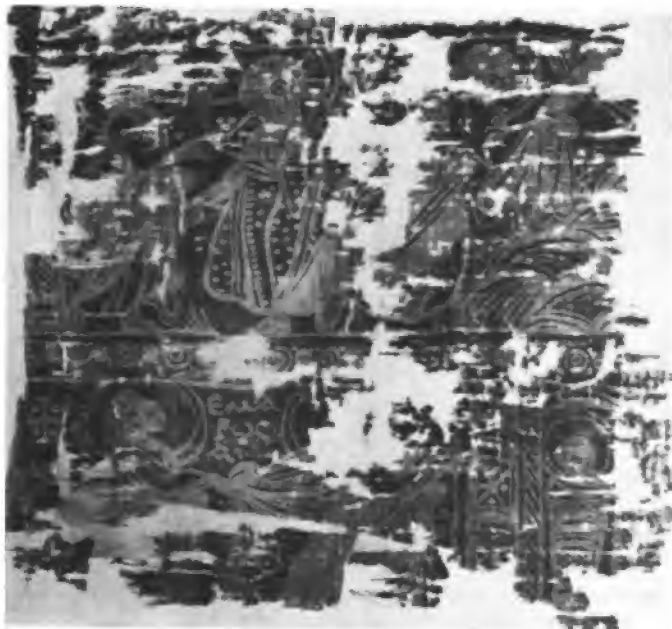
82.8 × 87.6 cm. (32½ × 34½ in.)

London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 722–1897

This is a fragment of a large piece of cloth, much frayed. It is decorated in the resist-print technique, using blue with natural color. On the technique, see no. 390.

Two picture zones are preserved. In the upper right Moses, who is identified by an inscription, climbs a mountain and receives, into his covered hands, a roll out of the arc of heaven in the upper right. In the frequent occurrences of this scene in Early Christian art, only the details differ: for example, the alternate use of roll and tablets. The roll seems to embody God's command to Moses on Mt. Horeb (Exod. 3); the tablets, mainly appearing on sarcophagi, indicate the acceptance of the Ten Commandments on Mt. Sinai (Exod. 20). A representation very similar to the London fragment occurs in the lower strip of no. 390 and on the so-called Reinhardt cloth, formerly in Leipzig (Strzygowski, 1901, pl. VI). In the Reinhardt cloth a second figure stands behind Moses, his right hand raised. On the London fragment the figure behind Moses can be identified as Christ by the cross-nimbus. To the right are the remains of an inscription. Christ looks up at Moses climbing. His right hand is, however, stretched out to a figure at the left, who turns to him and raises his right hand in the gesture of speech. This group has been identified by Illgen (1968) as the calling of Moses at the burning bush: Christ appears in place of the voice of God in the burning bush. This combination of scenes of the calling and the receiving of God's command appears earlier in the synagogue of Dura Europos above the Torah niche (no. 341), as well as on the wooden door of Sta. Sabina (no. 438) and in the Presbyterium mosaic of S. Vitale in Ravenna.

In the lower zone, which is separated from the first by a band of flowers and circles, are two combined scenes from the New Testament. On the left a woman identified as the woman with the issue of blood by an inscription (CΜΑΡΩCΑ), holds the garment of Christ, who turns with raised



right hand to Lazarus in an open tomb aedicula. On the left next to the paneled door is the inscription $\Lambda\text{AZAPO}(\varsigma)$. Christ is dressed in the same dotted garment as above. It appears that here, too, as far as the condition of the cloth allows us to judge, Old and New Testament scenes have been combined, yet kept in separate zones as on the piece in Cleveland (no. 390). No typological relationship is evident, however.

The style, technique, and figure types relate this fragment so closely to one with the Nativity (no. 392) that the pieces must surely have been made at the same time and probably in the same workshop.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Strzygowski, 1901, pp. 105–106; Kendrick, 1922, III, pp. 65–66, no. 787, pl. xx; Illgen, 1968, pp. 43–48.

392 Textile with Nativity

Egypt, 5th century

Dyed linen

47 × 82.5 cm. (18½ × 32½ in.)

London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1103–1900

This part of a large cloth is much frayed. It is decorated in the resist-print technique, using blue with the natural color. For the technique, see no. 390.

From the left a winged angel, his right hand raised in the gesture of speech, approaches Mary, inscribed MAPIA . To each side of the angel are crosses. Mary lies on a couch and turns around toward the angel. At the right is a masonry crib with the swaddled Christ child. An ox and ass lean over it. Only one of the ass's ears is preserved. Above the ox is the inscription IC in a circle, which corresponds to another circle now lost, with the letters XC ("Jesus Christ"). In the lower part of the crib is a niche, a feature that appears frequently in Syro-Palestinian renderings of the Nativity, probably as an allusion to the grotto of the Nativity in Bethlehem (cf. no. 521). How the scene continued is uncertain, perhaps with the apocryphal figure of the incredulous midwife Salome extending her withered hand to touch the child. To the left, behind the angel, is a column; the upper edge is formed by a strip of circular ornaments, above which was surely a second picture zone (cf. no. 391). Similar column and ornaments occur on a fragment with the Annunciation, also in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which was probably part of the same piece. The fragment belongs to a group of linen cloths that are mostly dyed blue, occasionally purple, and are believed to come almost entirely from tombs in Upper Egypt. Among these, several of noteworthy large dimensions show mythological scenes: Dionysos (Louvre); Artemis, Aphrodite (Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung); hunting scenes (Leningrad, Hermitage); or scenes from the Old and New Testaments, apostles or saints (London, Victoria and Albert



Museum). They were not originally meant for burials but served as curtains or wall hangings.

Said to come from Akhmîm (ancient Panopolis); gift of Dudley B. Myers, Esq., 1900.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Strzygowski, 1901, p. 105; Dalton, 1911, pp. 602–604, fig. 381; Kendrick, 1922, III, p. 65, no. 786, pl. XIX; Peirce and Tyler, 1932, I, pl. 103; Essen, 1963, no. 254; Illgen, 1968, pp. 18–22.

393 Engraved ring stone with Adoration of the Magi

Rome (?), 4th century

Bloodstone

1.5 × 2 cm. ($\frac{3}{16}$ × $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1938.1109

The gem is undamaged, the surface slightly convex, the back flat, the edges chamfered. The mount is modern.

The Magi are shown striding from the left on a groundline. They hold round bowls filled with gifts and wear girdled tunics, crested Oriental caps, and short mantles flowing up like wings. At the right, Mary, on a rocklike seat, holds the (naked ?) Christ child; the child leans forward to the Magi with animated gestures. Behind Mary stands a man, dressed in a pallium, who points upward at a star above the child.

The cutting is cursory, neglecting the final treatment of details, but the representation is lively, the figures natural, and the composition

skillfully adapted to the minute scale. The rounded, swelling forms were produced by a round-ended drill.

Beginning during the age of Constantine, with the growing liturgical emphasis on the Incarnation festivals (Shepherd, 1967, pp. 76–77), the picture theme of the Adoration of the Magi (Matt. 2: 1–12) became widespread. Its forms are derived from Roman imperial art depicting vanquished Orientals offering their gifts to the victorious ruler (Grabar [1], 1968, p. 45). The gem adds to the usual pattern a typological notion: the figure behind Mary is the Old Testament seer Balaam, whose prophecy “a star shall rise from Jacob” (Num. 24: 17) was related by the early Church to Christ’s Epiphany and the Magi’s journey (Kirschbaum, 1954). The iconography, unique among the rare Early Christian gems with New Testament scenes, has a striking analogy in the epitaph of Severa (fig. 57), found in 1751 in the Priscilla catacomb, Rome. The hairstyle of Severa suggests a date between 325 and 350 (cf. von Heintze, 1971, pls. 9, 10). Both gem and plaque belong to the same pictorial tradition located in Constantinian Rome, where the Balaam theme was favored (cf. Timmers, 1968, s.v. Balaam, p. 239). The two pieces must have had a common model, now lost, whose reflection can also be observed on Roman sarcophagi of the first half of the fourth century. Kirschbaum (1966) therefore assigns the gem to the earlier Constantinian period and suggests a Roman origin. The cursory technique also supports a fourth-century date. The lively pose of the child and the winglike mantles of the Magi may have been influenced by types of Erotes in Roman art (cf. Boardman, 1968, fig. 61).

The mottled red and dark gray blue stone was described by the first owner, Sir Arthur Evans, as “red jasper,” a stone that, like hematite, enjoyed special popularity in the later Roman period. Magical effects were ascribed to both (Richter [2], 1956, pp. 61–63).

The gem, acquired in 1907 in Naples by Evans, came to the Ashmolean Museum with his collection in 1938.

E. D. v. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Evans, 1930, III, pp. 474–475; Kirschbaum, 1966.





394 Epitaph with baptismal scene

Aquileia, late 4th–5th century

Marble

36 × 49 × 4 cm. (14 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 19 $\frac{5}{16}$ × 1 $\frac{9}{16}$ in.)

Aquileia, Museo Archeologico di Aquileia

Upper left corner broken and partly repaired; lower bottom broken off.

The inscription reads (*CIL* V, no. 1722): INNOCENTI SP(irit)O QUEM/ELEGIT DOM(inu)s PAUSAT/IN PACE/ FIDELIS/ X KAL(endas) SEPT(embres)/SEPT(embr(es)) ("To the innocent soul whom the Lord selected. It rests in peace as a believer. 23 August"). Name, age, and year are not given. Formulae and erroneous Latin occur similarly in other Aquileian inscriptions (cf. *CIL* V, no. 1686). The text surrounds the graffito of a baptismal scene. In a low basin stands a (female ?) child, naked, wearing a necklace or bulla. Above it a celestial globe with crescent, stars, a dove flying down, and water pouring forth over the child. At the left, a nimbed person in tunic and pallium raises the right hand in a gesture of speech. At the right, a man, wearing boots and a girdled tunic with sleeves, adorned with shoulder segments and with clavi, touches the head of the child. On either side of the group, a tree, and underneath (partly broken away), bushes and sheep.

The graffito combines symbols referring to baptism—the Dove of the Holy Spirit—bucolic motifs alluding to paradise promised to the baptized, and

a contemporary scene: a saintly bishop and an assistant. As an iconographic parallel, De Rossi has proposed an incised glass fragment from Rome dating in the fourth to fifth century (in Fremersdorf, 1975, V, no. 849). The interpretation of the scene varies. According to de Bruyne (1943, p. 243), two stages of the ritual, baptism with water and the impositio manus thereafter, are conflated. I suggest that the moment depicted is when the bishop asked the neophyte for a declaration of his belief and the sponsor answered for the candidate if it was an infant child (*Canones Hippolyti* 21 [Botte, 1968, pp. 80–87]).

The halo as an attribute of a figure other than Christ and peculiarities of the inscription date the epitaph to no earlier than the late fourth century. The sack of Aquileia by Attila in 452 can be assumed as terminus ante quem. The plaque thus presents a testimony from the period when Aquileia and its bishops held a major position in the early Church (Tavano, 1972, pp. 26–30). It is of particular significance as a rare representation of Early Christian baptismal rites and their local peculiarities.

E. D. v. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bertoli, 1739, p. 396; Brusin, 1957; Cuscito, 1969–1970; Bovini, 1972, pp. 455–458 (with biblio.).

395 Gem with Baptism of Christ

Egypt, 5th century (?)

Rock crystal

2.8 × 1.9 cm. (1 $\frac{1}{8}$ × $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Gift of Thomas Whittemore, 1931, 31.123

The edge is splintered. Fairly large pieces are broken off at the upper and lower right.

At the left, John the Baptist, dressed in a long belted chiton, stretches his hand out over the figure of Christ, slightly more than half his size. Christ, nimbed, stands in the waters of the Jordan, which are indicated by several shallow horizontal lines. From above the Dove of the Holy Spirit descends on Christ. At the right is a small cross.

The simple craftsmanship is close in style and technique to the Greco-Egyptian magical gems of the third and fourth centuries. The robe and the triangular caplike hair treatment of John the



Baptist and outlining of Christ by a few straight lines are closest to these (cf. Delatte and Derchainé, 1964, nos. 235, 262, 271). The small cross on the right side of Christ's halo may represent the iron cross that stood on top of a column in the River Jordan to indicate the locus sanctus of Christ's Baptism. This cross is mentioned in various descriptions by pilgrims to the Holy Land and was often depicted, most frequently in Byzantine art from the eleventh century (see Engemann [3], 1973, pp. 19–20). Rock crystal was rarely used for gems in antiquity, except for magical amulets—perhaps because the stone was thought to guard against various diseases. The belief in the supernatural powers of certain stones lived on in Christian times, when the magical pictures and symbols were replaced with Christian representations (cf. no. 398). The New York rock crystal could, therefore, have served as an amulet. Further Christian examples can be found in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection in Washington (Ross, 1962, I, p. 95, no. 114, pl. LVIII; Ross, 1965, II, p. 137, no. 179 L and M, pl. xcvi; Washington, D.C., 1967, pp. 96–97, nos. 327–332).

L. K.

Unpublished.

****396 Bottom of a bowl with Miracle of Cana**

Rome (?), mid-4th century

Gold glass

9.7 cm. (3 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Pesaro, Biblioteca e Musei Oliveriani, 3833

The bowl is broken off all around to the foot ring; the gold foil in the middle of Christ's robe has shrunk. For technique, see no. 377.

A youthful Christ stands frontally, his right hand raised in the gesture of speech and his left hand gathering up his pallium. His hair is short and curly. On his right are four vessels with lids and on his left three; they contain the water that he changed into wine at the wedding. Between the vessels and at his feet are dots and leafy shrubs. Within the circular narrow ridge running around is the inscription: DIGNITAS AMICORUM VIVAS IM PACE DEI ZESES. . . . ("Worthy of your friends, may you live in the peace of God, drink!") The Miracle of Cana was depicted only from the time of the Tetrarchs but frequently thereafter, usually placed together with the Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes. On gold glass it is always a single scene. Here, the drawing has been carefully executed, especially the almost portraitlike face of Christ.

Gold-glass drinking vessels were popular as gifts on family occasions or other feasts, and for



Christians the Miracle of Cana was a particularly apt subject. Such glass could also have been presented to an infant upon its baptism, because, like the Water Miracle of Moses (no. 382), this miracle occurs in almost all liturgies and prayers connected with baptism.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vopel, 1899, no. 335; Farioli, 1963; Morey, 1959, no. 285; Zanchi Roppo, 1969, no. 43.

*397 Wall painting of healing of the woman with the issue of blood

Rome, 2nd quarter 4th century
Fresco
62 × 54 cm. (2 ft. $\frac{7}{16}$ in. × 1 ft. $\frac{9}{16}$ in.)
Catacomb of SS. Marcellinus and Petrus

The painting, in the lunette of the back wall arcosolium of the cubiculum of Nicerus, is well preserved.

The youthful figure of Christ, dressed in white tunic and pallium, moves to the right, while turning back to the woman with the issue of blood, who kneels behind him. She is wearing a tunic and palla of delicate brownish yellow color. Christ extends his right hand toward her in a gesture of speech, as the woman touches his mantle "from behind" (Mark 5:25–35; Luke 8:43–48). The gesture of her left hand, held against the cheek, expresses sorrow and pain (Sittl, 1890, p. 274). The faces of both figures are turned toward the beholder in three-quarter view. The pattern of the scene recalls a type long-lived on Roman coins: the emperor as "restitutor provinciae," restoring the rights to a province (cf. Brilliant, 1963, fig. 3.78; Chadwick, 1967, pp. 280–281).

The scene fills the central panel of a decorative system of red lines interspersed with green strokes. The painting is outstanding in its soft coloring, the distribution of light and shade, and the elegant movements. On the basis of this "classical notion," Kollwitz (1969) assigns the fresco to a group of paintings reflecting a revival of classical tradition in the Constantinian period, which he relates to the ceiling frescoes in Trier (for controversial datings, cf. Dassmann, 1973, pp. 18–25). A ter-

minus ante quem is given by recent excavations, which have proved that burial in SS. Marcellinus and Petrus ceased—with a few exceptions—before the mid-fourth century (Ferrua, 1970, pp. 82–83).

The healing of the woman with the issue of blood, otherwise not frequent in the catacombs, occurs five times in SS. Marcellinus and Petrus. In the Nicerus cubiculum it is part of a pictorial program: a female orant, Christ and the Samaritan woman (John 4:1–30), and—a very rare scene (Lewine, 1974, pp. 496–497, fig. 12)—Christ healing the bent woman (Luke 13:10–13). The selective principle of the composition obviously is to adorn with appropriate themes the tomb of a female Christian.

The cubiculum was excavated between 1911 and 1915. A close analogy to the present scene was found recently in a neighboring chamber within a similar pictorial program (Ferrua, 1970, pp. 59–63, fig. 44).

E. D. v. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Josi, 1918–1919, p. 82; Kirsch, 1930, pp. 210–212; de Bruyne, 1969, p. 180; Kollwitz, 1969, pp. 80–81; du Bourguet, 1970, p. 81; Nestori, 1975, pp. 58–59, no. 65.





398 Amulet with Christ and the woman with the issue of blood

Egypt (?), 6th–7th century

Hematite

5 × 3.5 cm. (2 × 1½ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.491

The edge and surface of the front side are splintered in several places. A fissure runs across the back and a large piece is missing from the upper edge. Set in simple silver mounting with loop.

On the obverse, Christ appears before the woman with the issue of blood, who kneels at his feet in proskynesis; usually she touches Christ's robe from behind in a semierect posture. Christ, bearded and cross-nimbed, stretches out his hand in a gesture of blessing. The reverse of the amulet shows a woman in orant position between two stylized palm trees. She wears a palla wrapped tightly around her head and shoulders and draped to the right and left of her arms. Both representations are surrounded by a corrupt inscription of several lines, which starts on the front side and continues on the back:

OBV: ΚΕ Η ΓΥΝΗ/ ΟΥΚΑ ΡΥΧΗ Ε/ΜΑΤΟΣ
ΕΤΙ/ΚΕ ΠΟΛΛΑ
[ΠΥΘ]ΟΥΚΑ Η ΚΕ ΕΔ Α/ΠΑΝΙΚΑ
ΜΙΔΕ/Ν ΟΦΕΛΕΘΟ [ΕΙ]/ΚΑ ΑΛΑ
ΜΑΛ [ΛΟΝ]/ ΗΔΕ/Α/ΜΟΥΚΑ
REV: [Ε]ΞΗΡΑΥ/ΘΗ/ Η ΠΗΓΗ ΤΟ[Υ]/
ΥΜΑΤΗΜ/ΟΥ ΑΥΤΗΚ ΕΝΤΟ/
[Ο] ΝΟΜΑΤΙ Τ/ΗΚ ΠΙΣΤΕΟΣ ΑΥ/ΤΙΚ

The text includes a shortened version of the healing of the woman with the issue of blood (Mark 5:25–34) and corresponds to the magical powers attributed to hematite. The custom of wearing amulets to ward off evil was a long-standing one adopted by the Christians and therefore sharply condemned by the fathers of the Church and at several Church councils, evidence of the amulets' continuing popularity in the Christian Era (no. 395).

The type of bearded Christ, with the book in his left hand, and the type of orant point to an East Roman origin, perhaps Egypt, the classical land of amulets. The intaglio is exceptionally large and well preserved.

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan in 1917 to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Breck and Rogers, 1925, p. 42.

399 Relief of Christ healing the blind man

Constantinople (?), about 390

White marble

26.5 cm. (10⅞ in.); max. at center 28.7 cm. (11⅝ in.)

Washington, D. C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection,

52.8

Fragment of slightly curved frieze and part of a cycle. The edges are cut off on three sides, but the surface is well preserved. The bottom edge is decorated with beading interrupted by a disc with a cross under the figure of Christ.

Christ, youthful and nimbed, stands in the center holding a scroll in his left hand and touching one eye of the blind man with his right. The youthful blind man approaches in an attitude of supplication and extends his right arm toward Christ; his hidden left hand holds a stick. The stick's outline is faintly incised. At the right stand two witnesses: a younger one partly hidden and turning his head toward an older, whose expressive head is characterized by a bald forehead and a long beard. He bears a cross-scepter (top broken off).

The scene represents the text of Mark 8:22–25. The presence of witnesses is usual. Kitzinger (1960)



400 Ewer with healing of the man born blind and Christ giving the keys to Peter

Western Mediterranean, 4th–5th century

Silver

12.9 cm. (5 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

London, The Trustees of the British Museum, 1951,
10.10, 1

Numerous fractures and defects; the lower part of one side broken away; handle missing. Executed in repoussé and subsequently engraved.

Around the neck are incised lines and a braided cord pattern. The body shows two scenes in low relief, each with two figures: the healing of the

No. 400, healing of the man born blind

suggests that the older witness represents St. Paul, but the cross-staff is usually the attribute of St. Peter. It is also possible that no specific apostle is meant. The scene is similar to those on an ivory relief of the late fifth century in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican (Volbach, 1976, no. 138) and on a sarcophagus found at St. Victor in Marseilles (Demians d'Archimbaud, 1971, pp. 108–115, fig. 17).

The relief is of high artistic quality. The well-modeled figures, the soft drapery, and the hairstyle are characteristic of Theodosian sculpture. Stylistically related is the sarcophagus from Sarigüzel in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (Kitzinger, 1960, p. 21, fig. 6).

The slab may have been a fragment of a large disc (offering table ?) or part of a circular revetment in a baptistery.

E. L. -P.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kitzinger, 1960, pp. 19–42; Severin, 1970, pp. 227, 233; Roux, 1973, pp. 176, 187, no. 72.



man born blind and Christ giving the keys to Peter, the latter largely destroyed. The type of depiction of the healing of the blind scene, where Christ touches the blind man's eyes, is found in Early Christian art in both East and West. The scene of Christ giving the keys or a scroll (?) (London, 1977) to Peter, however, developed only in the West, probably in Rome itself, in connection with the Roman bishops' claims to primacy as the successors of Peter. The scene is found primarily on Early Christian sarcophagi; one of the earliest examples is in the crypt of S. Pietro in Vincoli in Rome (Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 755) and in the mosaic in one apse of Sta. Costanza in Rome, where Christ is enthroned on a globe. The representations usually show Christ giving a scroll to Peter, the so-called *traditio legis* or *dominus legem dat*; but Paul and Peter always flank Christ.

The style also points to West Rome (cf. nos. 389, 568), but the exact provenance of this and the related pieces has not yet been established. In form and structure, the silver amula of the Bianchini collection (lost and known only from a drawing [Leclercq, 1910, II, 1, col. 1352, fig. 1745; Arnason, 1938, pp. 205–206, fig. 3]) is the closest parallel.

Such silver ewers of relatively small size might have been used for wine. The Christian decoration makes one think that they were used in the divine service, but in spite of the Christian subject they may just as well have served a secular purpose.

Along with the flagon in Edinburgh (no. 389) and the one with apostle medallions in the Vatican Museo Cristiano, the ewer in London is one of the few surviving Late Antique examples of this type of vessel with Christian representations.

In the eighteenth century the ewer was in the collection of Monsignore Leone Strozzi, Rome. (For a drawing of it in undamaged condition, see Garrucci, 1881, VI, pl. 460, figs. 7, 8.)

Acquired in 1950.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Arnason, 1938, p. 208, figs. 11, 13; Tonnochy, 1952, pp. 16–17, pl. va; Volbach, 1958, no. 121; Strong, 1966, p. 186; London, 1977, no. 105.



Above, no. 401; below, schematic drawing of no. 401



401 Bowl with healing of the paralytic

Rome, 4th century

Glass

Diam. 6.3 cm. (2½ in.)

Corning, New York, The Corning Museum of Glass, 66.1.38

The rim has been slightly chipped.

The representation of the miracle covers the sides of this hemispherical bowl. On the left appears Christ, nimbed, in a tunic and pallium, raising his hand to the paralytic. As a sign of his

healing, the paralytic walks away with his bed on his shoulders, turning his head and torso toward Christ. He is dressed as a Roman peasant in a short tunic and puttees.

The healing of the paralytic, which is related in all four Gospels, was represented with particular frequency in Christian art from the third century on, and is found in the Roman catacombs in especially great number. There, the paralytic is depicted, as on this bowl, with his bed lengthwise over both shoulders, whereas he is elsewhere shown carrying his bed by the short end (no. 407). Hemispherical bowls of this relatively small size with only one scene occupying the entire surface are rare. Of these, the Corning Museum example is the only one with a Christian scene. It may be compared in style and technique with a group of glass vessels preserved mainly in fragments and found primarily in Italy, particularly Rome or Ostia. They all employ the same short, shallow-cut lines for contours, the same long, deep grooves in the inner drawing, the same arrangement of the drapery folds, the groundline of pebblelike ovals, the large, simple nimbus, and the same border decoration (Fremersdorf, 1975, V, pp. 87–91, nos. 827–833, 846, 849, pls. 46, 47, 54, 55). Fremersdorf suggests that these closely related vessels were made in a workshop in Rome itself (1975, V, pp. 15–16).

Probably found, as so many vessels of this group, in the catacombs of Rome. Formerly in the collection of Giorgio Sangiorgi, Rome. In 1966, it was bought by the Corning Museum of Glass.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sangiorgi, 1914, no. 149.

402 Bowl with healing of the paralytic

North Africa, 4th century

Red earthenware

Diam. 17.4 cm. (6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum,
O. 39448

Restored from several fragments, two chips on the edge, without a foot. Around the edge are



three grooves. The reliefs were cast from several molds and applied to the dish.

Above is the figure of the healed paralytic, who walks away, carrying an oversized bed on both shoulders. He turns his head toward Christ on the left, who holds a long scepter with a knob and points to the paralytic with his other hand. At the right stands an older bearded man, probably a disciple, dressed like Christ in a short-sleeved tunic and a pallium, holding what appears to be a scroll. Two large palm leaves at the bottom round out the composition.

The bowl belongs to a large group of Roman pottery, so-called *sigillata chiara C*, which was produced in the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries in North Africa (Salomonson, 1969, pp. 54–58). Some iconographical features are quite unusual: the long scepter, the attribute of Jupiter, which distinguishes Christ as the new world ruler, is transferred to him along with other attributes of the Roman emperors. On a very similar bowl with the healing of the paralytic, now in the Löffler collection, Cologne (La Baume and Salomonson, 1976, no. 605), in addition to holding the scepter, Christ wears a military costume. This unusual combination of a long scepter and a military costume appears for the first time in soldier-emperors in the third century.

The disciple as a bearded philosopher is known from several other fragments of North African pottery (Salomonson, 1962, p. 72, pl. 22, 1–3; Palol, 1967, pp. 363–366, pl. 113). Whether a

Christian connotation must be inferred from this figure is uncertain, since it appears also on a non-Christian bowl together with a poet who holds a wreath. The same matrix was probably used to reproduce both philosopher and disciple, just as neutral decorative motifs, like the palm leaf, appear on pagan and Christian bowls alike (cf. no. 98).

Bowls of this kind were obviously not made for daily use, but they were a popular version of the precious silver dishes that were presented on official or private occasions. This group of bowls with mythological as well as biblical subjects originated, very probably, in the same workshop.

Acquired in 1970.

L. K.

Unpublished.

403 Cup with Raising of Lazarus

Cologne, mid-4th century

Glass

11.2, diam. 11.8 cm. ($4\frac{7}{16}$, $4\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, The
Hobart and Edward Small Moore Memorial
Collection, 1955.6.182

The vessel has been cracked and repaired in several places. A piece is missing behind the figure of Lazarus.

The sides of the slightly conical vessel show three scenes with two standing figures each, separated by trees with flat tops. Christ is depicted three times in the same position, clothed in tunic and pallium. In the first scene he stands in front of a shallow arched funeral building in which Lazarus is wrapped in mummy shrouds, his head turned toward Christ. The crossed bands over the upper part of the body are characteristic for the representations of Lazarus on Cologne glass of this period (cf. no. 404). In the next scene a man with short-sleeved tunic and raised left arm appears next to Christ. Since he has no attributes, he cannot be identified. In the third scene a female figure, also unidentifiable, in orant position and clothed in a long belted tunic, stands before Christ. In the second and third scenes the figures flank a tall tree; they may be additional miracle scenes.

The filling space with broad and narrow parallel grooves is characteristic of a group of glass, speci-



No. 403: first scene, Raising of Lazarus

ally cups from the fourth century. Most of these vessels were found in Cologne and probably originated in a local workshop. This group is linked iconographically with other cut glass of varying techniques also originating in Cologne. Cups like this one, similar to the so-called incised shallow bowls (see no. 378), were used as drinking vessels and were often buried with their owners.

Said to have been found at Boulogne-sur-Mer, where another Cologne bowl with the Sacrifice of Isaac in the Bellon collection in Rouen (cf. Harden, 1960, pp. 70–71, fig. 35) was found. Formerly in the collections of Engel-Gros, Paris, and William S. Moore.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisen and Kouchakji, 1927, II, p. 546, pl. 134;
Baltimore, 1947, no. 625; Fremersdorf, 1967, p. 187, pl. 267.

404 Bowl with the Raising of Lazarus

Cologne, 2nd half 4th century

Glass

3.6, diam. 24 cm. ($1\frac{7}{16}$, $9\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.492

There are several large cracks that have been repaired. A large piece is missing from the edge. The gilding of the engraved design was damaged during cleaning.

In the middle of the bowl the Raising of Lazarus is depicted. Christ is nimbed and raises his magic wand. Lazarus bends his head toward him; there is no tomb aedicula. Lazarus' body is wrapped in mummy shrouds save for his arms and feet. His chest shows the crossed binding typical for Cologne glass (cf. no. 403). Next to Christ is a tree; the background is filled with scroll-like objects and hatching. The representation is surrounded by a wide rinceau; the edge is decorated with a gabled arcade.

The vine pattern and the arcade occur almost identically on the big beaker found in Cologne-Worringen, now in the Toledo Museum (Toledo, Ohio, 1969, p. 28). A bowl also found in Cologne, now in Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum (Freimersdorf, 1967, p. 174, pl. 235), showing guards between tropaea, is especially close to the Lazarus bowl in its strikingly schematic rendering of the garments.

The New York bowl, though clearly Cologne glass, was not found in Cologne but in a Christian sarcophagus in Sambuca-Zabut, Sicily, together with coins dated from 350 to 360—evidence that in the fourth century Cologne glass was exported not only to northwest Europe (no. 403) but also to the Mediterranean.



Purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1911 from the Sarti collection in Rome; given to the Metropolitan Museum in 1917.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Le Blant, 1888, pp. 213–214, pl. 4; New York, 1936, p. 18, fig. 15.

405 Pyxis with scenes from the life of Christ

Syria (?), 6th century

Ivory

8.5, diam. 12 cm. ($3\frac{5}{16}$, $4\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Paris, Musée de Cluny, CL 444

The lid and lock are missing. There is a large fissure (next to Christ) to the right of the lock, and the upper edge is damaged. It probably served as a container for the consecrated host (cf. no. 549).

The sides of the pyxis are covered with five scenes from the New Testament. To the right of the lock, Christ asks for water from the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well and promises her eternal life. A second woman approaches Christ from the right imploring him and touching his robe. She is perhaps the adultress or the woman with the issue of blood. Two more miraculous healings follow: the man born blind and the paralytic. The latter has taken his bed on his shoulders so that his head pokes through the slats (cf. no. 388). At the rear a man raises his right hand in surprise. A figure making the same gesture, probably another witness, stands behind Christ in the last scene, the Raising of Lazarus. Christ holds a cross with his right hand toward Lazarus, who stands in a tomb aedicula, wrapped in mummy shrouds. His eyes are already open. Under the lock is a Greek cross adorned with gems.

Volbach ([3], 1962) attributes the pyxis to a group of ivories of the sixth and seventh centuries, whose origin he considers to have been in Anatolia or the Caucasus. Wessel (1952–1953) attributes the group to Coptic art. The main piece of this group is the Murano diptych in Ravenna (fig. 59), attributed by Ainalov (1961, pp. 264–272) to Syria or Palestine. In this piece, several iconographic details resemble those of the Musée de Cluny pyxis, such as the cross-staff of Christ and the tomb aedicula



of Lazarus. Characteristic are the elongated figures standing frontally next to each other before a plain background, mainly in groups of three. In its distinctive style and iconography, the Musée de Cluny pyxis is most closely related to the pyxis in Leningrad, which has the same sequence of scenes, completed by the healing of the demoniac (Volbach, 1976, no. 179). Both belong to a larger group of pyxides that could have originated in Syria.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wessel, 1952–1953, p. 71, pl. v, fig. 8; Bovini and Ottolenghi, 1956, no. 35 (1st ed., fig. 46); no. 36 (2nd ed., fig. 46); Kollwitz, 1959, p. 1133; Volbach, 1976, no. 180.

406, 407 Plaques with scenes of the infancy and miracles of Christ

Rome, 410–420

Ivory

406: 20 × 8.1 cm. ($7\frac{7}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer

Kulturbesitz, Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, 2719

407: 19.5 × 7.7 cm. ($7\frac{1}{16} \times 3$ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, OA. 7876, 7877, 7878

In both plaques small pieces broken off at the rim, several drill holes; the three sections of the Paris plaque have been separated into three pieces and their frames are partly broken off or trimmed down.

The cycle of the infancy of Christ begins with the massacre of the innocents at Bethlehem on the plaque in Berlin: under Herod's orders a soldier smashes a newborn child to the ground, while two wailing mothers stand behind him. The Baptism of Christ in the River Jordan follows, the river extending over the entire height of the scene; from the beak of the dove at the top a ray falls upon Christ. The Miracle of Cana occupies the lowest field. The three panels in Paris show the miraculous healing of the Gerasene possessed by demons, together with the herd of swine into which the demons went; the healing of the woman with the issue of blood; and the healing of the paralytic, who carries off his sickbed. Each scene is framed by an egg-and-dart motif.

These representations follow to a large extent the iconography of Roman sepulchral art. The massacre of the innocents finds its nearest parallel in the Lot sarcophagus of the S. Sebastiano catacomb in Rome (Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 188). This scene reappears on the five-part ivory diptych in the treasury of the Cathedral of Milan (fig. 64), in which several other unusual details also correspond—for instance, the cornucopia of one of the Magi and the pointed amphora in the Miracle of Cana. The tablets in Berlin and Paris must on stylistic grounds be assigned to a larger group of metropolitan Roman ivories to which the Reider tablet in Munich (fig. 67), the Lampadii diptych (Volbach, 1976, no. 54), and the small London Passion tablets (no. 452) also belong. Their extraordinarily careful execution—



No. 406



No. 407

the softly modeled transitions, especially in the garments, and the different motions of the figures and inclinations of their heads—place the little tablets perhaps nearest to the *Lampadii* diptych; the Reider tablet probably belongs to a somewhat earlier and the London tablets to a somewhat later stylistic period.

The tablets are generally thought to have once been parts of a diptych. An ivory in Nevers with the Nativity and Adoration, often considered to be part of the same monument, deviates slightly, however, in style and measurements from the others and, though closely related, probably must be assigned to a different context. Since there are grooves down the backs of the tablets in Berlin and Paris, Elbern (1967) presumes them to be parts of a small rectangular casket standing on its small side. Schnitzler (1970) has emphasized that these fragments are parts of a five-part diptych; because of their grooves, he assigns the tablet in Berlin to the right side of one leaf, and the tablets with the woman with the issue of blood to the right and the tablets with the paralytic and the man

possessed by demons to the left side of the other leaf; he thinks that only the fragment in Nevers is the remnant of a small casket. On the lateral panels of one leaf therefore would have been presented scenes of the childhood of Christ and on the other miraculous healings—a division that one can also observe on East Roman diptychs (Volbach, 1976, no. 145).

The small plaques in Berlin and Paris, which in Carolingian times certainly were no longer in their original context, evidently served as models for a Carolingian book cover (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 176 [Aachen, 1965, no. 508]). The tablet in Berlin was acquired from M. Mallet, Amiens, in 1902; the pieces in Paris were obtained for the Louvre from the collection of A. de Bastard in 1926.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wessel, 1948–1949, pp. 122–124, figs. 1–3; Elbern, 1967, pp. 1–10, figs. 1–8; Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, 1968–1969, p. 108, pl. 18; Schnitzler, 1970, pp. 24–32, figs. 1–8; Volbach, 1976, nos. 112, 113.

Narrative Representations

The dependence of Early Christian art on the sacred narrative embodied in the Bible distinguished it from the art of pagan antiquity and set its form and content. Whereas the Greeks and Romans possessed no all-embracing text, Christians had a scripture that recorded man's tenure on earth and established the nature of his relation to God and the tenets of his faith. Inevitably, therefore, Christian art emerged as a book art. Themes drawn from the Bible were illustrated in many media; most characteristic was the illuminated manuscript.

Early Christian art reflects the heterogeneity of the Bible itself. The work of a series of inspired men who wrote over the course of a thousand years, the Bible contains a broad diversity of literary genres: laws, proverbs, poems, letters, and the prose of prophecy. Primarily, however, it is a narrative, a purported account of world history from Creation to the Second Coming. The narrative is told as a series of episodes, each initiated by a divine speech and culminating in a denouement of theological, rather than narrative, significance. For the most part, the narrative episodes stand separately, rarely connected by transitional passages, and the text contains few descriptions and characterizations. These the artists were left to provide, drawing details from extrabiblical tradition and lore, exegesis, and the art of antiquity and the imperial court.

Mirroring the scripture's intrinsically varied and sectional character, illuminated manuscripts almost never comprised the full Bible. With such rare exceptions as the Syriac manuscript in Paris (no. 437), the complete Bible was illustrated as a unit only in the later Middle Ages. During the Early Christian period, individual books or small compilations—Genesis, Pentateuch, Kings, Gospels, Acts—were illuminated separately. Working with limited textual material, artists were not compelled to invent new methods of illustration; instead, they could simply

apply to the Bible text the ancient system of illustrating papyrus rolls (nos. 205, 222). This consisted of depicting each significant moment of a story with a picture inserted in a column of script. Of all surviving Early Christian manuscripts, only the Cotton Genesis (no. 408), once illustrated with some 330 miniatures, preserves this mode of illustration. But dense sequences of miniatures in other manuscripts (nos. 410, 422, 424), as well as in fresco, mosaic, textile, and various plastic media, are adaptations of the same system; and it is perpetuated in numerous later works.

Jews had applied the papyrus style technique of illustration to the biblical text; illustrated Jewish books furnished part of the inheritance of Early Christian artists. While the mode was well suited to Old Testament narrative, however, it was not altogether appropriate to Christian needs. Because the Gospels repeat the same basic story and include long serializations of Christ's parables and accounts of his miracles, the ancient system made for redundant illustration. Middle Byzantine manuscripts in Florence (Laurenziana, cod. Plut. VI, 23 [Velmans, 1971]) and Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. grec. 74) provide evidence that Gospel books were illustrated in the Hellenistic manner; but, from an early date, Christian artists avoided tedious repetition by composing chronological cycles independent of the Gospel text (no. 445). To construct the cycles, these artists selected scenes from a richly illustrated Gospel book, or, more rarely, as in the Christian baptistery at Dura Europos (no. 360), they may have followed Tatian's *Diatessaron*, a second-century version in which the Gospel story is written as a continuous narrative.

The Christians' overwhelming preference for the codex over the roll form of book also resulted in modifications of the ancient narrative style. Many artists simply transferred the old system of illustration

to the new format (no. 408), but others experimented with the possibilities offered by the rigidity of the flat page and, more importantly, the larger working surface. In the Quedlinburg Itala (no. 424) and Ashburnham Pentateuch (no. 422), scenes culled from the text columns of papyrus style models were organized into full-page miniatures; and in the Rossano Gospels (no. 443), illustrations extracted from the narrative texts were reordered to follow liturgical practice and were juxtaposed with Old Testament prophecies. Artists also incorporated on the flat pages of books the complex, nonsequential compositions developed on a grand scale in wall painting; examples of such adaptations are to be found in the Rossano and Rabbula Gospels (nos. 443, 445).

Because they accommodated a wealth of pictures in a compact form, illustrated books must have been especially popular during the centuries of persecution. And, from the beginning, books also served as the source of narrative depictions in diverse media: fresco, mosaic, ceramic, ivory, metal, wood, textile, and stone. Protracted representations in the murals of Dura Europos (nos. 341, 360) manifest the influence

of manuscript illumination on other art forms as early as 232; and, when Christian art emerged as an official enterprise after the Edict of Milan in 313, the extensive and authoritative iconographic tradition of manuscript art became a principal source for public works. The frescoes in the Via Latina catacomb (nos. 419, 423), the carved wood doors of Sta. Sabina (no. 438), and the ivory plaques in London (nos. 452, 455) are but a few of the Early Christian monuments derived from illustrated manuscripts.

In translating book illustrations into other materials, artists transformed the style, configuration, and iconography of their models. Painters and mosaicists, for example, combined elements from several narrative moments to create focused, monumental compositions that are intelligible from a distance. Weavers and metalsmiths, on the other hand, reduced the subtle illusionism of their painted models to stylized conventions and adjusted the compositions to the often awkward shapes of utilitarian objects. Episodes excerpted from dense manuscript cycles were put to new purposes, and, dissociated from the Bible text, they became susceptible to new influences. On the facing walls of the naves of Early Christian basilicas, narrative cycles established the harmony of the Old and New Testaments and, thereby, the continuity of the Church (nos. 439, 440). By the sixth century, according to the descriptions of Elpidius Rusticus (Migne, *PL* 62, cols. 543–546), artists had devised specific correlations in monumental cycles, pairing such scenes as the temptation of Eve and the Annunciation to Mary, the Tower of Babel and the apostles preaching, and the Gift of Manna and the Feeding of the Four Thousand. Scenes from Joseph's life, in turn, were chosen to decorate the Maximianus cathedra (fig. 60), because the Old Testament patriarch was considered a model for the Christian bishop. Episodes from the story of David were selected from a Book of Kings and refashioned for the Cyprus plates (nos. 425–433), according to imperial conventions, to parallel the achievements of the emperor-patron. Memorial features were introduced into biblical compositions on souvenir objects produced near the holy sites (nos. 524–527).

Even when divorced from the book, Early Christian illustrations generally retained the close relationship

FIG. 60 *Joseph scenes. Detail from Maximianus cathedra.*

Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile





FIG. 61 *Silver plate from Kama with David killing the lion.*

Whereabouts unknown

to the Bible text inherited with the Hellenistic techniques of illumination. But elements borrowed from extrabiblical sources, introduced both to heighten drama and to stress religious significance, are also prevalent in narrative works.

To flesh out the sketchy physical descriptions in the scriptural narrative, artists drew upon a standard repertory of figures and scenes. Certain stock figures and compositions, therefore, appear in several entirely different contexts. The Quedlinburg Kings manuscript (no. 424), for example, shares with the illuminated Vergil from the same Roman workshop (no. 203) a number of details of pose, costume, and setting. To suggest the riverside setting of David's confrontation with Goliath, the silversmith of one of the Cyprus plates (no. 431) inserted a pagan personification of a river god between the two biblical combatants, and the lurching figure of David in the battle scene on the same plate was reused in the depiction of David killing the lion on the lost Kama plate (fig. 61). The portrayals of man's Creation in both the Cotton Genesis (no. 408) and the Cyriaca sarcophagus (no. 411) were patterned after antique representations of Prometheus (fig. 62).

While such borrowings were intended to make

the biblical tales more understandable to an audience familiar with pagan mythology, they occasionally obscured or even altered the Bible texts. When the silversmith of the Cyprus plates repeated the same figure types in different situations, he made it difficult to identify the episodes precisely (no. 431, 433). Because the carver of the fifth-century ivory in London (no. 455) fashioned his portrayal of St. Peter bringing forth baptismal water after a depiction of Moses' Water Miracle (no. 361), the scene has, until recently, escaped correct identification.

Conventions of imperial art were particularly influential in the formation of Christian narrative representations. Old and New Testament rulers were conceived as contemporary emperors—Solomon on



FIG. 62 *Sarcophagus with Prometheus.*

Vatican City, Museo Pio Clementino

the North African terra sigillata plate (no. 434) and Joseph on the Maximianus cathedra (fig. 60) are two of numerous examples. Entire biblical episodes were rendered as court rituals: in the Rossano Gospels (no. 443), Christ before Pilate is staged as a Roman judicial proceeding (fig. 63); on one of the Cyprus plates (no. 432), the marriage of David and Michal is portrayed as a royal Byzantine wedding. Imperial formulae were applied with particular consistency to Christ in order to confer on the celestial Lord the



FIG. 63 *Christ before Pilate from Rossano Gospels.*

Rossano, Cathedral Library, fol. 8v

supreme status of the terrestrial ruler. Christ's Entry into Jerusalem (nos. 376, 470) was patterned after the emperor's *adventus* (nos. 41, 44) and Christ carrying the cross (no. 452) was based on a Roman motif of the victorious ruler bearing his trophy. Perhaps the most important contribution of court art to Christian iconography was the "imperial mode," which enabled artists to establish a hierarchical ranking even in a narrative representation. The silversmith who composed the scene of David before Saul on the Cyprus plate (no. 427)—like the artist of the Theodosius Missorium (no. 64)—adjusted the size, placement, and degree of physical involvement of the figures to indicate the status of each. On the Andrews diptych (no. 450), Christ is subtly distinguished from the other participants in each scene.

Anecdotal material from legend and pseudepigraphical writings was also incorporated to supplement the biblical account. In the Annunciation scene on an ivory in Milan (fig. 64), the Virgin is seen filling a water pitcher in accordance with the description in the *Protevangelium of James* (11.1). The same text furnished for a carving in Leningrad (no. 459) the annunciation to St. Anne, an event nowhere reported in the scriptures. In the Ashburnham Pentateuch (no. 422), the story of Adam and Eve following the Expulsion includes a portrayal of the couple mourning the loss of Eden in a roofed booth, an event described not in Genesis but in the *Vita Adae et Evae* (1.1), an apocryphal text based on Jewish legends. On a fifth-century ivory casket in London (no. 455), apocryphal episodes are mingled with scenes from the canonical Acts.

In some instances, themes drawn from extrabiblical literary sources served to make or stress theological points. The Nativity scene on the Maximianus cathedra (fig. 65), for example, includes the figure of Salome, the midwife described in the *Protevangelium of James* (19.1), who tested the virginity of Mary. Salome's presence emphasizes the miraculous nature of Christ's birth. The legendary account of Joseph's divining cup, depicted on the Leningrad pyxis (no. 418), seems to connect the Old Testament tale to the ritual of the Eucharist.

Theological interpretations also permeated Early Christian art through biblical exegesis. Such familiar features as the ox and ass in Nativity scenes (nos. 447, 449) derive not from the Gospels but from commentaries on Isa. 1:3: "The ox knows its master and the ass its master's stall; but Israel, my own people, has no knowledge, no discernment." Early theologians related this Old Testament passage to the Nativity, interpreting the ox and ass as the Jews and heathens to whom Christ's birth would bring salvation; and the interpretation was incorporated into the apocryphal account of the Nativity by the Pseudo-Matthew (14.1). Exegetical material infiltrated the Christian interest in establishing the continuity of the two principal sections of scripture.

FIG. 64 *Leaf of ivory diptych with New Testament scenes.*

Milan, Cathedral Treasury





FIG. 65 *Nativity of Christ. Detail from Maximianus cathedra.*

Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile

Thus, in accordance with speculation about the Logos, the Cotton Genesis presents Christ as the agent of creation (no. 408). To the same end, the artist of the Vienna Genesis (no. 410) gave visual expression to a Christian interpretation of the

blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh (fig. 66) by emphasizing the cruciform pattern of Jacob's arms.

Probably no better examples of the complexity resulting from the interweaving of scriptural and extrabiblical strains can be found than in depictions of Christ's Ascension. The Bible offers only a rough sketch in Acts 1:9–12 to be much and diversely elaborated upon. An ivory plaque of about 400 in Munich (fig. 67) presents the Western concept of the event. Clasp- ing the hand of God, Christ strides up the mountain to enter heaven, while below him two apostles watch in surprise. The isolation of two disciples reveals the artist's familiarity with the Apocryphon Jacobi, which reports that Christ selected Peter and James to witness his Ascension. Christ's vigorous stance seems to have been patterned after depictions of Moses receiving the law, such as that on the Moggio pyxis (no. 421); like Christ, Moses approaches God atop a mountain. The parallel between the Old and New Testament ascents was remembered when Exod. 19 was read in church on



FIG. 66 *Blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh from Vienna Genesis.*

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. theol. grec. 31, pict. 45

Ascension Day. The hand clasping may have been derived from representations of the emperor's apotheosis, in which the *dextrarum junctio* signifies spiritual union. A strikingly different iconography of the Ascension emerged in Eastern art. The

tetramorph bearing Christ to heaven in the Rabbula Gospels (fig. 68) was based on the vision of Ezekiel (Ezek. 1, 10), which was recited on Ascension Day in Eastern Syria; the angels bearing crowns are adaptations from imperial triumphal art in which Victories were shown bearing wreaths (no. 28). Among the apostles shown watching the event, Paul is featured because he was especially venerated in the East; and Mary is included in the episode to emphasize Christ's dual nature and to symbolize the establishment of the terrestrial Church.

Such distinct conceptions of the same biblical event permit the classification of Early Christian narrative art by local traditions. The Cotton Genesis (no. 408) and numerous other Genesis illustrations (no. 412, for example) share features that can be traced to an Alexandrian original; in contrast, the Cyprus silver

plates (nos. 425–433) and several Middle Byzantine manuscripts were all based on a Book of Kings tradition popular in Constantinople. Narrative cycles migrated widely. The Cotton Genesis cycle became especially favored in the West (cf., e.g., the S. Paolo fuori le mura frescoes, nos. 439, 440), and the Greek Octateuch illustrations, known best in eleventh- and twelfth-century copies, appeared as early as the third century at Dura Europos (no. 341) and were known in Rome during the fourth century (no. 419). The pictorial families, or recensions, retained their distinctiveness, however, and they can still be identified among works of the High Middle Ages that were based on Early Christian prototypes.

Medieval artists inherited from Early Christian narrative art a twofold legacy. The Hellenistic system of text illustration applied to the Bible formed the

FIG. 67 *Ivory plaque with the Ascension.*

Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum



FIG. 68 *Ascension scene from Rabbula Gospels.*

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, cod. Plut., I, 56, fol. 13v



basis of later manuscript illumination, and the early narrative forms that gave pictorial expression to the significance of the events portrayed provided a foundation for the complex, interpretive art of the High Middle Ages.

HERBERT L. KESSLER

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grabar, 1936; Weitzmann (1), 1957; Weitzmann, 1960; Kraeling, 1967; Grabar (1), 1968; Weitzmann (1), 1970; Weitzmann (2), 1971; Weitzmann (3), 1971; Schapiro, 1973; Kitzinger, 1975; Loerke, 1975; Weitzmann (1), 1975; Weitzmann (2), 1975.



Fol. 26v of no. 408: Abraham meeting the angels

408 The Cotton Genesis

Alexandria, 6th century (?)

Vellum

Fragments of 149 leaves; each leaf originally

27.3 × 22.2 cm. (10 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

London, British Library Board, Cotton Otho B. VI

The fire that swept the library of Sir Robert Cotton in 1731 all but destroyed one of the most important Early Christian manuscripts, a Book of Genesis written in tall Greek uncials and decorated with a remarkable series of framed miniatures. All that remains of the magnificent volume are badly charred fragments, seventeenth-century copies of two leaves prepared for the French antiquarian Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (no. 409), and engravings made shortly after the fire for the *Vetusta monumenta* (1747, pls. LXVI, LXVII). One of the best-preserved folios, on which is depicted the encounter of Lot and the Sodomites (Gen. 19:4–11), bears the literal and dramatic rendering typical of the biblical narrative in the Cotton manuscript. Lot, still waving his arms in a futile attempt to turn back the crazed crowd, is shown

being pulled into his house by one of the angels he is trying to protect. The action is conveyed by robust, well-articulated figures and is set in a receding space. The Cotton manuscript originally contained approximately 330 such miniatures interspersed through the Genesis text on some 215 folios. The style and narrative technique are deeply rooted in Greco-Roman art, but many details betray a weakening of Hellenistic traditions. A reliance on outline flattens the forms and a tendency toward pattern is evident in the garments and landscape. These characteristics and more specific features, such as the squat figural proportions and darkened eye sockets, have induced Weitzmann (1955), Bonicatti (1963), and other scholars to conclude that the Cotton manuscript was produced in Alexandria during the sixth century. Cavallo's (1967) study of the paleography suggests a fifth-century date but confirms the attribution to Egypt.

The illuminators of the Cotton Genesis adhered closely to the text, but they also elaborated the biblical account with elements drawn from legend and commentary. Certain extrabiblical features in the miniatures can be traced to Jewish sources, and these, together with other evidence, indicate that the pictorial cycle may have been copied from a much earlier model.

The archetype of the Cotton Genesis generated a number of other narrative cycles during the Middle Ages. Among its descendants are the frescoes of S. Paolo fuori le mura in Rome (nos. 439, 440), the Joseph plaques on the Maximianus cathedra (fig. 60), the Coptic textile in the Metropolitan Museum (no. 412), and four ninth-century Bibles and the Millstatt Genesis (Kessler, 1977). The most complete dependent is the thirteenth-century mosaic cycle in the atrium of S. Marco in Venice, which seems to have been copied directly from the Cotton manuscript.

An inscription on the now lost flyleaf stated that the volume was brought to England from Philippi by two Greek bishops as a gift for Henry VIII. Because of its age, the book was revered in England. It changed hands several times, was collated and studied, and plans were initiated to reproduce it. Unfortunately, the facsimile project was aborted before the manuscript was destroyed.

H. L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weitzmann, 1955; Cavallo, 1967, pp. 85–87; Bonicatti, 1963, pp. 144–161; Weitzmann (1), 1975, pp. 70–71.

409 Two copies of miniatures from the Cotton Genesis

France, 1622

Watercolor

Each, 39 × 28 cm. (15 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 11 in.)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. français 9530

Between 1618 and 1622 the Cotton Genesis (no. 408) was in Paris, on loan from Sir Robert Cotton's library in London to the great scholar and antiquarian Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc. Peiresc had secured the loan through the offices of William Camden and intended, as he stated in one letter, "entreprendre de graver en taille douce toutes les figures de la Genèse" ("to have copperplate engravings made of all miniatures"). Had Peiresc accomplished his objective, the Cotton Genesis would have been the first medieval manuscript issued in a facsimile edition. Unfortunately, the plan was abandoned when Sir Robert insisted that his precious volume be returned. It is not known how far the project had progressed before it was interrupted, but watercolor copies of two miniatures, painted for Peiresc by Daniel Rabel, are all that survive from the undertaking. Whereas these watercolors betray the soft naturalism of seventeenth-century French painting, their general fidelity to the original is affirmed by a comparison with the burnt fragments.

The more interesting copy shows the creation of plants on the third day (Gen. 1:11). The Creator, identified by the cross-nimbus and cross-staff as

No. 409, the creation of plants



Christ, fills the landscape with plants and trees; three winged women behind him personify the days of creation. The depiction demonstrates how far Early Christian artists strayed from the Bible text to introduce theological interpretations into the narrative. The seemingly anachronistic identification of Christ as the agent of creation reflects the doctrine of the Logos, articulated first by Philo of Alexandria and developed most elaborately by Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and other second-century theologians. As D'Alverny (1957) has argued, the angel-day personifications also have an origin in biblical exegesis.

The second miniature depicts Abraham speaking with the Lord (Gen. 15:1).

H. L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Omont, 1929, pp. I–IV, pl. I; Weitzmann, 1955, pp. 113–119; D'Alverny, 1957.

*410 Vienna Genesis

Syria, 6th century

Vellum

24 fols.; 31.5 × 25.5 cm. (12 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. theol. grec. 31

The Vienna Genesis is the most sumptuous manuscript to survive from the Early Christian period. It is actually a luxurious picture book in which the abbreviated Septuagint text, written in large silver uncials, occupies the upper half of each page and illustrations of the story fill the bottom. Originally, some 400 separate scenes traced the story of Genesis on 96 folios; only a quarter of the codex remains, but these 24 leaves are well preserved.

Many elements of the miniatures are based not on the Bible itself but on popular elaborations of the Genesis text. The lively episode of Joseph and Potiphar's wife (fol. 16r), for example, includes a curious woman, dressed in blue, examining a string. Levin (1972) has identified her as the astrologer who, according to Jewish commentaries, foretold that Joseph would father the descendants of Potiphar's wife. The Vienna Genesis is so rich in such digressions that scholars have proposed its illustrations were copied from a Jewish paraphrase.

Several artists, perhaps as many as six or eight, shared in the production of this rich cycle. At



Fol. 16r of no. 410: Joseph and Potiphar's wife

one extreme is the anecdotal style of the Deluge (fol. 2r), and Eliezer and Rebecca (fol. 7r); in contrast is the freer, more suggestive manner of the blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh (fol. 23r). All of the illustrators worked in an authentic Late Antique style. They carefully differentiated the figures to establish physical and psychological individuality, portrayed a variety of evocative gestures, and introduced a uniform light that unites the elements in a single environment. The style is akin to that of the Rossano Gospels (no. 443) and Codex Sinopensis (no. 442), but in the Vienna Genesis there is greater emphasis on setting and naturalistic detail.

Lack of clarity in details of costume and architecture, and discrepancies between certain miniatures and the accompanying text have led most scholars to conclude that the Vienna Genesis was copied

from an earlier model. The theory held by many that the prototype was a roll with a continuous frieze must be abandoned in favor of the thesis that the model was illustrated with individual pictures placed within the columns of text, as in the Cotton Genesis (no. 408).

Because of its antique character, early critics assigned the Vienna manuscript to the fourth century. Scholars now concur, however, that it was produced in the sixth, or possibly even early seventh, century. A consensus favors Syria or Palestine as the place of origin. By the fourteenth century it was in Venice, and by 1664 it was part of the imperial library in Vienna.

H. L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gerstinger, 1931; Fillitz, 1962; Weitzmann (3), 1964, pp. 407-408; Levin, 1972; Dufrenne, 1972.



411 Fragment of sarcophagus of Cyriaca with Adam and Eve

Italy, beginning 4th century
Marble
27 × 59 cm. (10 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)
Naples, Museo Nazionale

Two scenes from the life of Adam and Eve, flanked by vestiges of an angel bearing an octagonal portrait medallion and by two figures from an Adoration of the Magi, are preserved on this fragment of a sarcophagus lid. An inscription: *ARIA CYRIACE + MATER FILIAE* identifies the deceased as Cyriaca.

The Fall of Adam and Eve was a popular subject in Early Christian art (nos. 374, 378) and, as on other sarcophagi and in catacomb painting, the Naples depiction alludes to several phases of the story—temptation, Fall, and hiding of shame. Whereas the simple, symmetrical composition suggests that the representation may have originated in glyptic art, the inclusion on the sarcophagus of the enlivenment of Eve points to a narrative source. The enlivenment is rare in funereal art, but it was portrayed in such manuscripts as the Cotton Genesis (no. 408). The composition was patterned on a popular Roman tradition showing the seated Prometheus shaping a tiny figure of a woman or

man (fig. 62). Even the Creator's pointing gesture is paralleled in Prometheus imagery.

The summary modeling and deeply drilled hair and garments are characteristics of early fourth-century marble carving.

Although the narrative aspect of the Naples fragment indicates that a sculptor may have consulted an illustrated manuscript, the scenes were selected for symbolic reasons. Appropriate for the sarcophagus of a young woman, the sin and destruction brought by Eve are contrasted with the promise of eternal life brought by Mary.

Provenance unknown.

H. L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wilpert, 1932, II, pl. 185, 1; Gerke (1), 1940, pp. 190–201; Raggio, 1958, p. 48; Klauser (1), 1961, pp. 133, 137, pl. 12.

412 Textile roundel with Joseph story

Egypt, 8th century
Wool
Diam. about 26.7 cm. (10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles K. Wilkinson, 1963,
63.178.2

Originally made to be worn at the shoulder or near the hem of a linen tunic, this large, tapestry-woven medallion has suffered fragmentation along its right edge and has lost some colored woolen wefts from its left side. A sequence of nine narrative episodes from the life of Joseph (Gen. 37:9–39:1) begins at the central disc and continues, counterclockwise from the top left, around the circle: 1, Joseph's second dream; 2, his departure from Shechem; 3, Joseph directed toward Dothan (?); 4, Joseph in the well; 5, the staining of Joseph's

coat; 6, Joseph sold to the Ishmaelites; 7, Reuben's lament; 8, Joseph brought to Egypt; and, 9, Joseph sold to Potiphar.

The rhythmic, expressive design of this textile is executed in shades of tan and green over a brilliant red field. Its figures show a higher degree of abstraction and angularity than those appearing on earlier Joseph roundels, such as the one at Trier. While this stylization obscures the iconographic content, it enhances the decorative quality of the medallion.



In the vast body of surviving Coptic textiles, Christian figurative subjects play a distinctly subordinate role. Within this group, however, the Joseph story stands out both for its popularity and for its unusual narrative breadth. The New York textile is but one of a sizable group of closely related roundels and cuffbands that narrate the same cycle (Thompson, forthcoming). Thus, it bears witness to the extraordinary status of Joseph among Egyptian Christians—and Jews—who saw in him a national hero and, from the time of Philo Judaeus (see *On Joseph*), viewed him as a model of personal conduct.

A narrative cycle that includes nine episodes for just one biblical chapter and appears on mass-produced textiles presupposes as its ultimate model an illustrated manuscript. It is therefore of special significance that at least three episodes (Joseph's departure for Shechem, Joseph in the well, and Reuben's lament) show important compositional parallels to corresponding scenes in the Cotton Genesis recension, a distinct tradition of biblical illustration named from a copiously illustrated Genesis manuscript usually localized to sixth-century Alexandria (no. 408). The undisputed Egyptian provenance of these Joseph textiles adds further support to Weitzmann's (1955) contention that the Cotton recension itself is of Alexandrian origin.

Purchased in Cairo.

G. V.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Thompson, forthcoming, no. 84, n. 1.

413 Textile fragment with Joseph story

Syria, 5th–6th century

Silk

17.5 × 18.5 cm. (6 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Sens, Cathedral Treasury (AB)

This extensively damaged silk twill, executed in yellow over a purple ground, consists of one small and two large fragments. Duplicated in superimposed, friezelike strips are three episodes from the life of Joseph, each accompanied by a caption. 1, Joseph's departure for Shechem: (ΑΠΕΚΤΕΙΛΕΝΤ)ΟΝ ΙΩΧΦ ΠΡΟΣ Τ(ΟVC ΑΔ) ΕΛΦ-

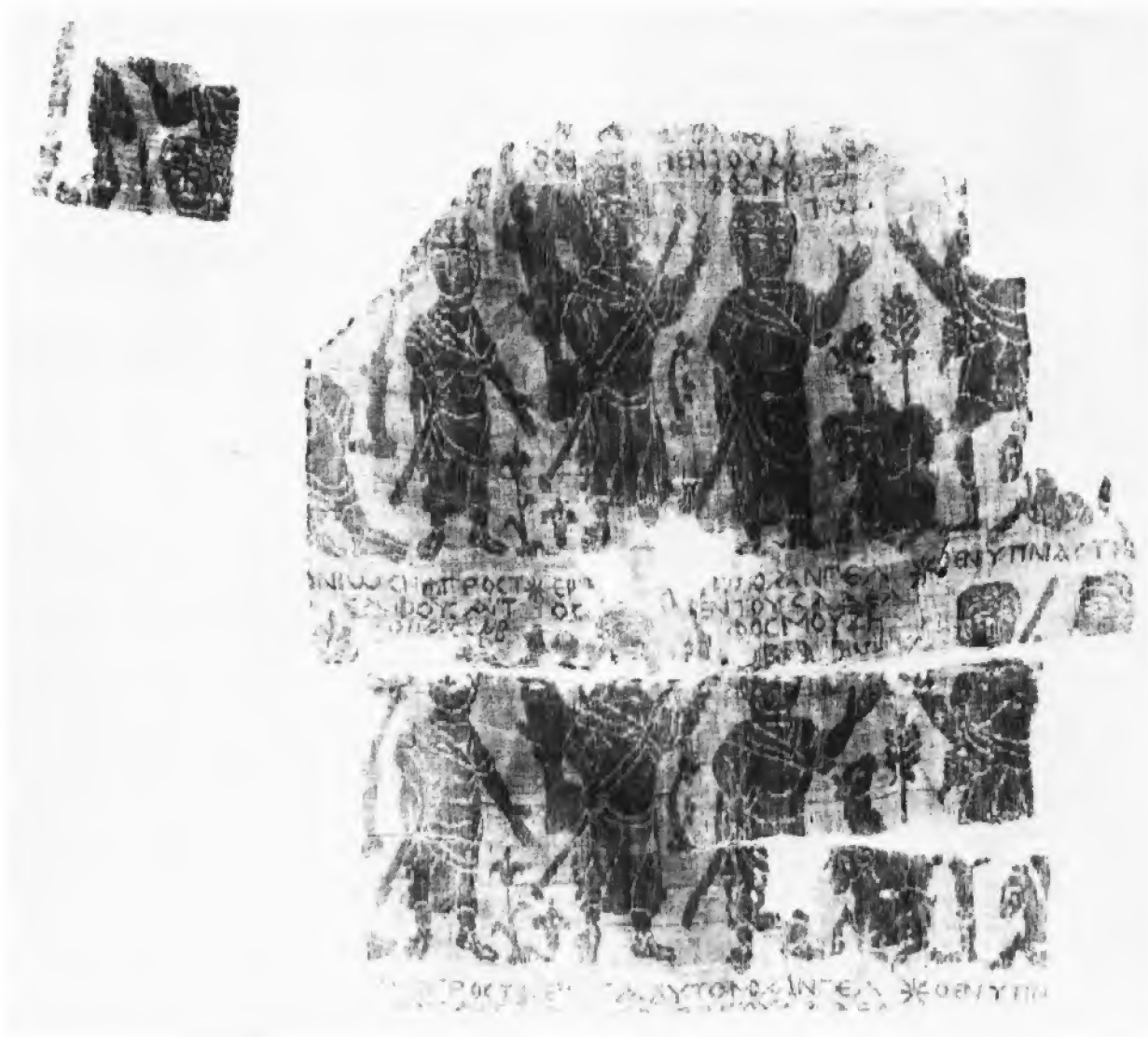
ΟVC AVT(OV ΙΑΚ)ΩΒ ("Jacob sent Joseph to his brothers"). Only the legs of Jacob, seated at the left, may be seen. Joseph looks back over his shoulder as he turns to depart. 2, Joseph is shown the way to Dothan: ΕΡ(ΩΤΑ AVTON) Ο ΑΝΓΕΛΟC (ΕΙ)ΠΕΝ ΤΟVC ΑΔΕΛΦΟVC ΜΟV ΖΗ(ΤΩ) ("The angel asked him. He said: I seek my brothers"). This episode is evoked by a single figure with a long staff, gesturing with his left hand toward Dothan. 3, Joseph arrives at Dothan: Ο ΕΝΥΠΝΙΑCΤΗC ΕΡ(ΧΕΤΑΙ) Ν(VΝ) Ο(VΝ ΔΕΥΤΕ ΑΠΟΚΤΕΙΝΩΜΕΝ AVTON) ("The dreamer cometh. Now then come, let us kill him").

Although the first and third scenes are purely biblical, the second is unusual insofar as the "man" at Shechem is identified as an angel. This legend is known in several Jewish and Early Christian texts (Ginzberg, 1947, II, p. 11; 1947, V, pp. 237–238; Näf, 1923, p. 58), but it is depicted only in a few late medieval Haggadoth (Narkiss, 1970, fol. 5v), whose similarities to the Sens textile are insufficient to support the assumption of a common tradition.

This fragment, with its broad, doughy figures, is among the earliest surviving figurative silks. Since the legend of the angel was characteristic of Syro-Palestinian apocrypha, and, since the silk came to Sens in the company of relics from the Holy Land, it was likely a product of that eastern Mediterranean region—perhaps of Antioch—that was renowned for the production of silk. Stylistically, the silk compares with several of the less-ambitious miniatures in the Rabbula Gospels (no. 445), produced in northern Mesopotamia in 586, as well as with some slightly earlier incised marble plaques excavated near Antioch (no. 416).

It is unlikely that these sequential narrative episodes were invented by a silk weaver. The ultimate model was probably a manuscript, which, although basically biblical, nevertheless included apocryphal elements. Several scholars have attempted to link the iconography of the Sens silk to the Vienna Genesis (no. 410). They have failed, however, to differentiate between the guardian angel who accompanies Joseph in that sixth-century Syro-Palestinian manuscript (Weinberg, 1893, p. 39) from the angel at Shechem who directs him toward Dothan, in the Sens silk and in later Haggadoth.

G. V.



BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chartraire, 1897, pp. 258–270, pl. VII; von Falke, 1921, p. 5, fig. 27; Volbach, 1932, no. 63; Bréhier, 1936, p. 97, pl. IXXXI; Nordström, 1955–1957, p. 489; Pächt, 1959, p. 217.

414 Pyxis fragment with Joseph scene

Syria-Palestine (?), 6th century

Ivory

7, diam. 8.2 cm. (2 $\frac{3}{4}$, 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, 366

This ivory fragment, which once formed slightly less than half the circumference of a pyxis, shows a single episode from the story of Joseph—his sale to the Ishmaelite traders (Gen. 37:28). The diminutive figure of Joseph appears at the left between two of his brothers, while, at the right, an Ishmaelite extends his hand as though offering payment.

Stylistically, this pyxis is distinguished by its high sculptural relief, its stout, muscular figures, and by the rhythmic effect of repeated poses. Although both Kollwitz (1959) and Wessel (1953–1954) have generally associated it with the Maximianus cathedra in Ravenna (fig. 60), the robust carving, soft, form-revealing drapery, and coarse



facial types of the Berlin fragment more closely relate to the Werden pyxis (no. 449), which on both stylistic and iconographic grounds has been assigned to Syro-Palestine.

This episode was likely excerpted from a much more extensive cycle of the life of Joseph. Unfortunately, the evidence it provides is insufficient to establish a firm association with any of the several early traditions of Joseph iconography. Significantly, however, its interpretation of the pit into which Joseph is cast as a raised cylindrical well is characteristic of the Cotton Genesis recension, named for the sixth-century manuscript in the British Library (no. 408).

It is doubtful that any symbolic link was intended between this Joseph scene and the pyxis it decorates, which in the early Church may have been used in the Divine Liturgy, perhaps to hold incense. It is noteworthy, however, that the sale of Joseph was identified both in Early Christian exegesis and art as an antitype of the betrayal of Christ; similarly, the pit was identified with the tomb of Christ. This would be appropriate for a eucharistic function, since early commentators consistently equate the liturgy with the Passion and entombment of Christ (Connolly, 1909, pp. 3–4).

From the Wallerstein collection.

G. V.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wessel, 1953–1954, p. 2; Kollwitz, 1959, p. 1131; Volbach, 1976, no. 172.

415 Bowl with Joseph scene and the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace

North Africa (Tunisia), 4th century

Red earthenware

Diam. 18 cm. (7 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum,
0.39675

The well-preserved earthenware bowl can be associated with a group of plates bearing relief decoration (*terra sigillata chiara C*, form A), which Salomonson has assigned to the fourth century (1969, pp. 17, 54 ff., figs. 73, 75). On it appear two Old Testament scenes separated by a leaf and a small tree. To one side is the attack upon Joseph by the wife of Potiphar (Gen. 39:12), while to the other is the departure of the Three Hebrews from the Fiery Furnace of King Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. 3:26).

A composition nearly identical to the three Hebrews scene appears on a redware fragment in the Benaki Museum, Athens; a close variant, in which the youths are dressed, is found on a similar bowl in the Catania Museum (Salomonson, 1969, figs. 73, 75). Beyond such parallels within its own workshop tradition, however, this iconography is apparently unique. Although the ordeal of the three Hebrews is often portrayed in Early



Christian art, especially within a sepulchral context, an earlier phase of the story is usually chosen and the youths are shown standing amid the flames.

Both scenes on this bowl were probably excerpted from more extensive Old Testament picture cycles. Although several distinct traditions of Joseph illustration were known to the Early Christians, the details here provided are insufficient to warrant a specific iconographic association. The three Hebrews scene, however, is important precisely because it provides unique evidence for the illustration of Dan. 3:26. As such, it augments the evidence of other such isolated episodes in suggesting the existence of densely illustrated copies of the Book of Daniel.

The combination of these two scenes on a single bowl may not be fortuitous. Not only is there a visual parallelism between Joseph's flight and that of the Hebrew youths, there is an underlying thematic parallelism, reflected in the text of "Joseph's Testament" from *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (2.2): "I struggled against a shameless woman, urging me to transgress with her; but the God of Israel my father delivered me from the burning flame" (de Jonge, 1970, p. 68).

G. V.

Unpublished.

416 Incised plaque with Joseph scene

Seleucia (Antioch), late 5th–1st half 6th century
Marble

25.8 × 45 × 2.5 cm. ($10\frac{3}{16} \times 17\frac{3}{4} \times 1$ in.)

Princeton, The Art Museum, Princeton University,
Antioch, 515–5630

This fragmented section of a gray marble frieze is part of a large series of incised reliefs uncovered in the late 1930s during the excavation of the martyrion at Seleucia. Forming part of the decoration of the church, most of these carvings bear representations of biblical scenes or portraits of saints. The unusual *champlevé* technique, which was especially favored in the Levant during the fifth century, requires that the design be incised on the flat marble surface and that the background

be roughly chipped away to a depth of several millimeters, in order to be filled with colored stucco or wax. The scene comprised by these fragments is Joseph's interpretation of the dreams of Pharaoh's chief butler and baker (Gen. 40:7–18).

The doughy figures of this relief bear at least general comparison with the less ambitious miniatures of the renowned Rabbula Gospels (no. 445), produced in northern Mesopotamia in 586. Although the plaque itself is aesthetically undistinguished, its iconography is of considerable



interest. The composition is strikingly similar to the corresponding episode in a series of illustrated Octateuch manuscripts executed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (see Weitzmann, 1952–1953, p. 103, figs. 5, 6). Weitzmann has shown that the extensive Genesis illustration of those Middle Byzantine codices constitutes a distinct iconographic recension. With this plaque from Seleucia, that tradition may be traced back at least to the fifth century. Moreover, Weitzmann (1952–1953, p. 104) has proposed that the recension itself may have originated in Antioch. The duplication of the stone vaulting of Joseph's prison toward the right and left of the relief fragment suggests that the frieze may originally have included several prison episodes (for example, "Joseph entering unto his cellmates," to the left; and "Joseph brought forth

from prison," to the right). This is of special significance for reconstructing the hypothetical archetype of the Octateuch recension, since the extant manuscript copies have apparently been substantially abbreviated and include only one prison episode.

G. V.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weitzmann, 1941, pp. 127, 135, 138–139, pl. 20, no. 390; Weitzmann, 1952–1953, p. 103, fig. 6; Weitzmann, 1955, p. 130; Weitzmann (2), 1957, p. 184; Fillitz, 1962, pp. 41, 51.

417 Sarcophagus lid with Joseph scenes and Adoration of the Magi

Rome, 2nd third 4th century

Marble

31 × 250 × 29 cm. ($12\frac{3}{16} \times 98\frac{7}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

Vatican City, Reverenda Vaticana Fabbrica di S. Pietro in Vaticano

This unusually well executed sarcophagus lid is substantially complete despite a number of cracks in its left half. Flanking a blank tabula supported by Victories are, on the right, the Adoration of the Magi (Matt. 2:11), and, on the left, two episodes from the story of Joseph: Joseph drawn up from the well (Gen. 37:28) and the sale of grain to Joseph's brothers (Gen. 42:26).

The Adoration of the Magi was often portrayed in Early Christian sepulchral art. This particular composition, based on the rhythmic repetition of striding kings in Phrygian dress juxtaposed with the Virgin and Child on a highbacked throne, was especially favored for Roman sarcophagus lids, because it was well suited to their horizontal format. Unique, however, is the large, prophetic cross behind the Virgin, which must rank as one of the earliest such representations in Christian art.

The inclusion of Joseph scenes on this lid is

highly unusual, for although the Old Testament patriarch enjoyed great popularity in Early Christian art and literature, he was only very rarely portrayed on sarcophagi or in catacomb painting. Thus, unlike the Magi scene, which could be routinely repeated from the carver's standard repertory, the two Joseph episodes, with their more varied and complex compositions, were likely appropriated from a fuller Old Testament cycle in another medium.

Recently Kötzsche-Breitenbruch (1976) interpreted the Old Testament painting in the Via Latina catacombs as evidence that both the Octateuch and the Cotton Genesis recensions were known in mid-fourth-century Rome. The two Joseph scenes on the Vatican sarcophagus lid both suggest affinities with monuments linked to the latter tradition (no. 408). The removal from the well bears comparison with, for example, the corresponding scene in the fifth-century fresco cycle of S. Paolo fuori le mura (no. 440), while several of the figures in the grain scene find counterparts in a panel of the sixth-century Maximianus cathedra in Ravenna (fig. 60).

Found in 1943 beneath the grotto near the Capella Clementina.

G. V.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: de Bruyne, 1944–1945, pp. 250–252, figs. 1, 2; Toynbee and Ward-Perkins, 1956, pp. 93–94; Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 690, pl. 109; Mutherich, 1968, p. 173; Rupprecht, 1969, pp. 82, 106, 174; Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, 1976, p. 70.

**418 Pyxis with Joseph scenes

Constantinople (?), 6th century

Ivory

7.7, diam. 9.5 cm. ($3, 3\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum, 08





Despite the loss of its original ivory base and lid and the evidence of occasional minor repairs, this pyxis is in excellent condition. Its circumference is decorated with three sequential episodes from the legend of Joseph's divining cup. The first two scenes are apocryphal: Joseph assigns places at his own table to his unsuspecting brothers by striking his "divining cup" and calling out in sequence their names and ages (cf. Näf, 1923, p. 77); and Joseph's brothers set upon Benjamin after finding the stolen cup in his sack (cf. Ginzberg, 1947, II, p. 101). The final scene of the brothers being brought before Joseph is taken from the Bible (Gen. 44:12–14).

The broad, stocky figures with their robustly carved features and rich network of deeply cut drapery folds have been stylistically linked to figures in the Joseph panels on the mid-sixth-century ivory Maximianus cathedra in Ravenna (fig. 60). Although the place of origin of the cathedra has long been a subject of debate, most recent scholarship has assigned it to Constantinople.

These three scenes, which individually and as a unit can be explained only through legendary texts, were not likely invented in an ivory carver's workshop. Nor is it probable that they were, like the Maximianus Joseph plaques, copied from an illustrated Bible. Instead, they suggest as their model an illustrated apocryphon, such as Pseudo-Ephraem's *Life of Joseph*, a contemporary romance whose tradition of illustration may be traced at

least back to the Middle Byzantine period (Vikan, 1976, pp. 567 ff.). Unfortunately, neither *Life of Joseph* iconography, nor that of any of the more than a half dozen other medieval depictions of the "divining cup" legend is similar enough to the Leningrad pyxis to warrant the assumption of a shared tradition.

The decoration on a number of Early Christian pyxides suggests that they were used in the Divine Liturgy (no. 549). There appears, however, to be no such link between iconography and function in the case of the Leningrad pyxis, unless a broad correlation was intended between Joseph's miraculous cup and the liturgical use of the vessel.

From the A. Basilewsky collection.

G. V.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wessel, 1953–1954, p. 2, pl. IIa; Kollwitz, 1959, p. 1131; Pächt, 1959, pp. 214–215, fig. 47; Bank, 1966, p. 388, pls. 43–44; Volbach, 1976, no. 199.

*419 Wall painting with Jacob's blessing

Rome, 2nd quarter 4th century

Fresco

77 × 98 cm. (30 $\frac{5}{16}$ × 38 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Rome, Via Latina catacomb (cubiculum B)

The new catacomb on the Via Latina in Rome, a small, private burial ground, was discovered in 1955. While larger subterranean cemeteries mostly contain extensive undecorated passages and simple



graves, the ten burial cubicula and subsidiary rooms of the Via Latina catacomb were painted throughout. In addition to bucolic representations, themes from classical mythology, and a few New Testament scenes, the Via Latina catacomb presents more Old Testament episodes than any other Roman catacomb.

A fresco in the arch of an arcosolium in cubiculum B shows Jacob on his bed blessing Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasseh. Jacob's arms are crossed, and he rests his right hand on the head of Ephraim, the younger grandson, thereby giving him precedence over the first-born, Manasseh (Gen. 48).

The composition belongs, with a group of frescoes (cubicula A-C), to the earliest paintings in the Via Latina catacomb. In contrast to the second group (no. 423), the figures in these paintings are rendered with subtle gradations of color that suggest volume. The artist has endeavored to convey a sense of depth, as in this example, where Jacob's bed is placed on a diagonal.

The scene of Jacob's blessing does not appear in any other catacomb and is found on only one sarcophagus (catacomb of S. Callisto). Its closest iconographic parallels are found among the frescoes in the synagogue of Dura Europos (no. 341) and in the Middle Byzantine Octateuch manuscripts. As Weitzmann ([4], 1971, p. 77) has shown, the Dura fresco belongs to the same picture

recension as the illustrations in the Octateuchs; the Via Latina catacomb paintings show that this cycle of illustrations was known in Rome during the fourth century. Apparently, those text illustrations entered the repertory of catacomb painting because of the cycle's special interest to the patron of this tomb. The Via Latina catacomb seems to have belonged to members of the Roman nobility who, in all probability, owned illuminated books.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ferrua, 1960, p. 50, pl. xxv; Schubert et al., 1974, pp. 23–24, fig. 16; Stemberger, 1974, pp. 45–46; Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, 1976, pp. 74–76, pl. 16.

*420 Old Testament panel from Sta. Maria Maggiore

Rome, 432–440

Glass mosaic

119.3 × 203.1 cm. (47 × 80 in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Johnston Fund, 1924, 24.144.1

The mosaics of Sta. Maria Maggiore constitute the earliest surviving decoration of a Christian basilica. Although the apse mosaic was destroyed in 1288–1292, the scenes from Christ's infancy on the

Bottom panel of no. 420: stoning of Moses



triumphal arch are well preserved; twenty-seven of the original forty-two panels depicting Old Testament episodes in the nave are more or less intact.

Two events from Numbers are portrayed in this panel from the middle of the right wall. At the top, either the return of the spies from Canaan (Num. 13:25–33) or, less likely, Korah's revolt (Num. 16:1–11) is depicted; the bottom presents the stoning of Moses (Num. 14:10). The generally close correspondence between the mosaic cycle and the Bible text suggests that the mosaicist copied an illustrated manuscript, but all attempts to connect the Roman cycle with extant Old Testament manuscripts have proven inconclusive. Parallels in later Western manuscripts—the ninth-century Bibles and the eleventh-century Aelfric Paraphrase—are more convincing than the correspondences often cited in Byzantine miniatures. One important element of the Sta. Maria Maggiore panel is not explained by the Bible text: the cloud that shields Moses, Joshua, and Caleb from the stoning. To explain this unusual iconography, Nordström (1959) adduced a passage in the *Midrash Numeri Rabbah*, "All the congregation bade stone them with stones. When the glory of the Lord appeared. This teaches that they cast stones but the cloud received them." The influence of a rabbinical text on mosaics in a Roman church indicates that the presumed manuscript model may have been a Jewish paraphrase of the Old Testament.

Although the *Liber Pontificalis* (1.232) indicates that Pope Liberius (352–366) built the church, modern excavations have shown that Sta. Maria Maggiore was constructed in a single campaign, mainly under Pope Sixtus III (432–440). An inscription on the triumphal arch proves that the mosaics date from the same time. In style and technique, the nearly contemporary mosaics in S. Giovanni in Fonte, Naples, and S. Aquilino, Milan, present striking similarities; but the closest parallels to the figures, compositions, and illusionistic settings are found in two Roman manuscripts, the Vatican Vergil (no. 203) and the Quedlinburg Itala fragments (no. 424). Not only do these parallels reinforce the connections to manuscript illumination, they help to place the mosaics within the context of the renewed classicism in Roman art during the first half of the fifth century, a period of artistic revitalization under papal patronage,

following the sack of Rome in 410.

The vigorous, suggestive style of the Old Testament mosaics contrasts with the hieratic forms on the triumphal arch. Until it was demonstrated that both groups of mosaics were produced at the same time, the differences were attributed to different campaigns. Scholars now view the style of the triumphal arch as a reflection of the solemn, imperial mode and the nave panels as belonging to the Roman epic tradition. Brenk (1975) has also attributed some of the stylistic variation to five different mosaicists.

H. L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nordström, 1959, p. 32; Karpp, 1966, figs. 118–124; Brenk, 1975, pp. 91–94.

421 Pyxis with Moses and Daniel

Syria-Palestine (?), late 5th–6th century

Ivory

8.4, diam. 11.5 cm. ($3\frac{5}{16}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Washington, D. C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 36.22

Although this pyxis is split and lacks both its original ivory cover and base, its condition is generally good. Its red and blue polychromy were probably added during the Middle Ages. The surface of the ivory cylinder is decorated with two familiar Old Testament themes: Moses receiving the law (Exod. 19:1 ff.) and Daniel in the lions' den (Dan. 6:16–23). This is one of the earliest extant monuments to include, in addition to Moses and the hand of God, complementary figures (albeit of uncertain identity) from the complex and extensive narrative in Exodus. Another unusual element is the representation of the divine law as a scroll instead of the tablets described in the Bible. The explanation for this substitution may lie in Jewish literary tradition, according to which Moses received on Mt. Sinai not just the Decalogue but the whole body of scripture contained in the Torah scroll (Ginzberg, 1947, III, p. 119).

The Daniel scene is also unusual insofar as it



No. 421, *Moses receiving the law*



No. 421, *Daniel in the lions' den*

literally illustrates the protective action of the angel as described in Dan. 6:22; the more usual textual source is the apocryphal fourteenth chapter of the Book of Daniel, wherein it is related that Habakkuk was lifted up by an angel to bring food to the imprisoned prophet.

To the right of the Daniel scene stands a column; on it is a nude deity and around it coils a large serpent. This seems to be a condensed evocation of two further episodes in the story of Daniel: the destruction of the idol Bel and the slaying of the serpent (Dan. 14:1–27). The episode of Bel is

highly unusual in Early Christian art. Finally, below the raised lock panel, appears an eagle with outstretched wings. Since similar eagles appear in the corresponding position on several other pyxides, which otherwise represent different subjects, the bird's role is probably decorative.

The iconographic originality of this pyxis is matched by its dramatic and energetic style. Yet, notwithstanding this carver's compositional skills, his execution of details is rather sketchy and unrefined. Stylistically, the Washington ivory has been linked, along with several other pyxides, to the Murano diptych in Ravenna (fig. 59). While some scholars have assigned this diptych to Alexandria, others, including Ainalov (1961, p. 264) and Weitzmann ([1], 1972, III, p. 36), have attributed it to Syro-Palestine. As with many Early Christian pyxides, its decorative iconography apparently has no connection with its function, which was probably related to the performance of the Divine Liturgy.

Acquired from the Abbey Church of Moggio (Udine) in 1936.

G. V.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weitzmann (1), 1972, III, pp. 31–36, pls. 2, XVI, XVII.

422 Ashburnham Pentateuch

Color plate XIII

North Africa, late 6th–early 7th century

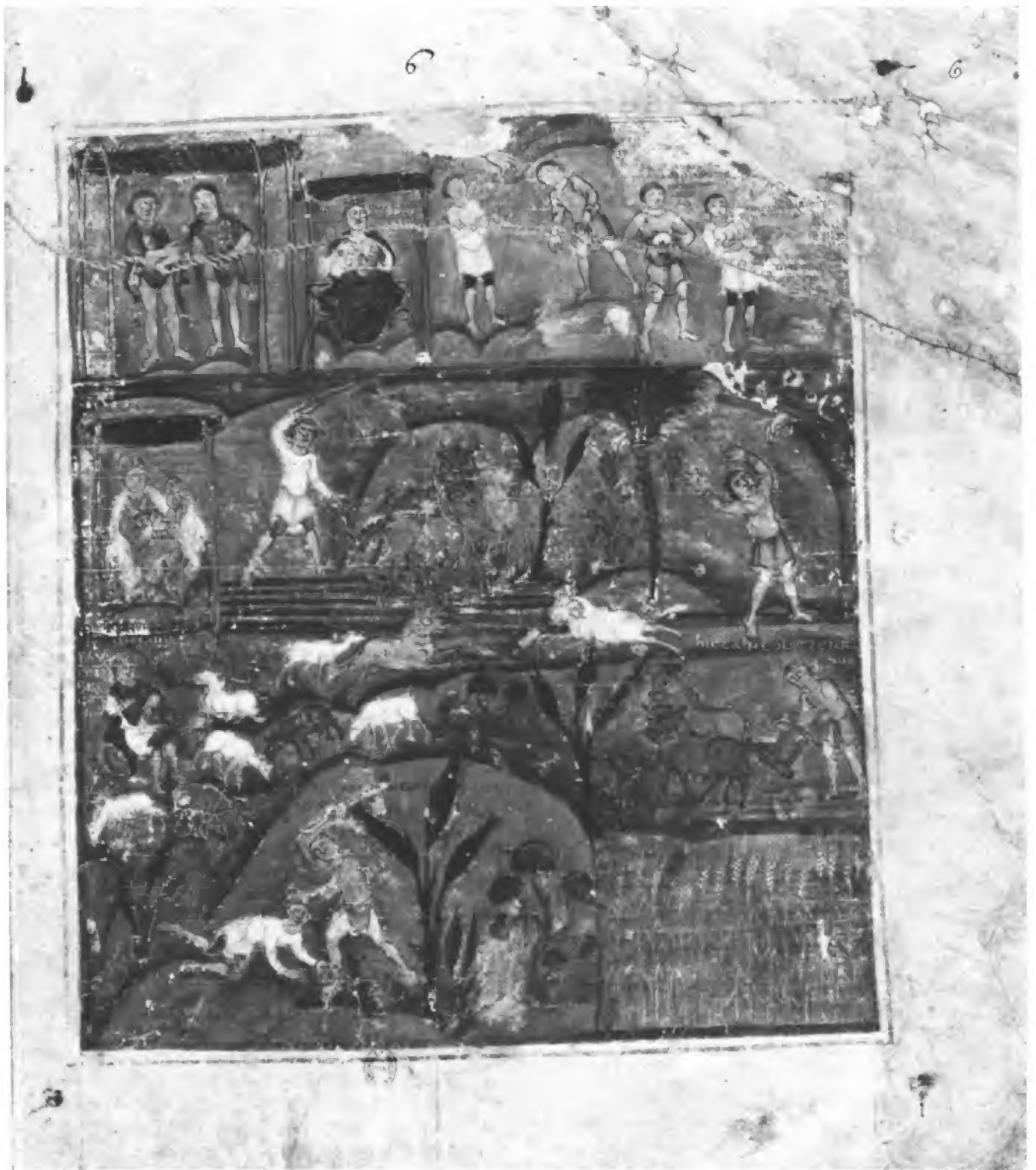
Parchment

V + 142 + IV fols.; 39.5 × 33.5 cm. (15 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 13 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 2334

In its present condition, the manuscript lacks Deuteronomy. Only 129 of its 142 folios are from the original manuscript, which comprised 208 leaves to the beginning of Deuteronomy. Thirteen folios are Carolingian or Gothic additions. The thick parchment was gathered in twenty-six regular quires of eight leaves. The text, written in uncials, is basically Vulgate with many variations.

The decoration consists of a full-page frontispiece and eighteen full-page miniatures. The original manuscript contained sixty-eight minia-



Fol. 6r of no. 422

tures up to the end of Numbers, as well as painted framing arcades to all tables of titles.

The frontispiece (fol. 2) lists the names of books in Latin and Latin transliterations of Hebrew displayed under a curtained arch, somewhat like antique representations of the Torah ark. Among the miniatures are: 1, the story of Adam and Eve after the expulsion and of Cain and Abel (fol. 6r), which includes the extrabiblical scene of the repentant couple in a bower; 2, a full-page miniature of the Deluge (fol. 9r), which depicts drowned giants, an element based on the Midrash; 3, Rebecca sought in marriage (fol. 21r), which includes a wealth of local details, including camels and black servants that may confirm a North African provenance for the manuscript; and 4, a three-part portrayal of Moses receiving the laws, delivering them to the Israelites, and preparing the tabernacle (fol. 76r).

The painting is in heavy gouache over pen drawings and Latin inscriptions, most of which are rewritten on the paint. Most of the miniatures are arranged in registers, but the episodes seldom correspond to the chronological sequence (see especially fol. 6r). The iconography of the scenes is unusual. Certain elements derive from midrashic sources, though others, such as the agent of creation shown as two men (fol. 1), are yet unexplained.

The rarity of illuminated manuscripts in this period allows little comparison of style. A comparison of the very dense compositions, the heavy figure style, and the architectural framework with floor mosaics points to an origin in North Africa during the late sixth or early seventh century.

The manuscript was in Tours during the Carolingian period, when one of the figures of each dual creator was overpainted. In Tours the manuscript was probably used as a model for other illuminated manuscripts and wall paintings. In 1843, G. B. T. Libri stole the manuscript and, in 1846, sold it to the London bookseller Rodd. The Duke of Ashburnham acquired it in 1847, and, in 1888, it was purchased by the Bibliothèque Nationale.

B. N.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: von Gebhardt, 1883; Lowe, 1950, V, p. 49; Gutmann, 1953–1954; Hempel, 1957; Narkiss, 1969; Narkiss, 1972.

*423 Wall painting with Samson scene

Rome, after mid-4th century

Fresco

108 × 225 cm. (42½ × 88½ in.)

Rome, Via Latina catacomb (cubiculum F)

A depiction of Samson killing the Philistines occupies the lunette of the central arcosolium. Samson stands in the middle, the jawbone of an ass in his right hand. To the left lie the corpses of slaughtered Philistines (two Philistines hurry from Samson, one with bleeding head; others stand in the distance). The large building at the right is probably the Timnite's house, which the Philistines had set afire, arousing Samson's vengeful wrath (Judg. 15:6–16).

The fresco belongs to the second, somewhat later group of murals in the Via Latina catacomb (no. 419). The background is limited to a single plane, figures and garments are scarcely modeled, and contours are rendered by dark outlines.

Like the scene of Jacob blessing Ephraim and Manasseh, in cubiculum B (no. 419), the confrontation of Samson and the Philistines is unknown in earlier catacomb painting. Three other episodes from the saga are also represented, two episodes in cubiculum L: Samson killing a lion with his bare hands and bees swarming out of the lion's carcass (Judg. 14:5–9); and, in cubiculum B: Samson releasing jackals with burning tails in the Philistine's fields (Judg. 15:4–5).

The three Samson scenes, like other representations in the Via Latina catacomb, are not formalized, reduced compositions, but possess the narrative character of true text illustrations. The resemblance of the fresco scenes to those in the Middle Byzantine Octateuch manuscripts is so striking that they seem to derive from a common archetype. The Samson cycle in the Early Christian mosaic pavement at Mopsuestia (Cilicia) is another monumental derivative from the same model (Kitzinger, 1973). The narrative Old Testament scenes of the Via Latina catacomb clearly demonstrate how text illustrations influenced catacomb painting as well as the monumental cycles in such Early Christian basilicas as Sta. Maria Maggiore,



St. Peter's, and S. Paolo fuori le mura (nos. 439, 440).

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ferrua, 1960, p. 63, pl. cv; Schubert et al., 1974, p. 34, fig. 6; Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, 1976, pp. 92–93, pl. 25.

*424 Quedlinburg Itala

Rome, 4th–5th century

Vellum

6 fols.; about 30.5 × 20.5 cm. (12 × 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Berlin, German Democratic Republic, Deutsche

Staatsbibliothek, cod. theol. lat. fol. 485

Fragments of six leaves from a Book of Kings, used in 1618 as binding material by Asmus Reitel of Quedlinburg, are the oldest surviving examples of the pre-Vulgate text of the Bible and contain the earliest extant Christian illuminations. Two or more scenes, drawn from a single chapter of the text, are united on each picture page. The best-preserved miniature is fol. Iir, which presents five episodes from 1 Sam. 15: Samuel meeting Saul (12–13), Saul attempting to restrain the prophet (27), Samuel and Saul praying (31), Samuel summoning Agag (32), and the prophet executing the Amalekite king (33). The artist did not take advan-

tage of the full-page format but, instead—as in manuscripts illustrated with column pictures (cf. nos. 408, 437)—traced the story with a dense sequence of individual scenes to suggest the passage of time.

The friezelike arrangements of figures, illusionistic landscapes, and details of pose and costume connect the Quedlinburg Itala to the Vergil manuscript in the Vatican (no. 203), which is also related in paleography, format, and such technical devices as picture captions and vermilion frames. The two manuscripts were certainly produced in the same artistic center, perhaps even in the same fourth- or fifth-century Roman workshop.

Because of its date and its close relationship to a pagan manuscript, the Quedlinburg Itala has been considered a transitional work—in which Christian artists first applied the antique narrative mode and certain representational conventions to the Bible text. The inventiveness of the illustrations is also suggested by instructions to the artist, written in cursive script, that have been revealed beneath the badly flaked pictures. The completeness of these guides indicates that the illustrators were not merely copying a pictorial prototype; one directs, for example: "Make where the prophet withdraws and when King Saul tries to hold him by the end of his mantle, cuts it off and withdraws running." The Dura Europos synagogue frescoes (no. 341), however, establish the existence of



Fol. Iir of no. 424

biblical narrative art at least 150 years before the Quedlinburg manuscript was created. Furthermore, the system employed in the codex represents a second stage of book illustration, in which the depictions have been removed from the text columns and united into full-page miniatures. As

in the eighth-century Barbarus Scaligeri codex in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 4884), the precepts may have been provided simply to facilitate this change in format.

H. L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Degering and Boeckler, 1932; Lowe, 1959, VIII, pl. 15, no. 1069; Weitzmann, 1965, pp. 279–280; Davis-Weyer, 1971, pp. 23–25; Levin, 1975, pp. 36–37.

David plates from Cyprus

Constantinople, 628–630
Silver

425 (I) Samuel anoints David

3.8, diam. 26.5 cm. ($1\frac{1}{2}$, $10\frac{7}{16}$ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.398

426 (II) David summoned to Saul

3.8, diam. 14 cm. ($1\frac{1}{2}$, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
Nicosia, The Cyprus Museum, J454

427 (III) David before Saul

3.8, diam. 26.7 cm. ($1\frac{1}{2}$, $10\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.397

428 (IV) David battles the bear

3.8, diam. 14 cm. ($1\frac{1}{2}$, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
Nicosia, The Cyprus Museum, J453

429 (V) David battles the lion

3.8, diam. 14 cm. ($1\frac{1}{2}$, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.394

430 (VI) Saul arms David

3.8, diam. 26.7 cm. ($1\frac{1}{2}$, $10\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.399

431 (VII) David and Goliath

3.8, diam. 49.4 cm. ($1\frac{1}{2}$, $19\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.396

432 (VIII) David's marriage to Michal

3.8, diam. 26.8 cm. ($1\frac{1}{2}$, $10\frac{9}{16}$ in.)
Nicosia, The Cyprus Museum, J452

433 (IX) David's covenant with Jonathan

3.8, diam. 14 cm. ($1\frac{1}{2}$, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.395

Nine silver plates embossed with scenes from the life of David appear to be a complete set. They were discovered in 1902, in Karavas (northern Cyprus), sealed in a wall niche with a horde of jewelry and gold (no. 292). Although A. and J. Stylianou (1969) and Dodd (1961) have maintained that each plate is composed of two sheets, one in front decorated in repoussé and another to cover the back, the plates are actually single, solid pieces of silver that were chased. Except for some pitting, the plates are in nearly perfect condition.

The series illustrates the early years of David's career, from his anointment to his covenant with Jonathan. The largest plate focuses on the climactic event of David's youth: his victory over Goliath. Four middle-size plates present ceremonial scenes in the young man's life; and four small plates depict transitional events.

The Cyprus plates provide palpable evidence of the persistent Hellenism in Byzantine art. The biblical tale is enacted by figures that move and interact in an illusionistic space. Believable anatomy and clothing heighten the dramatic effect in such scenes as the battle, in which David, his cape whipping in the air, lurches backward to fend off Goliath. Throughout most of the Middle Ages, the classical heritage was preserved in Constantinople and is particularly conspicuous in metalwork produced for the court. The debt to earlier imperial silver is evident. Figures, costume details, and compositional principles recall such fourth-century creations as the Missorium of Theodosius (no. 64) and the Conçesti amphora (no. 149). The seventh-century silversmiths emulated the Late Antique style with skill, but some difficulties are apparent in the Cyprus silver: Saul's left arm appears shriveled (no. 427), for example, and the stances of many figures seem unstable.

An illustrated manuscript must have been among the prototypes used by the seventh-century



No. 425, (I) *Samuel anoints David*

smiths. Close connections have long been noted between the silver plates and such Middle Byzantine manuscripts as the Paris psalter (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. gr. 139) and the Vatican Book of Kings (Cod. gr. 333). In copying the manuscript model, the artisans made numerous changes. To accommodate the narrative to circular fields, they arranged the figures symmetrically, adding or

eliminating some to achieve a central focus. They also introduced conventions from imperial art to emphasize the regal aspects of the David legend.

The relief decoration made the plates unsuited for practical use, either domestic or liturgical, and the set must have been intended to adorn a wall or table. Wander's recent proposal (1973) that the small and middle-size plates were alternated in

a circle around the battle dish (no. 431) is persuasive on both narrative and aesthetic grounds.

Imperial stamps on the back of each plate fix the date of their manufacture to the reign of the emperor Heraclius (specifically to 613–629/630). Because of the quality and style of workmanship, it is assumed that the set was issued by the imperial workshop in Constantinople. It is likely that the plates were made for Heraclius himself to commemorate his victory over the Persian general Razatis in 627; the emperor's triumph evokes comparison to that of the Old Testament monarch. The plates were hidden not long after they were made to prevent their plunder by the Arabs who conquered and destroyed the Byzantine town of Lambousa in 653–654.

425 (I): David enters the biblical drama when, as God's elect, he is anointed by the prophet Samuel (1 Sam. 16:3). Here, Samuel holds a horn of oil above David, who lowers his head in humility; David's father, Jesse, and two of his brothers witness the solemn event. The smith derived his composition from an illustrated book; nearly identical versions appear in later Byzantine manuscripts (e.g., Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 139, fol. 3, and Vatican, cod. gr. 333, fol. 22). He transformed the narrative prototype into a static ceremony, however, by reducing the number of figures from nine to five and by posing them symmetrically. The portico, which serves as a backdrop, establishes a hierarchy dominated by the child David; it is a device borrowed from imperial art (no. 64) and offsets the figure beneath the arch as superior to the others. The altar, slaughtered heifer, and sword in the exergue allude to the sacrifice prepared by Samuel (1 Sam. 16:2–3); the ram and staff refer to David's earlier occupation as a shepherd (1 Sam. 16:11).

With his anointment, "the spirit of the Lord came upon David and was with him from that day onwards" (1 Sam. 16:13), enabling the young shepherd to defeat Goliath and, ultimately, to succeed Saul as king—events presented on the other plates. The choice of the anointment to begin the series may have had a theological as well as a narrative foundation. At the Baptism of Christ, when his grace was proclaimed, a heavenly voice was heard to declare, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased" (Matt. 3:17). By portraying Samuel laying his hand on David's head—John's gesture in depictions of the

Baptism (no. 287, 406)—the artist may have intended to draw a parallel between the Old and New Testament figures.

426 (II): In 1 Sam. 16:16–20, David is summoned to Saul when the tormented king calls for someone who can play the harp and sends "messengers to Jesse and asks him to send him his son David who was with the sheep." The episode was rarely illustrated, although a similar composition does appear on the battered fourth-century door of the church of S. Ambrogio in Milan. Curiously, it is the messenger on this plate who most closely resembles the David of the other compositions; but the young man with the lyre is certainly the exalted shepherd and poet. The confusion may have resulted from the silversmiths' practice of using stock figures for different characters. Attempts to identify the episode as the summoning of David to Samuel (1 Sam. 16:12) or as David's arrival before Saul (1 Sam. 16:21) are not convincing.

In contrast to the formal scene of no. 425, the sheep grazing in the foreground and the interchange of the two men across an implied space create an informal, bucolic mood that recalls such mythological silver plates as the Meleager dish (no. 141).

427 (III): Before engaging Goliath in battle, David went to Saul to persuade the king of his might (1 Sam. 17:32 ff.). The event is here pre-

No. 426, (II) *David summoned to Saul*





No. 427, (III) *David before Saul*

sented as a ritual appearance in the Byzantine court. Clad in the imperial *chlamys* of a *basileus*, Saul sits on a cushioned throne; a nimbus circles his head. David, at the left and also nimbed, pleads his case before the king; Samuel (or possibly David's brother Eliab) stands opposite him. Two arms-bearers, identifiable by their costume and hairstyle as the German bodyguards of the Byzan-

tine emperor, complete the composition. Like the imperial portico, the guards find close parallels on the Missorium of Theodosius (no. 64). The artist conceived the biblical tale in terms of Byzantine court ceremonies, copying the hieratic composition and details of dress from a secular work, such as the fourth-century missorium. Even the bags and basket at the base of the plate are biblical elements

presented in imperial terms. They allude to the gifts promised to whoever killed Goliath (1 Sam. 17:24), but they are represented as the *sparsio* (no. 48). David's appearance before Saul, like the other episodes presented on the Cyprus plates, was probably derived from a narrative model, but it was radically transformed under the influence of imperial metalwork.

428 (IV): When David appeared before Saul, he cited as proof of his martial prowess his killing of a lion and a bear to protect his flock (1 Sam. 17:34 ff.). David's battles with the two beasts are represented here on two complementary plates, which form a fitting prelude to the climax of David's earlier career—his victory over the Philistine giant Goliath.

The battle with the bear is effectively portrayed. David, his body energetically twisted, grabs the fur between the animal's ears, thrusts his knee into its back, and prepares to bludgeon it with a tapered weapon. A sense of physical power, not very different from that in works produced centuries earlier (no. 137), is successfully conveyed by the long line of David's arms, the taut muscles of his legs and hands, and his flying cape.

429 (V): In manuscript illustrations of this theme, David and the lion face each other; but to accommodate the circular field, the silversmith transformed the biblical narrative in imitation of a Heracles or Samson scene, where the hero grasps the attacker's mane and subdues it from the rear. The resulting composition is aesthetically unsatisfactory: David seems suspended above the animal and his right arm is distorted and cramped. Another silver plate depicting the same subject was found in the Kama region of the Soviet Union and is known today only in a photograph (fig. 61). It shows David shielding himself from the springing lion in a pose much like his stance in no. 431. In the Kama plate, which appears to have been produced in Constantinople during the reign of Heraclius, the silversmith created a different composition with the same repertory of figures as that on the Cyprus David plates. David's battles with the lion and bear are referred to only obliquely in the Bible and seem not to have been illustrated in narrative cycles based on the Book of Kings. Nonetheless, these plates, too, may have been based on a manuscript model; the episodes were depicted in the biographical prefaces of Middle Byzantine psalters, such as the Marciana codex



No. 428, (IV) *David battles the bear*

No. 429, (V) *David battles the lion*



(Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. gr. 17, fol. 13 [Buchthal, 1938, pl. xvii]).

430 (VI): Convinced by David's victories over the bear and lion, Saul agreed to send the young shepherd to take on Goliath: "He put his own tunic on David, placed a bronze helmet on his head, and gave him a coat of mail to wear; he then fastened his sword on David over his tunic" (1 Sam. 17:38). As an indication that sovereignty is passing to the

youth, David occupies the center of the plate, while Saul, at the left, directs one of his men to clothe him. Flanking bodyguards complete the composition. The bow and shield in the exergue appear to be part of David's equipage; in addition, the bow may refer to the rabbinic tale that David was so strong that he could bend a brass bow (Tehillim, 18. 155).

The episode of Saul arming David is entirely

No. 430, (VI) Saul arms David



superfluous, for, according to 1 Sam. 17:39, David immediately removed the armor. The scene was included in the Cyprus silver as part of the courtly ceremonies traced in the four middle-size plates.

431 (VII): The largest of the nine plates presents the climax of the story in three vignettes. At the top, Goliath curses David and is rebuffed by the unarmed shepherd, who enjoys the protection of God's hand emerging from the firmament (1 Sam.

17:41 ff.). The men meet between the walled cities of Socoh and Azekah, separated by a river god that personifies the stream of the Valley of Elah, from which David gathered stones to slay the Philistine. The most dramatic moment occupies the center of the plate. Goliath, his shield raised and lance ready, menaces David; and David, in a futile attempt to protect himself, recoils and lifts his shieldless arm. The denouement is fore-

No. 431, (VII) *David and Goliath*



shadowed by the soldiers at left and right. Two Israelites, anticipating the outcome, advance toward the Philistines, who flee in terror. (In the manuscript model, these soldiers must have been part of the subsequent scene.) In the exergue, Goliath, one hand raised to his head in agony, crashes to the ground as David beheads him with a sword seized from the Philistine's own sheath (1 Sam. 17:51). To emphasize the odds against David and to balance Goliath's lance and shield,

the artist included at the far left the simple sling and stones that overwhelmed the giant.

The plate is the masterpiece of seventh-century narrative art. Its precise rendering of anatomy and costume, complex movement in space, and genuine feeling of dramatic encounter contrast strikingly with the carefully balanced, ceremonial compositions of the other plates; the qualities of animation and tension directly reflect the character of the illumination that served as its prototype (cf. Paris,

No. 432, (VIII) David's marriage to Michal



Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. gr. 139, fol. 4v).

432 (VIII): Although Saul had promised his daughter to whoever killed Goliath (1 Sam. 17:25), he spitefully allowed his eldest daughter, Merab, to marry someone else and set David the task of killing a hundred Philistines. David was again victorious and claimed Saul's second daughter, Michal, as his wife. The Bible tells us simply that "Saul married his daughter Michal to David" (1 Sam. 18:27), but the silversmith conceived the episode as an imperial wedding. Saul, dressed in the robes of a basileus, presides over the rite of *dextrarum junctio*, the clasping of right hands. Nearly identical compositions, appearing on imperial marriage medallions (no. 262), must have inspired the artist. Flute players, like the guards on the other ceremonial plates, were added to complete the composition within the circle; the basket and bags in the exergue suggest Michal's dowry.

433 (IX): Because of its lack of identifying details, the small plate showing David confronting a soldier has eluded certain interpretation. The similar composition at the top of the battle plate (no. 431) has led most scholars to conclude that this plate repeats the scene of Goliath's challenge, but such a repetition makes no sense in the series. Dodd's (1961) suggestion that the scene depicts David's encounter with the Egyptian (1 Sam. 30:1 ff.) is less persuasive than Wander's proposal (1973) that it illustrates David's confrontation with his brother Eliab. According to 1 Sam. 17:28–30, Eliab, who had served as one of Saul's soldiers, rebuked his young brother for leaving the flock to engage Goliath. Wright's identification (1967) of the scene as David's covenant with Jonathan (1 Sam. 23:16 ff.) fits the details and mood of the scene still more closely and is supported by a comparison with the illustrated Book of Kings in the Vatican (Cod. gr. 333, fol. 31v). The individual figures may have been copied from the Goliath scene, but the plate seems to present the culminating event of David's youth, when he made an alliance with Saul's son and heir.

H. L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Matzulevich, 1947; Dodd, 1961, pp. 178–195; Wright, 1967, pp. 75–76; A. and J. Stylianou, 1969, pp. 47–111; Weitzmann (2), 1970; van Grunsven Eygenraam, 1973; Wander, 1973; Wander, 1975; Alexander, 1977.



No. 433, (IX) *David's covenant with Jonathan*

434 Bowl with judgment of Solomon

North Africa, 4th century

Red earthenware

Diam. 17.4 cm. (6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum,
0.39449

The bowl has been broken into four pieces, but the fragments are preserved, and the entire composition has been restored. Solomon is portrayed at the top of the dish, pointing to one woman, who averts her gaze. A second woman stands at the right. Below, a man is depicted wielding a sword over the outstretched body of a child. The scene illustrates the well-known episode of the judgment of Solomon reported in 1 Kings 3:16–28.

Although there is no indication of space, the figures are well formed and move convincingly. The posture of the infant's real mother is especially effective in suggesting sad resignation. In size and



in the treatment of figures, the Mainz dish closely resembles a plate in the Löffler collection, Cologne, on which scenes of Christ's healing miracles are depicted. Enthroned men, identical to Solomon, appear in different contexts on redware bowls in Rome and Tunis.

Portrayals of the judgment of Solomon are rare in medieval art. Parallels in the ninth-century Bible of S. Paolo fuori le mura (Gaehde, 1975, pp. 372 ff., fig. 92), therefore, are especially interesting. Not only is the general disposition of figures alike in the two works, but the gesture of the executioner—who grasps the child's forearm—is the same in both. The S. Paolo Bible scene was derived from a Greek Book of Kings; the Mainz bowl seems to depend on a similar source.

Provenance unknown. For red-glazed terracotta in general, see Salomonson, 1969, pls. 48, 49.

H. L. K.

Unpublished.

435 Bowl with Maccabees scene (?)

North Africa, 4th century

Red earthenware

Diam. 18.6 cm. ($7\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum,
O.39630



Despite severe fracturing, the bowl has been entirely reconstructed. It portrays three young men dancing before a burning altar. The subject is difficult to identify. The scene does not correspond to the story of the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace recounted in Dan. 3 (no. 383), and the altar is distinctly different from the furnace depicted in another Mainz plate (no. 415). There is no offering on the altar, and so the scene appears not to portray the contest with the Baalite priests (1 Kings 18:17–40). The composition may show Israelites melting trinkets to make the golden calf (Exod. 32:2–4), but the likeliest identification of the scene is the purification of the altar by Nehemiah. According to 2 Macc. 1:18–26, "some great stones" were miraculously ignited on the empty altar, signifying the reconsecration of the temple. This event came to be commemorated by the feast of Hanukkah. A depiction of the Hanukkah festival raises the possibility that this bowl is Jewish.

The rendering is unrefined, and the forms seem to float in space, but the figures retain a sense of vigorous movement from their narrative model.

H. L. K.

Unpublished.

436 Pyxis with Daniel story

North Africa or Syria, 5th century
Ivory
7.7, diam. 9.4 cm. (3, 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)
London, The Trustees of the British Museum,
77, 7-6, 1

The pyxis has been split and rejoined. Several pieces are missing, and there are holes from previous metal mountings. Beneath the lock space are two long-necked birds flanking a cross. To the left, Daniel, wearing a short tunic and mantle over long trousers (anaxyrides) and a Phrygian cap, stands in the position of an orant beneath a shell-patterned baldachin. He is flanked by two lions, which, like the birds, are depicted with their heads turned around. A similar baldachin appears over Christ on the Murano diptych (fig. 59) and over Mary on the ivory plaque from Manchester (no. 457). To the left of the baldachin, an angel grasps the prophet Habakkuk by the hair and transports him to Babylon with a basket of pottage for Daniel (Dan. 14:33-37). The composition is similar to that on the Trier pyxis (Volbach, 1976, no. 162). To the right of the baldachin is a figure wearing a short tunic, boots, and a helmet. He holds a staff in his left hand and raises his right as though acclaiming Daniel's deliverance. Another unidentified figure, wearing a long tunic, appears to the right of the lock space. Beside him an angel approaches a large ram tied to a tree. He is the ram sacrificed by Abraham in Isaac's place and symbolizes Christ, who sacrificed

himself so that man might obtain deliverance (symbolized by Daniel) and eternal life. A similar ram appears within the context of the Sacrifice on the Trier pyxis, while the ram appears alone with a tree behind him on several Ravenna sarcophagi (de Francovich, 1959, figs. 47-50). To the right of the ram a piece of the pyxis, probably depicting Abraham, is missing.

The pyxis is stylistically related to a small group of ivories including the Trier and Livorno pyxides (Volbach, 1976, nos. 162, 165). Heads are characterized by broad foreheads tapering to pointed chins and by distinctive full crowns of curly hair descending low on the forehead. For the most part, bodies are clearly articulated beneath the drapery. A similar style appears on the Manchester plaque (no. 457), and it is surprisingly close to that of the hunting mosaics that appear in Antioch in the second half of the fifth century (Levi, 1947, II, pls. CLXX, CLXXII), suggesting a provenance either in Syria itself or in North Africa, where the related Livorno pyxis was found.

Formerly in the Garthe collection.

A. S. T. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, 1976, no. 167.

437 Syriac Bible

Northern Mesopotamia, 6th-7th century
Vellum
246 fols.; 33 × 25 cm. (13 × 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. syr. 341

A Peshitto (Syriac version) manuscript of the Old and New Testaments, written in tiny estrangelo characters, this book is the oldest surviving example of the full Bible with a unified program of illustrations. Unhappily, large sections are missing from the front and back. These were replaced with paper pages during the fourteenth century. Several miniatures have been pasted in.

Although many miniatures (including all but one New Testament picture) have vanished, the system of illustration can be reconstructed from the remaining twenty-three depictions. A single picture stood at the front of each book. Most that survive are simple author portraits: Joshua; Habakkuk; Jesus, son of Sirach; and James the



Apostle, for example. A few are more complex illustrations: a lively presentation of Moses before Pharaoh precedes the Book of Exodus; a double miniature showing Aaron and the twelve tribes and the brazen serpent serves as the preface to Numbers; and an illustration of Job on the dung heap illustrates the Book of Job. An allegorical scene before Proverbs represents a third type of miniature: here, the Virgin and Child are flanked by Solomon and a personification of Ecclesia.

The heterogeneity of this program indicates that it was derived from a variety of sources. Standing prophets, not unlike those in this Bible, also appear in the Rabbula Gospels (no. 445) and in the Alexandrian World Chronicle (Moscow, Pushkin Museum); they are an old type that seems to have been designed for the narrow columns of text in a rotulus. The Proverbs illustration may be a spontaneous invention, but the narrative scenes were certainly culled from richer cycles. In contrast to the static, hieratic portraits, they retain the lively, animated character of their antique prototypes.

Basing his conclusion on paleographic evidence, Omont (1909) dated the manuscript to the seventh to eighth century. Art historical evidence, however, suggests an earlier date. The style of the miniatures resembles that of the illustrations of

the Rabbula Gospels of 586. A fluid manner of painting and a tendency toward heavy contours, brilliant colors, and agitated gestures indicate an origin for the two manuscripts similar in date and place.

The Paris codex, acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale during the first decade of this century, is presumably the Bible inventoried in the episcopal library of Sijrt (southwest of Lake Van) and may have been produced near there.

H. L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Omont, 1909; Leroy, 1964, pp. 208–219, pls. 43–48.

*438 Door from Sta. Sabina, Rome, with Old and New Testament scenes

Rome (?), 432–440

Cypress wood

5.30 × 3.12 m. (17 ft. 6 in. × 10 ft. 4 in.)

Cast: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Willard Collection, 1883–1891, 1404



No. 437, *Moses before Pharaoh*

The Sta. Sabina doors are the best-preserved wood carvings from the Western Empire. Eighteen of twenty-eight figurative panels somewhat altered and restored remain on the outer side and nineteen ornamental panels on the inner side.

Because a third of the scenes are missing and their original order has been changed, it is difficult to interpret the program of the cycle. Five panels portray Old Testament scenes; they are the most developed and richest in narrative elements. The Ascension of Elijah (2 Kings 2:11; fourth valve) is iconographically amplified by narrative and picturesque details that do not appear in other monuments. The angel, for example, is not mentioned in the text, but is similar to pagan Nike figures; and Elijah ascending in a biga may have been based on representations of Helios. The angel's magic wand is an unusual element, as is the hoe held by one disciple (probably an allusion to the miracle of the floating axe, 2 Kings 6:1–7). Naturalistic details, such as the snail and lizard on the rock and the dramatic gestures of the disciples, enliven the scene. The panel with Habakkuk about



Detail of no. 438: left, Ascension of Christ, Denial of Peter; right, Second Coming, Habakkuk with angel

to be transported to Babylon (Dan. 14:33–36) shows an angel ordering the prophet to bring food to the imprisoned Daniel. The theme of Daniel in the lions' den, which may have been portrayed on one of the missing panels, was widely depicted in Early Christian art as a paradigm of salvation. The narrative elements are more developed at Sta. Sabina than in other monuments and may derive from a text illustration. With the exception of the Ascension of Christ, the New Testament scenes are abbreviated. The Crucifixion, for example, is limited to Christ and the thieves. In the depiction of Christ before Caiaphas, the high priest is clad in a tunic and chlamys like a Roman dignitary and sits on a Roman campstool. Christ, bearded and with his right hand raised as in the other Passion scenes, stands before him. The depiction, which differs from other representations (no. 452) by showing Caiaphas alone and Christ followed by a group of soldiers, may have been patterned after a Roman trial scene. The panel showing Christ flanked by the Alpha and Omega, which represents the Second Coming (Rev. 12:12–13), is without close parallel. According to Jeremias (1970), the enigmatic "Acclamation" scene may be related to a contemporary event and may portray the founder of Sta. Sabina, Petrus Illyricus. Certain panels, miracles of Moses/miracles of Christ and Ascension of Elijah/Ascension of Christ, indicate that a parallelism between Old and New Testament scenes may have been intended.

Two distinct carving styles are discernible. One, which Delbrueck (1952) termed the "brilliant" style, depicts slender, well-modeled figures in high relief (Ascension of Elijah). It may have been influenced by Eastern, specifically Constantinopolitan, art. The other, the "plain" style, presents squat, flat figures in crowded compositions reminiscent of those on Roman sarcophagi.

While admitting influences from other regions of the empire, scholars now tend to ascribe the doors to a Roman workshop. The carvings were executed either during the reign of Pope Celestine I (422–432), when the church was founded or, more likely, under Sixtus III (432–440), when Sta. Sabina was consecrated.

E. L. -P.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kantorowicz, 1944; Delbrueck (2), 1952; Darsy, 1954; Tsuji, 1962; Jeremias, 1970.



No. 439, *Sacrifice of Isaac*

439 Copies of the frescoes of S. Paolo fuori le mura, Rome

Rome, 1634

Watercolor on paper

142 fols.; 41.1 × 27 cm. (16 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod.

Barb. lat. 4406

Despite their baroque character, these watercolors appear to be accurate reflections of the frescoes that, until the fire of 1823, adorned the nave of S. Paolo fuori le mura.

Originally, prophets and saints were portrayed between the clerestory windows, and, below, in two registers, Old and New Testament narratives were depicted on the facing nave walls (cf. no. 440). Scenes on the right wall traced the story of Genesis and Exodus, from Creation through the slaughter of first-born Egyptians; an equal number of scenes on the left were devoted to the life of St. Paul as recounted in the Book of Acts. The date of the frescoes cannot be precisely determined. The *Liber Pontificalis* (1.239) and an eighth-century letter of Pope Hadrian suggest that the cycles were painted under Pope Leo I (440–461), but the papal portraits beneath the narratives point to a date of about 700—at least for a renovation of the frescoes, if not for their original design. Between 1277 and 1290 the frescoes were restored by Pietro Cavallini, who appears generally to have followed the early compositions, while adding minor features, such

as the Creator's globe-throne and certain architectural settings from contemporary art. Both the style and the iconography of the Sacrifice of Isaac seem to be relatively faithful to the Early Christian original.

The fresco painters consulted illuminated manuscripts for their narrative cycles. Striking affinities between the Old Testament series and illustrations in the Cotton Genesis (no. 408) add to other evidence that a manuscript closely related to the latter was available in Early Christian Rome (cf. no. 417). As in the Via Latina catacomb paintings (nos. 419, 423), however, elements from the Greek Octateuchs seem to have infiltrated the Cotton Genesis iconography. The sequence of scenes from the life of St. Paul was based on the illustrations of a Book of Acts related to those in the Carolingian Bibles and in several Middle Byzantine manuscripts. In contrast to Sta. Maria Maggiore (no. 420), S. Paolo draws on the Old and New Testament cycles equally, but no attempt was made to correlate the two sequences.

The S. Paolo frescoes and the closely related

paintings in St. Peter's inspired numerous Italian church cycles during the eleventh through fourteenth centuries.

H. L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Garber, 1918; White, 1959; Waetzoldt, 1964, pp. 55 ff., figs. 318-452; Kessler, 1977, pp. 15-25, 115-120.

440 Copy of the frescoes of S. Paolo fuori le mura, Rome

Rome, late 18th century

Watercolor on paper

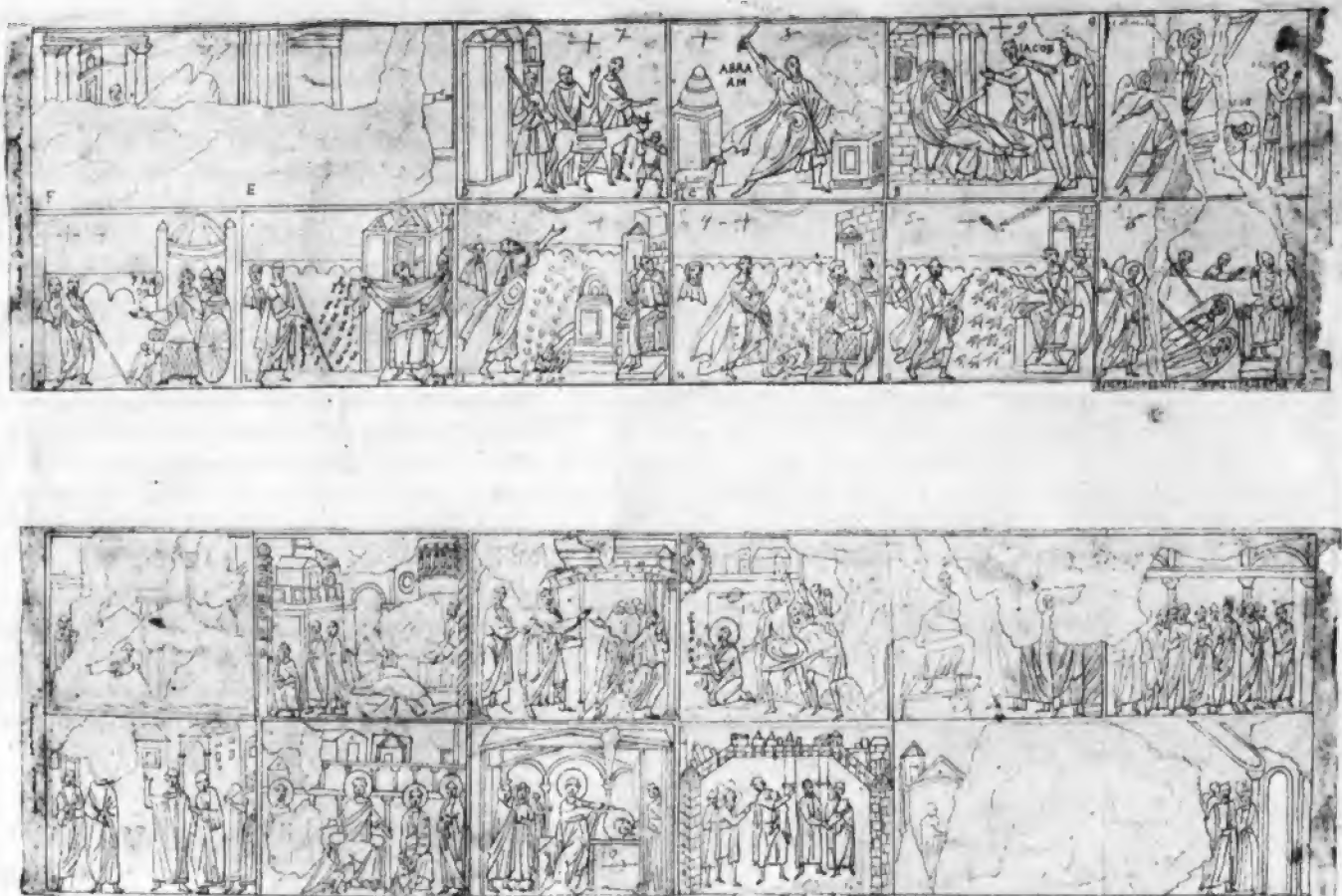
33 × 49 cm. (13 × 19 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod.

Vat. lat. 9843

The great French antiquarian J. B. Seroux d'Agincourt left one of the rare views of the S. Paolo fuori le mura frescoes in this drawing of about 1790. Together with the seventeenth-century

No. 440



watercolors (no. 439), the drawing affords means for reconstructing the Early Christian narrative cycles that, until the fire of 1823, adorned the nave of the basilica. It records a section of the right wall with scenes from the lives of Isaac and Jacob and the plagues of Egypt, and panels of the left wall presenting episodes from the life of St. Paul.

Although the frescoes had deteriorated since the watercolors of no. 439 had been made a century and a half before, Seroux d'Agincourt's copy seems to be more accurate in certain details. It also preserves the arrangement of the paintings in two registers on facing walls. No correlation of scenes was involved in this arrangement, which was used as well in St. Peter's and in Sta. Maria Maggiore. The sole purpose was to present the narratives in continuous sequences. Engravings of twelve of the scenes appear on plate xcvi of Seroux d'Agincourt's *Histoire de l'art* (1823).

H. L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Waetzoldt, 1964, pp. 22, 61, fig. 408.

Fol. 11 of no. 441



441 Canon tables

Constantinople (?), 7th century

Parchment

2 fols.; 21.7 × 15.5 cm. (8½ × 6⅛ in.)

London, The British Library Board, Cod. Add. 5111,
fols. 10, 11

Severely trimmed to fit a later twelfth-century manuscript, these leaves are all that survive of a lavishly decorated Gospel book. The folios contain concordance charts, or canon tables, and, preceding the tables, the end of the epistolary prologue ("Letter to Carpianus") explaining their use.

At the start of the fourth century, Constantine's court historian and bishop, Eusebius of Caesarea, devised the canon tables to enable a reader to locate parallel passages in the Gospels. The vertical rows of each grid contain numbers that correspond to sections in one of the Gospels; the chart is read horizontally. Fol. 10 of the London fragment contains the first canon, which correlates events narrated in all four Gospel books; fol. 11 preserves the eighth, ninth, and tenth canons, which list passages that appear in only two of the Gospels or that are unique to one or another of the texts.

The antique practice of using arcades to frame prefatory material was adapted to the system of Gospel concordance tables, but the London canon pages are elaborated in a most unclassical fashion. The architectural frame has been reduced to insubstantial bands; in addition, the columns and arches have been filled with a profusion of geometric and vegetal ornament unrelated to any physical structure. Curiously, the birds perched atop the arches, the plants that sprout from the corners, and the portraits of apostles in each table are rendered in a freer, more heavily modeled style. This coexistence of two modes, even in a single work, was not unusual during the seventh century, when artists were influenced by both the classical impulses of Byzantine art and by the more abstract tendencies of Oriental traditions.

A report that these folios were brought from Mt. Athos is the only indication of their provenance. The manuscript to which they belonged was probably made in Constantinople, the only center likely to have produced a splendid golden Gospel book during the seventh century. Nordenfalk (1938) has even speculated that Constantine's mau-



Detail of no. 442: Salome receiving the head of John the Baptist

soleum in the capital city inspired the artist of the prototype of these pages to introduce apostle portraits into the canon tables. He cites marble medallions from Istanbul as a possible source.

H. L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nordenfalk, 1938, pp. 127–146, and passim, pls. 1–4; Kitzinger, 1958, p. 31, fig. 25; Nordenfalk, 1963, pp. 17–33, figs. 3, 4.

442 Codex Sinopensis

Syria, 6th century

Vellum

43 fols.; 29.5 × 25 cm. (11½ × 9⅞ in.)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. gr. 1286

Forty-three leaves of a fragmentary Gospel book are preserved in the Codex Sinopensis. All contain the text of Matthew written in large gold uncials on fine purple vellum; five have narrative illustrations in the lower margins. The miniatures are closely tied to the text, both physically and in iconographic detail. The scenes showing Salome

receiving the head of John the Baptist and John's disciples discovering his body, for example, directly precede the account of the martyrdom in Matt. 14. The Sinope miniatures were probably excerpted from a richly illustrated Gospel cycle, like a much later example in Florence (Laurenziana, cod. Plut. VI, 23 [Velmans, 1971]). As in the Rossano Gospels (no. 443), to which the Sinopensis is related in style, paleography, and text, Old Testament figures accompany each narrative illustration and establish the providential nature of the Old Testament. The scene of Christ healing the blind men of Jericho (Matt. 20:31–34), for example, is flanked by portraits of David and Isaiah holding scrolls that bear the quotations "thou hast kept close guard before me and behind and hast spread thy hand over me" (Ps. 139:5) and "then shall blind men's eyes be opened" (Isa. 34:5).

The Bible story is enacted by delicately painted figures, whose gestures and gazes convey a mood of fervor and tension. Compared to the illustrations of the Vienna Genesis (no. 410) and Rossano Gospels (no. 443), the pictures are quite spare. The figures are painted directly on the tinted vellum and there are few landscape or architectural embellishments. Connections with the Rossano manu-

script and the Florence Gospels indicate that the Sinope pictures were excerpted from a rich narrative cycle.

The Bibliothèque Nationale acquired the Sinope fragments in 1900 from a French officer, Jean de la Taille, who had bought them from a Greek woman in Sinope, on the Black Sea, the previous year. Another, unillustrated folio from the volume is reported to be in Mariupol (Zhdanov).

H. L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grabar, 1948; Cavallo, 1967, pp. 97-104.

*443 Rossano Gospels

Syria, 6th century
Silver and gold on vellum
188 fols.; 30.7 × 26 cm. (12½ × 10¼ in.)
Rossano, Cathedral Library

The fragmentary codex in the cathedral library of Rossano is the oldest illustrated Gospel book known today. Like the closely related Vienna

*Fol. 8r of no. 443: top, Christ before Pilate;
bottom, death of Judas*



Genesis (no. 410), Sinope fragments (no. 442), and Codex Petropolitanus (no. 444), the Rossano Gospels is a manuscript of great opulence. It contains the texts of Matthew and Mark written in fine silver and gold uncials on purple vellum.

In contrast to the illustrations in its sister manuscripts, the miniatures of the Rossano Gospels do not follow the Bible. Set apart from the text, they are arranged at the front of the volume and follow the sequence of readings recited in church during Lent. Old Testament figures bearing quotations associated with the Gospel episodes are depicted beneath each narrative scene, and they, too, are derived from the liturgy. Fol. 3r, for example, presents the Last Supper as reported in Matt. 26 and Christ washing the disciples' feet as told in John 13, above portraits of David and Zephaniah holding scrolls inscribed with prophetic passages. The excerpt from Ps. 41:9, "even the friend whom I trusted, who ate at my table, exults over my misfortune," for instance, is clearly associated with the Last Supper and, because of that, was read in church on Holy Thursday. The liturgical character of the Rossano illustrations suggests that they may have been copied from a lectionary, a book used in the church service; the readings from Matt. 26 and John 13, for example, occur on a single page in lectionaries. Loerke (1961; 1975) has presented interesting arguments, however, that the immediate model of the Rossano miniatures was a cycle of monumental paintings that reflected liturgical practice. Certainly, the two pages depicting Christ before Pilate (fols. 8r, 8v) were copied from mural paintings. Their arched frames and symmetrical organizations resemble apse compositions, and Loerke has advanced the theory that they were copied from fifth-century frescoes or mosaics in the domus Pilati in Jerusalem. One miniature, the portrait of St. Mark (fol. 121r), belongs entirely within manuscript traditions. Although the Rossano Mark is the sole Byzantine example that survives from the preiconoclastic period, evangelist pictures were usual features of medieval Gospel books. They derive from the Hellenistic practice of including author portraits in illustrated books; even the mysterious woman robed in blue (Holy Wisdom?), who inspires Mark's work, has antecedents in the personifications included in many antique portraits (no. 179).

The Rossano miniatures are painted with extraordinary refinement and economy. Like the

illustrations in the Vienna Genesis and Sinope fragments, they distill the narrative action in a few, convincing gestures. Hellenistic naturalism survives in the soft, highlighted garments, dramatic action, and details of setting. Christ's trial, for example, is depicted as an authentic court procedure. Nevertheless, a weakening of classical verisimilitude and vigor is evident throughout the manuscript; in the Mark page, the personification and garden wall appear flattened and show a tendency toward abstract pattern.

The Rossano Gospels was already a treasure of the cathedral when it first was noted by a Neapolitan journalist, Cesare Malpica, in 1845.

H. L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Muñoz, 1907; Loerke, 1961; Loerke, 1975.

444 Leaf from the Codex Petropolitanus

Probably Syria, late 6th century

Silver and gold on vellum

30.5 × 25.5 cm. (12 × 10¹/₁₆ in.)

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 874

This leaf, containing the text of Matt. 15:38–16:7, is from a sumptuous Gospel book known as the Codex Petropolitanus ("Codex N"). The codex is not decorated; the metal uncials on tinted vellum are its principal ornament. Only the nomina sacra relieve the uniform rows of tall silver letters. In this leaf, for example, the nomen sacrum, IC (IHCOVC) is substituted for Christ's name. Nomina sacra derive from the Jewish reluctance to write God's name, and they appear in virtually every Christian manuscript produced during the Middle Ages.

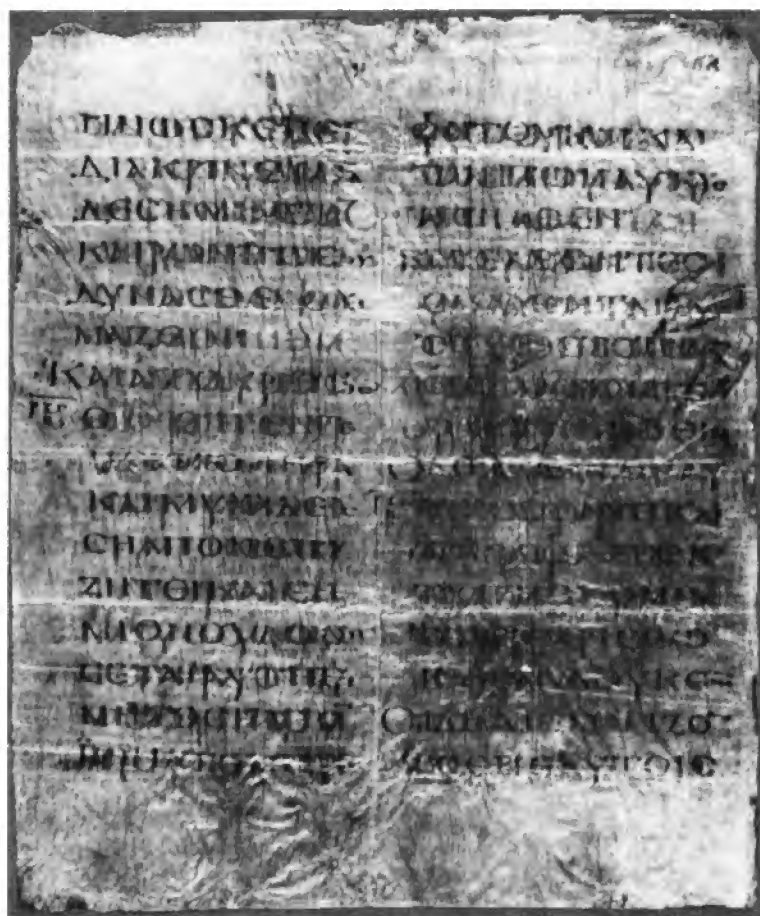
Textual irregularities, paleography, and technique suggest a common ancestry for the Codex Petropolitanus and three other early Gospel books: the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae (Albania), the Rossano Gospels (no. 443), and the Sinope fragments (no. 442). Scholars concur that this group dates from the sixth century, but they do not agree about its place of origin. While a majority favor Syria, Constantinople has proponents, who cite the lavish

use of precious metals and the extraordinarily fine purple vellum as evidence of imperial patronage. Even if the manuscript was produced for the emperor, however, it need not have been made in the capital.

Leaves from the Codex Petropolitanus had been dispersed as early as the seventeenth century; others are preserved in Leningrad, Patmos, the Vatican, London, Athens, Lerna, Thessalonike, and Vienna. The Arabic numbering of the New York folio indicates that it was still a part of the volume when the remains were assembled in 1820. The page must have been removed before 1896 when the tsar acquired the bulk of the manuscript; it was bought by the Morgan Library in 1955.

H. L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rypins, 1956; de Ricci, 1962, p. 367; Cavallo, 1967, pp. 98–104.





444a Acts of the Apostles

Egypt, about 400

Vellum

109 fols.; 12.4 × 9.8 cm. (4 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, William S.

Glazier Collection, G. 67

Although the codex, called the Glazier codex after its former owner, contains only chapters 1 through 15:2 of the Acts text, it seems to be one of the few manuscripts from the Early Christian period to have survived intact. Presumably, the second half of Acts was contained in a companion volume. The text is written in an archaic Coptic dialect known as Middle Egyptian Proper. Even the binding seems to be original. The wooden boards fastened by a tooled leather spine and closed by wrapping bands and ornamented bone pieces provide rare evidence of early binding techniques.

A full-page miniature of a large cross surrounded by peacocks, branches, and doves at the end of the manuscript is the sole decoration. The miniature conforms to a widespread Early Christian practice of terminating books with ornamental crosses (cf. the Latin mss., Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria,

Cod. 701; Dublin, Trinity College, Cod. Ussherianus 1). The form of the cross in the Glazier codex is, however, peculiarly Coptic. The looped upper arm derives from an Egyptian hieroglyph, the ankh, meaning "life." Ankh-crosses appear on many Coptic textiles and sculptures, because Egyptian Christians read the hieroglyph as prophetic evidence of Christ's coming and adopted the hieroglyphic form for their own use. The ankh-cross is one of numerous examples of Christian willingness to assimilate pagan motifs in religious art. The branches and birds, which as symbols of peace appear frequently on Early Christian monuments, may in this context refer to the Resurrection.

Interlaced ribbons, like those that decorate the surface of the cross, appear in many Coptic works, but the Glazier codex is the only surviving example of interlace patterns in a manuscript. Cross pages ornamented with interlace designs are a feature of later Hiberno-Saxon manuscripts (cf. the famous Book of Durrow, Dublin, Trinity College, Ms. 57) and Bober (1967) has suggested that the spectacular development of seventh-century Northumbrian art may have been based, in part, on Coptic sources.

To support his hypothesis, Bober cites such an anticlassical feature as the color mutations along the interlace bands that appear in the Glazier manuscript and in insular books.

No record of the manuscript exists prior to 1961. William S. Glazier acquired the codex in 1962; it is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library with the Glazier collection.

H. L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kebabian, 1967; Bober, 1967; Plummer, 1968, pp. 7–8; Nordenfalk, 1970, pp. 64–65, 138; Leroy, 1974, pl. 2. fig. 1.

*445 Rabbula Gospels

Northern Mesopotamia, 586

Vellum

292 fols.; 33.6 × 26.6 cm. (13¼ × 10⅞ in.)

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, cod. Plut. I, 56

In 586, the scribe Rabbula, working in the monastery of St. John at Beth Sagba, completed the Syriac Gospel book that today bears his name. Rabbula's bold estrangelo lettering has won high praise, but it is the anonymous pictorial decoration that accounts for the manuscript's fame. This decoration, which is confined to the first fourteen folios, comprises eight full-page miniatures and a set of canon tables adorned with portraits and scenes from the New Testament.

Bright, fluid colors and agitated brushwork distinguish the Syriac style from the more refined illusionism of Constantinopolitan and Syro-Palestinian manuscripts (nos. 179, 442, 443), but even in this late sixth-century work from northern Mesopotamia, the Hellenistic heritage is strong. Lively, expressive figures enact the biblical drama in spacious, airy settings. The Crucifixion, for example, is rich in narrative detail and includes such topographical features as the mountains of Gareb and Agra behind Golgotha.

Scholars have long deduced that the formal, hieratic character of the full-page pictures derives from monumental paintings, and Weitzmann (1974) has recently adduced specific sites for the prototypes: the chapel of the Holy Spirit in the Sion Church (Pentecost), the church on the Mt. of

Olives (Ascension), and the church on Golgotha (Crucifixion). Close iconographic parallels in such works as the ampullae (nos. 524, 526, 527) and the lid of the Sancta Sanctorum reliquary box (fig. 76) support the conclusion that models of certain Rabbula Gospels miniatures originated in the environs of Jerusalem. Features of the *loca sancta* also intruded into the tiny scenes painted alongside the canon tables, but the model of these marginal pictures was certainly a narrative cycle, perhaps an illustrated Gospels. Similar scenes adorn the canon tables in the closely related Syriac Gospels in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. syr. 33). The sequence is chronological and has no specific relation to the passage referred to in the accompanying concordance. Similarly, the portraits of Old Testament figures painted above the Gospel episodes suggest the Messianic predictions but lack the precise relationship of prophecy and fulfillment that is established in the Sinope and Rossano Gospels (nos. 442, 443).

Notes in the codex provide a general provenance. During the twelfth century, the Gospel book belonged to the monastery of Maiphuc in the

Fol. 14v of no. 445: Pentecost with apostles and Virgin



province of Bostra and passed from there to Kanubin. The manuscript came into the possession of the Laurenziana at the end of the fifteenth century.

H. L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cecchelli, Furlani, and Salmi, 1959; Leroy, 1964, pp. 139–206; Wright, 1973; Weitzmann, 1974.

446 Ring

Syria-Palestine (?), 7th century

Gold and niello

Diam. 2.5 cm. (1 in.)

Washington, D. C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 47.15

This octagonal ring, its decoration engraved and inlaid with niello, is in good condition except for minor scratches, the abrasion of some niello, and the loss from the bezel of what were probably inset gems. The seven faces of the ring's shank bear New Testament scenes: the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, presentation in the temple, Baptism, Crucifixion, and Christ appearing to the two Marys. The eighth face supports a flat, square-shaped bezel with rounded projections. Over the engraved word OMONVA ("Concord") is represented the blessing of the nuptial couple: at the center of the composition, Christ and the Virgin raise their arms to bless the groom at the left and the bride at the right. Around the edge of the bezel is inscribed a prayer: ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΟΥΛΟΥΣ ΣΟΥ ΠΕΤΡΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΔΟΤΙΣ ("Lord, help Thy servants, Peter and Theodote"); on the edges of the shank is John 14: 27: ΕΙΠΙΝ ΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΜΗΝ ΑΦΙΗΜΗ VMΗΝ (and below): ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΜΗΝ ΔΗΔΩΜΕ VMΗΝ ("My peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you").

The Dumbarton Oaks ring is one of four similar octagonal gold rings with scenes from the life of Christ in niello; the others are in the National

Museum, Palermo, the British Museum, and the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (Engemann [3], 1973, figs. 4–6). In addition to minor compositional variations, those rings differ from this example in their substitution of the Adoration of the Magi for the presentation in the temple, and the Women at the Tomb for Christ appearing to the two Marys. Moreover, the Baltimore ring shows on its bezel the Ascension of Christ in place of the blessing of the couple.

Iconographically, these rings are very closely related in the number, choice, and configuration of their scenes to a series of embossed metal pilgrims' flasks in Monza and Bobbio (Grabar, 1958, nos. 2, 18, 19), to a silver armband in Cairo (Engemann [3], 1973, fig. 3), and to a large group of bronze censers (e.g., nos. 563, 564). Also closely linked through both iconography and style are the niello scenes on the Fieschi-Morgan staurothek (no. 574). The flasks and censers are usually dated to the sixth to seventh century and are assigned to Syro-Palestinian workshops; the staurothek, which should be dated later, has also been localized to the Holy Land. Thus, despite the fact that the Palermo ring was discovered with a group of coins minted for Constans II, it and its three companions were likely the products of a Syro-Palestinian workshop.

The flasks and censers are thought to have been mass-produced pilgrims' souvenirs, whose cycle of New Testament scenes was intended to commemorate visits to specific holy sites. The Dumbarton Oaks ring likely served the same function, although it is clearly intended for a wealthy client. The scene on its bezel was probably not conceived as an evocation of the marriage ceremony but rather as a direct appeal for divine guardianship of the nuptial couple. The addition of the loca sancta cycle would not only evoke the memory of specific holy places but would enhance the ring's protective powers, giving it an amulet-like quality similar to that of the flasks, which were worn around the neck to ensure a safe journey.

Formerly in the Paris collections of Pichon and Guilhou. Purchased from Joseph Brummer in 1947.

G. V.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ross, 1965, II, pp. 58–59, no. 69, pls. XLIII, color pl. E; Volbach and Lafontaine-Dosogne, 1968, p. 196 pl. 736; Engemann (3), 1973, pp. 20–21, pl. 11c; Köttsche-Breitenbruch, 1973, col. 209.



447 Pyxis with scenes from the infancy of Christ

Syria-Palestine, 6th century

Ivory

7.9, diam. 11.8 cm. ($3\frac{1}{8}$, $4\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, 585

The surface of the pyxis is rubbed, and there are several large cracks and bored holes. The lid is missing. Beneath the space reserved for the lock is a jeweled cross set within a laurel wreath. To its right is the Annunciation. Mary is seated on a faldistorium, and, in accordance with the accounts in the Protevangelium of James (11) and Pseudo-Matthew (9), she is spinning wool. The angel approaches on the right, his hand extended in a gesture of speech. The awkward position of Mary's arm and shoulder suggests that the model for this scene was perhaps an Annunciation from the left, as on the related Cleveland pyxis (no. 519), which the carver modified with limited success. Next is the journey to Bethlehem. Mary sits sidesaddle on the ass. Her right arm tenderly encircles Joseph's neck; he supports her foot. A similar version of the scene appears on the Maximianus cathedra and related ivories (Volbach, 1976, nos. 140, 145). In accordance with the account of Pseudo-Matthew (13), the ass is led by an angel. The final scene is the Nativity. The Christ child lies in a large rectangular masonry crib. Above his feet is the star of Bethlehem. Kneeling before the crib is Salome, the disbelieving midwife whose withered hand was miraculously healed when she touched the Christ child, a story recorded in the versions of the Protevangelium (20) and Pseudo-Matthew (13). Mary reclines on a mattress on the right and turns her head toward an angel, who approaches carrying a lamp or censer in his right hand and holding a cross-staff in his left. He is perhaps the angel who instructed Salome to touch the Christ child. Similar versions of the scene appear on ivory plaques in London (no. 476) and Manchester (no. 457).

The pyxis is related in style to the group of ivories associated with the Murano diptych (fig. 59) and including the Metropolitan and Cleveland pyxides (nos. 549, 519). The scenes are set against



No. 447: above, journey to Bethlehem; below, Nativity



a neutral background. Figures are characterized by large square heads set on thin-limbed bodies, and gazes are directed outward toward the observer. Bodies are clearly indicated beneath the drapery, which is carved with sharp curving lines. This style contrasts with the use of architectural backgrounds and decorative drapery patterns characteristic of the Maximianus cathedra and related ivories. Given the relationship with ivories of the Murano group, a date in the early sixth century and a Syro-Palestinian provenance appear likely, but precise localization must await further evidence.

A. S. T. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wessel, 1952–1953, p. 71; Volbach (3), 1962, p. 85, fig. 9; Volbach, 1976, no. 174.

**448 Plaque with Annunciation

Syria-Palestine, late 7th–8th century

Ivory

19.8 × 9.4 cm. ($7\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Milan, Castello Sforzesco, Civiche Raccolte d'Arte
applicata ed Incisioni, Avori 14

Except for the long crack, several drill holes, and a broken section at its base, this plaque is in excellent condition. On it is portrayed the Annunciation, with Gabriel (ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ) approaching



from the left and Mary (Η ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ) standing passively at the right. While the corporeality of Gabriel's torso and the subtle texture of his garments recall the refined classicism of the sixth-century St. Michael plaque in London (no. 481), the patternized folds of the Virgin's paenula, the mannered refinement of her hands, her staring eyes, and the irrationality of the background architecture follow an essentially medieval aesthetic.

This plaque has long been recognized as the finest, most classical, and, accordingly, the earliest of a series of fourteen ivory reliefs whose date, localization, and purpose have provoked widely divergent opinions. Because five of the reliefs illustrate events from the life of St. Mark (no. 456), Graeven (1899) associated the whole group with a cathedra of that saint supposedly made in Alexandria (about 600) and presented by Heraclius to the cathedral of Grado. Other scholars have noted close iconographic parallels between some of these plaques and several of the eleventh-century Salerno ivories, and accordingly have assigned the group to that period and to southern Italy. In a recent reexamination of the question, Weitzmann ([2], 1972) has advanced stylistic, textual, and paleographic evidence to refute both datings, suggesting instead an origin in eighth-century Syria or Palestine. He emphasized local parallels for the patterned double-line drapery folds and staring eyes characteristic of the group; and he noted similarities between the decorative columns framing the Virgin and colonnettes of the Umayyad palace at Khirbat al Mafjar (724–743), and between the distinctive Η ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ monogram and the inscriptions on a group of Sinai icons which he considers to be Palestinian.

Within its group, the Milan Annunciation is most closely related to a Nativity plaque in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (no. 521), whose emphasis on the locus sanctus of Bethlehem adds further support to a Palestinian localization. The two clearly stand apart from the other related ivories in their adherence to classical aesthetic values. Accordingly, they are placed at the head of a workshop tradition that likely spanned several generations. If Weitzmann's analysis ([2], 1972) is correct, these plaques would rank with the mosaics of the Great Mosque in Damascus as witnesses to the perpetuation of a highly developed artistic tradition in Umayyad Syro-Palestine.

Citing the S. Ambrogio doors in Milan and the Sta. Sabina doors in Rome (no. 438), as well as surviving parallels in Egypt, Weitzmann ([2], 1972) has suggested that the Annunciation and Nativity plaques may have formed part of an extensive New Testament cycle aligned in alternating vertical and horizontal rows on a set of doors.

Perhaps in Amalfi in the eleventh century. From the Trivulzio collection, Milan.

G. V.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graeven, 1899; Goldschmidt, 1926, IV, no. 123, pl. xli; Weitzmann (1), 1972, pp. 40–41, fig. 16; Weitzmann (2), 1972, pp. 43–91, fig. 1; Volbach, 1976, no. 251.

449 Pyxis with Nativity

Syria-Palestine (?), 5th–6th century

Ivory

10, diam. 10.5 cm. ($3\frac{1}{16}$, $4\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Essen-Werden, Probsteikirche St. Ludgerus

Except for occasional chips and drill holes, and the loss of the original ivory lid, this pyxis is in very good condition. Two compositions decorate its oval circumference: the Nativity of Christ and the annunciation to the shepherds.

The Nativity shows several distinctive iconographic elements, including Joseph's brooding posture, the large mattress on which the Virgin lies, and, most significantly, the conspicuous altarlike manger with a "niche" in its base. These motifs are found in a number of early Syro-Palestinian monuments, including the Sancta Sanctorum reliquary lid in the Vatican (fig. 76). The unusual manger may even reflect the actual stone altar in the Nativity grotto at Bethlehem; it is among the most characteristic motifs marking the series of New Testament scenes developed in association with the famous pilgrimage sites of the Holy Land. That the iconography in the Werden pyxis' annunciation to the shepherds may also be characteristically Palestinian is suggested by the appearance of similar compositions on other objects thought to be Syro-Palestinian; these include several cast bronze censers (Elbern, 1970, p. 14, fig. 9) and an ivory plaque in a Paris collection (Volbach, 1976, no. 133). Also closely related are the shepherds appearing on pyxides in Florence and Rouen (Volbach, 1976, nos. 171, 173). Like the Nativity, this scene may ultimately reflect a composition developed in conjunction with a holy site.

Among the several dozen ivory pyxides from the Early Christian period, the one in Werden is distinguished by the technical skill of its carver and by the classical style of its figure types. The subtle modeling of the shepherds' bodies is

No. 449: left, Nativity; right, annunciation to the shepherds



especially striking, as is the vivid evocation of receding space conveyed by the interplay of several levels of relief. Joseph's pose recalls that of an antique philosopher absorbed in thought; the two striding shepherds evoke ecstatic satyrs in a Dionysiac procession. Stylistically, the Werden pyxis has been associated with the Maximianus cathedra (fig. 60), which is generally attributed to Constantinople. At the same time, its apparently Palestinian iconography and its stylistic links to a Palestinian icon in the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai (Weitzmann, 1976, I, no. B.22) suggest that it was produced in the Holy Land.

The decoration on a number of Early Christian pyxides suggests that they were intended for use in the Divine Liturgy (no. 549), perhaps to hold incense. Such a use would be especially appropriate for the Werden pyxis, since its image of Christ on the altar has an obvious eucharistic symbolism.

G. V.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wessel, 1953–1954, p. 2; Schnitzler, 1957, I, pp. 9, 34, no. 51, pls. 162, 163; Elbern, 1970, p. 14; Testini, 1972, pp. 316–318, fig. 27; Volbach, 1976, no. 169; Weitzmann, 1976, I, p. 47, fig. 23.

450 Andrews diptych

North Italy, about 450–460

Ivory

Each leaf, 30.5 × 9.8 cm. (12 × 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

London, Victoria and Albert Museum, A 47, 47A–1926

Except for a break in the lower right corner of the front panel and a keyhole introduced into the rear plaque, the diptych is in excellent condition. In the recesses left for wax on the inside of the plaques, two standing saints, now almost totally faded, were painted at a later date, probably between the ninth and twelfth centuries (Beckwith [2], 1958).

Both leaves are framed by a border of egg-and-dart decoration and divided into nearly square fields by bands of acanthus motif. Each field

contains one of Christ's miracles: on the front panel, the Raising of Lazarus, the Miracle of Cana, and the healing of the leper; on the back are the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes, the healing of the blind man, and the healing of the paralytic. In these scenes, Christ is accompanied by witnesses and participants. Trees and various types of buildings provide a backdrop in all six fields.

The rather schematic handling of these architectural backgrounds has led Volbach (1976) and Wessel (1957) to view the diptych as a ninth-century copy of an Early Christian ivory. The minute, carefully rendered brickwork is especially common on fourth- to fifth-century ivories, however (no. 453). The predominant opinion (MacLagan, 1923; Delbrueck, 1929, no. 70; Beckwith [2], 1958) is that the diptych was produced in northern Italy toward the middle of the fifth century. The stocky figures with round heads set close to the shoulders and the heavy drapery folds connect the relief to other northern Italian ivories related to the Venatio plaque in Liverpool (no. 84).

The iconography of each scene on the Andrews diptych has precedent in earlier sarcophagi (no. 374), ivory plaques (nos. 406, 407), and wood carving (no. 438), but the diptych is unusual in its restriction to Christ's miracles. The healing of the leper is the only scene not depicted in Early Christian art; the Andrews diptych composition may have been based on the Old Testament scene of Job's suffering (no. 386), which it closely resembles. The sequence of scenes is paralleled in the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (Ottolenghi, 1935, p. 14), and must have been based on a similar cycle. Large diptychs decorated with Christian scenes were probably used from an early date during the Mass or perhaps to record the names of deceased parishioners, donors, or saints recited in the litany.

The diptych was once in the cathedral of Palermo and later in the Currie collection. Given by F. E. Andrews through the National Art-Collection Fund to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: MacLagan, 1923; Wessel, 1953; Wessel, 1957; Beckwith (2), 1958, pls. 1–7; Volbach, 1976, no. 233.



**451 Lintel with Entry into Jerusalem and Ascension

Egypt, 4th–6th century

Wood

36 × 274 cm. (14 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 107 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Cairo, Coptic Museum, 753

Sections of the inscription are lost; the surface of the relief—in particular, of the Ascension—is abraded, and the carving was restored in 1937; but the lintel remains a rare example of Early Christian architectural decoration and an important example of Coptic sculpture.

It presents two triumphal scenes: Christ's Entry into Jerusalem and his Ascension. The former recalls, in general, such portrayals as that on the ivory pyxis in Cleveland (no. 519), but it departs from the traditional scheme by showing Christ unaccompanied by disciples and already within the walls of Jerusalem. Christ is greeted by three citizens: a boy who spreads a garment beneath the hooves of the ass, a man carrying a book and palm branch, and a dancing woman. The latter is the "daughter of Zion" mentioned in John 12:15. Grabar (1970) has suggested that the two bearded men behind the woman are Isaiah and Zechariah, because both prophets referred to the "daughter of Zion" (Isa. 62:11; Zech. 9:9). The Ascension also resembles the standard manner for portraying the event, but it includes unusual features. Christ, enthroned in a mandorla, is borne to heaven by angels and by the lion and ox of Ezekiel's vision, while Mary and twelve other spectators witness the ascent. Both narrative scenes are permeated with theological references, some of which are explicated by a long Greek hymn that describes Christ's ascent and refers specifically to the presence of Mary, Mother of God.

Detail of no. 451: Christ's Entry into Jerusalem



A reference to the "fifty-first year of Diocletian" has led Sacopoulo (1957) and others to date the lintel to 335. A fourth-century date seems to be confirmed by the apparent Athanasian character of the work and by the fact that Mary is not addressed as *Theotokos*, as was usual after the Council of Chalcedon in 451. The vigorous, expressive figures show a fresh acquaintance with Hellenistic conventions, but the sharp, brittle carving and exaggerated gestures, as well as the iconographic formulae, compare with such later Coptic ivories as the comb from Antinoë (no. 567) and suggest that the lintel may date as late as the sixth century.

The church of al-Mo'allaga, from which this lintel comes, was dedicated to Mary, who is featured in the carving. There is no evidence to support Sacopoulo's (1957) suggestion that the lintel was intended for another building.

H. L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sacopoulo, 1957; Beckwith, 1963, pp. 13 ff., figs. 41–43; Grabar, 1970.

452 Four plaques with Passion scenes

Rome, about 420–430

Ivory

7.5 × 9.8 cm. (2 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

London, The Trustees of the British Museum, 56, 6–23, 4–7

The four plaques from a casket have suffered some damage. The upper left corner of the Pilate plaque is lost; the trunk of the tree in the Crucifixion scene has been restored and the lance of Longinus is missing; the door of the domed tomb in the Marys scene has been partially broken off; hinge mounts have injured the Doubting Thomas plaque and the thumb of Christ's raised hand is missing. Surface details, especially facial features, on all four ivories have been worn away by abrasion.

On the first plaque, Pilate washing his hands, Christ carrying the cross, and the denial of Peter are portrayed. The last two scenes have been



merged, so that the Roman soldier accompanying Christ seems to be directing him toward Peter. The apostle sits behind a brazier; a woman points at him accusingly, and a rooster, whose crowing signified the fulfillment of Christ's prophecy, is perched behind him. On the second plaque, the Crucifixion is juxtaposed with the death of Judas. Mary and John stand to the left of Christ, and Longinus, his arm raised, is seen to the right of the Savior. Christ's eyes are open: he is the victor over death. Over his head is inscribed: *REX IUD(aeorum)* ("King of the Jews"). Judas hangs from a tree at the left, a sack spilling coins lying at his feet. A bird feeding her young symbolizes the life-giving power of Christ's death. The third plaque portrays only one event—the two Marys at Christ's tomb. Corresponding to mourning figures on ancient funerary monuments, the women sit on either side

of the tomb, while the soldiers sleep in the foreground. The fourth plaque presents the disbelieving Thomas probing Christ's wound in the presence of three other apostles.

The nearly three-dimensional carving of the London plaques recalls that of the Munich Ascension ivory (fig. 67), while the facial features and squat proportions of the figures closely resemble those of the Probianus diptych (no. 53) and especially of the Peter and Paul ivories in London (no. 455). All of these ivories are products of a Roman workshop and represent a diminution of the classical impulse best represented by the Nicomachi-Symmachi diptych (nos. 165, 166).

Although some scholars have attributed the Passion plaques to north Italy on the basis of iconography, parallel subject matter can be found on Roman works. The Crucifixion here, which is



the earliest known portrayal of this important theme, predates by only a few years that on the carved door of Sta. Sabina in Rome (no. 438), which also contains a sequence of scenes showing Pilate and Christ carrying the cross. Similarly detailed cycles appear on the Passion sarcophagi, in the nave mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, and on the Brescia ivory casket (fig. 87).

An illustrated Passion text has been the presumed model for the Brescia casket, and such descriptive details on the London plaques as the brazier and Judas' coins point to the same origin.

The plaques must have come from a casket similar to that in Brescia. The function of such decorated ivory boxes, whether private or ecclesiastical, is unknown.

Acquired in 1856 from the Maskell collection, London.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delbrueck (3), 1952, pp. 95–98; Ottolenghi, 1955, p. 19, fig. 23; Beckwith (2), 1958, pp. 31–34, fig. 41; Kollwitz, 1959, pp. 1119–1121; Volbach, 1976, no. 116.

****453 Leaf from a diptych with Women at the Tomb**

Rome, about 400

Ivory

30.7 × 13.4 cm. (12 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Milan, Castello Sforzesco, Civiche Raccolte d'Arte applicata ed Incisioni, Avori 9

This ivory plaque is in excellent condition except for a long crack and several drill holes along its right side. On it is represented the Holy Sepulcher, whose ornamented roof line divides the relief into two equal parts. In the upper half, beneath the symbols for Matthew (angel) and Luke (calf), are two Roman guards struck down with fear at the opening of the tomb (Matt. 28:4). In the lower half, before the tomb's open doors (decorated with the Raising of Lazarus and Christ addressing Zacchaeus), is a scene generally interpreted as the angel announcing to Mary Magdalene and Mary, mother of James, that Christ had risen (Matt. 28:1–6).

Weitzmann has interpreted this composition as representing a conflation of the scene of announcement with the subsequent episode of Christ appearing to the two Marys, the so-called Chairete (Matt. 28:9–10), since in conformity with the later text passage, the women are shown bowing in adoration, grasping the feet of the seated figure. Moreover, Weitzmann has discovered a seventh-century icon of the Chairete on Mt. Sinai (1976, I, no. B.27), in which the gestures and attitudes of the two women precisely match those in the Milan ivory. He suggests that the seated figure, whose pose and position before the tomb conform to the earlier passage (cf. the Munich Ascension ivory, fig. 67), has been reinterpreted as Christ through the addition of a halo and a scroll in his left hand. According to this interpretation, the Milan ivory is an early witness to a narrative pictorial tradition whose other members include, in addition to the Sinai icon, the Rabbula Gospels (no. 445).

As the presence of just two evangelist symbols would suggest, this plaque probably formed half of a diptych. And, like other such Early Christian diptychs, it was probably used in the celebration of the Divine Liturgy—on its reverse would be inscribed the names of the living and the dead for whom prayers were said during the service. Resurrection iconography would, of course, be fully appropriate to such a function.

This is one of the finest plaques to have survived from the Early Christian period. Stylistically, it belongs to an impressive group of pagan and Christian ivories generally thought to reflect a revival of Hellenistic excellence and taste fostered by wealthy Roman families in the late fourth century. Among its closest relatives are the Nicomachi-Symmachi (nos. 165, 166) and Probianus diptychs (no. 53), which share its ornamental motifs, and the Munich Ascension plaque (fig. 67), which is both stylistically and iconographically related.

From the Trivulzio collection, Milan.

G. V.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weitzmann, 1966, pp. 321 f., pl. 81b; Volbach, 1976, no. 111; Weitzmann, 1976, I, no. B. 27.

454 Diptych with Old and New Testament scenes

Rome (?), about 400

Ivory

29.6 × 12.7 cm. (11 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 5 in.)

Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Carrand Collection 20

The two leaves of this well-preserved diptych oppose scenes from the Old and New Testaments. On the left, Adam is seated in paradise surrounded by animals (from upper left): eagle, bird, leopard, lioness, lion, bear, boar, fox, elephant, horse, goat, lizard, serpent, ox, grasshopper, sheep, stag, and doe. The four rivers of Eden are depicted at the bottom of the plaque. Whereas the scene may relate to the naming of the animals described in Gen. 2:20, the carver, who fashioned his portrayal after representations of Orpheus (no. 161), may have intended only a general reference to Adam in paradise. The right leaf illustrates episodes from the Acts of the Apostles. At the top, Paul (recognizable by his bald head and beard) addresses a man who stands on a platform before him. The scene may portray Paul in Caesarea, defending his belief in Christ's Resurrection to King Agrippa (Acts 25:13–32). The following scenes present two miraculous events that took place when Paul was shipwrecked on Malta. Paul is attacked but not killed by a viper that had emerged from a fire (Acts 28:1–6). The sick men of Malta are brought to Paul to be healed (Acts 28:7–10); one of them clearly is Publius' father, who was wasted by "recurrent bouts of fever and dysentery"; the other suffers from a paralyzed arm.

The refined style and precise execution of the diptych recall the finest ivories of the Early Christian period—among others, the Brescia casket (fig. 87) and Stilicho diptych in Monza (Volbach, 1976, no. 63). The supple draperies revealing limbs beneath the garments, clear details, differentiation of textures, and varied poses display striking affinities with features of these and other ivories produced in Italy around the turn of the fifth century. Several scholars have, nonetheless, attributed the diptych to Constantinople. Stylistic disparities occur between the two wings, probably because the Genesis and Acts scenes were copied from different models and were intended to serve



different purposes. The Old Testament depiction is a single, bucolic image in which figures are important but in which space is not needed to present action; the illustrations from Paul's life, on the other hand, were taken from an illustrated Book of Acts and are strictly narrative in character.

The unusual juxtaposition of Adam with scenes of St. Paul may reflect fifth-century religious concerns. The illustrations of Acts 25–28 on the ivory are extremely rare in the history of medieval art, and it may be significant that the best parallels to them are found among the nearly contemporary frescoes in S. Paolo fuori le mura (no. 439). The miracle of the viper had special meaning in Rome at the start of the fifth century. Prudentius opens his powerful defense of Christianity against the pagan aristocracy in Rome, *Contra orationem Symmachi* (written about 405), by recounting the episode at length. He likens the viper that attacked Paul to the Roman prefect Symmachus, whose "poisonous talent was poured out without effect and stopped short on the surface of the Christians' skin" (1. 78–79 [Thomson, 1962, I, pp. 345–349]). In this context, Adam in paradise would simply stand for the commencement of the sacred history, while the scenes from Acts would recall Paul, "the herald of God, who first with his holy pen subdued the wild hearts of the Gentiles and . . . propagated the knowledge of Christ" (1. 1–3). According to Prudentius, Paul's mission was being completed just when the diptych was produced in Rome, a city "still sick with pagan errors."

Reported first in the region of Mainz, the diptych entered the Museo Nazionale del Bargello as part of the Carrand collection.

H. L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, 1976, no. 108.

455 Three plaques from a casket with apostle scenes

Rome, about 430

Ivory

4.2 × 9.8 cm. (1 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

London, The Trustees of the British Museum, 56, 6–23, 8, 9, and 10

The surface details of these three ivory plaques have been partially rubbed away and the plaques are pierced by drill holes. Two fragments decorated with acanthus vines and flowers, also in London, seem to belong to the same casket.

The first plaque portrays an apocryphal miracle of Peter. The scene has been erroneously identified as Moses' Water Miracle, but the figures at the right bending toward the stream are not Israelites. They are clearly identified by their fur hats (*pileus ex pellibus*) as Roman soldiers. The vignette can be identified with certainty, therefore, as an illus-



tration of the legend in which Peter brings forth water from a rock so that he can baptize the two soldiers he had converted while in prison. A witness to the miracle, holding a roll, stands before a gate. This legend was first referred to in a written source in the sixth- or seventh-century "Martyrium Petri Apostoli a Lino episcopo" and later in the "Passio Processi et Martiani"; but it was already popular in pictorial works of the fourth and fifth centuries (cf. no. 374). Especially in Rome, Peter was revered as a new leader of God's people, a second Moses; and the legend of Peter's miracle probably originated as an analogue to the Water Miracle of Moses. On the second plaque, which depicts Peter resurrecting Tabitha (Acts 9:40–41), a similar witness stands behind Peter. The apostle extends his hand toward the woman, who sits upright on her deathbed. A companion of the ailing Tabitha crouches at Peter's feet, and, at the left, another woman flees in terror. The third plaque depicts two episodes from the life of St. Paul: the apocryphal tale of Thecla listening to Paul reading is shown at the left (*Acta Pauli* 7); and at the right is a representation of the stoning of Paul.

The style of the reliefs is Roman. The figures have the large, round heads and energetic gestures that belong to the same late Roman tradition as the Probianus diptych (no. 53) and the London Passion ivories (no. 452). The Peter and Paul plaques, however, are somewhat later.

It is likely that these scenes from the lives of two apostles originated in an extended narrative cycle, perhaps a now lost illustrated apocryphal text. Neither the detailed cycle in the nave of S. Paolo fuori le mura in Rome (no. 440) nor the illustrated Carolingian and Byzantine manuscripts can be connected with it.

The Peter and Paul ivories are important evidence of the variety of Early Christian narrative art, which also included apostolic cycles.

Acquired from the Maskell collection, London.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Beckwith (1), 1958, p. 5, fig. 6; Kollwitz, 1959, p. 1122; Volbach, 1976, no. 117.

456 Plaque with scene from life of St. Mark

Syria-Palestine, 8th century

Ivory

19.2 × 8.5 cm. (7 $\frac{5}{16}$ × 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

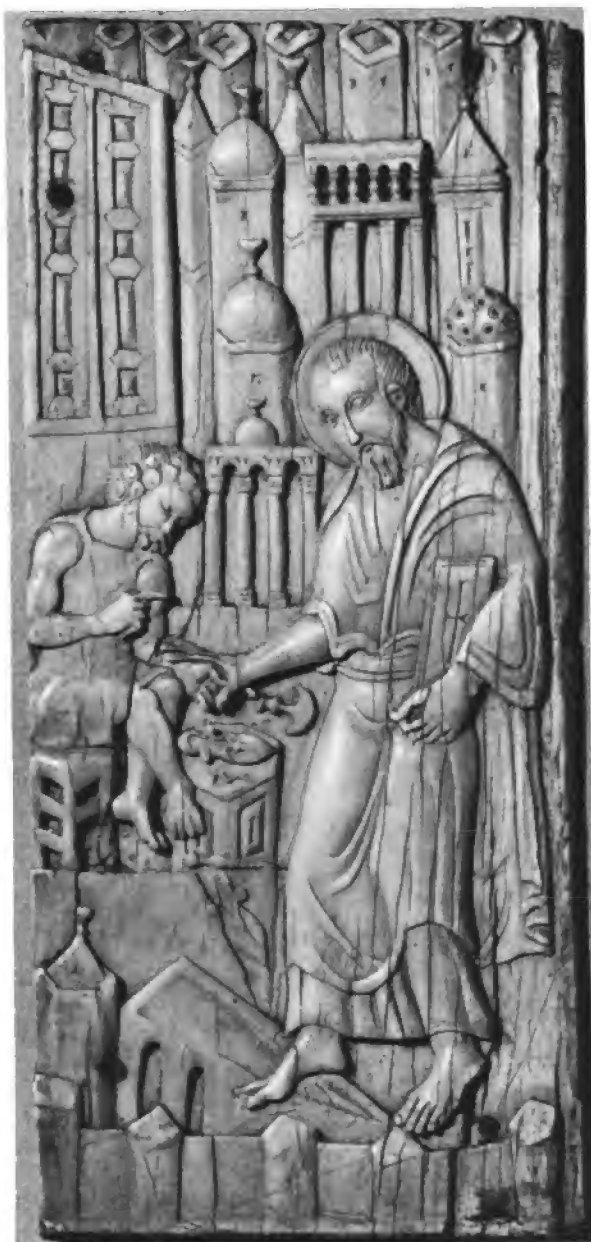
Milan, Castello Sforzesco, Civiche Raccolte d'Arte

applicata ed Incisioni, Avori 3

The surface of this ivory plaque is unusually fresh, despite numerous cracks and scratches. At the right St. Mark is suspended before an array of vertical architectural motifs representing the city of Alexandria. He places his right hand on the wounded left hand of the cobbler Anianos as he announces: "If you believe in Jesus Christ Son of God, your hand will be healed" (*Acta sanctorum: Aprilis III*, 1866, p. 361). Anianos was converted to Christianity and eventually succeeded Mark as the second bishop of Alexandria.

The style of the accomplished carver is marked by a preference for abstract drapery patterns, a *horror vacui*, and a general disregard for structural clarity. The plaque is one of five closely related St. Mark reliefs now in the Castello Sforzesco, which form a subset of a larger stylistic group of fourteen ivories, whose date, localization, and original purpose have long been disputed. Because of their emphasis on Mark, Graeven (1899) associated the whole group with a cathedra of that saint supposedly made in Alexandria (about 600) and presented by Heraclius to the cathedral of Grado. Volbach (1976), on the other hand, emphasizing links to the Salerno ivories, has assigned the "Grado ivories" to the eleventh century and has suggested Sicily or Venice as their place of origin.

In a recent reexamination of these ivories, Weitzmann ([2], 1972) effectively challenged their historical link to Grado and showed them to be more two-dimensional than monuments generally datable to around 600. He also established their stylistic independence from the Salerno ivories. As an alternative, he suggested an origin in eighth-century Syro-Palestine, emphasizing contemporary parallels for Mark's stylized facial type, and for the system of double-line folds prominent on others of the plaques. The five Mark ivories are clearly more abstract and two-dimensional than the Annunciation and Nativity reliefs belonging to their group (nos. 448, 521). Accordingly, the Mark



group should be assigned to the later phases of a single workshop active over several generations.

The five surviving Mark ivories, which confine themselves primarily to the encounter with Anianos, may be but a small section of an extensive cycle devoted to that apostle's life. Such a *vita* would not likely have originated in an ivory carver's workshop, but from an early illustrated manuscript tradition similar to the illustrated saints' lives extant from the later Middle Ages.

Perhaps in Amalfi in the eleventh century. From the Trivulzio collection, Milan.

G. V.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graeven, 1899; Goldschmidt, 1926, IV, no. 113, pl. xxxix; Volbach, 1950; Weitzmann (2), 1972, pp. 70 ff., fig. 8; Volbach, 1976, no. 239.

457 Plaque with Adoration of the Magi and Nativity

Syria, 6th-8th century

Ivory

23.3 × 12.3 cm. (9 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 4 $\frac{13}{16}$ in.)

Manchester, John Rylands University Library,
Victoria University of Manchester, Rylands
ivories 6

The central plaque of a five-part diptych that once also included plaques in Berlin (no. 458), Paris (no. 461), and Leningrad (nos. 459, 460). The edge is damaged and part of it is missing; no ornamental frame remains. The plaque has been slightly damaged by fire.

At the center of the plaque Mary is enthroned, her feet on a suppedaneum; she holds the Christ child in her lap. Both figures are depicted in frontal positions and both are disproportionately large. Three Magi, wearing Phrygian costumes and bearing gifts with their hands covered, approach from left and right; an angel has been included to preserve the overall symmetry of the composition. The group is framed by a large canopy supported by columns; two crosses fill the top corners and the background is decorated with stars. An illustration of the Nativity occupies the lower field. In addition to Mary reclining on a mattress, Joseph, Christ in a tall masonry crib, the ox, and the ass, the depiction includes the midwife Salome, whose hand—according to the Protevangelium of James (19–20)—withered because she doubted Mary's virginity. The iconography of the Manchester plaque and the unusual symmetrical arrangement of the Adoration scene are nearly identical to those on an earlier ivory in the British Museum (no. 476), in which the figures show a higher degree of corporeality.

The relief of the plaque is low and tends toward abstraction. The figures are slender, tubular forms;

their staring eyes are scratched and drilled. Garment folds are suggested by two parallel lines. The style recalls other works produced in border areas between the Mediterranean and the Orient during the seventh and eighth centuries. Characteristic elements of this style include the double-line drapery folds and the stars, painted in gold (mostly flaked, but leaving brown stains), which are frequently found on seventh- and eighth-century Palestinian icons (cf. Weitzmann, 1976, I, pp. 40, 43–44, 48).

Formerly in the Earl of Crawford collection, Haigh Hall.

E. L. -P.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, 1976, no. 127.

458 Plaque with angels bearing a wreath

Syria, 6th–8th century

Ivory

7.3 × 30.8 cm. ($2\frac{7}{8}$ × $12\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, 2978

This plaque is the top piece of the diptych to which belong nos. 457 and 459–461. The plaque depicts two flying angels bearing a ponderous wreath enclosing a cross. At left and right, two small standing archangels dressed in tunics and chlamydes hold cross-staffs and spheres. The plaque is framed on three sides by schematized leaf ornament and at the bottom by a vine scroll, which has been badly restored. The motif of angels bearing a wreath (with cross or monogram) was common as early as the Theodosian period (cf. sarcophagus from Sarigüzel in Istanbul [Kollwitz, 1941, pp. 132 ff., pl. 45] and column of Arcadius, no. 68). The addition of archangels is typical of the more solemn art of a later period.

Stylistically, the plaque belongs to a group of ivories characterized by elongated, tubular figures. The principal work in this group is a wing of a diptych in Ravenna (formerly Murano, fig. 59), which includes an identical top plaque. Techni-

cally, the Berlin piece is less refined and more medieval.

Purchased in 1905.

E. L. -P.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, 1976, no. 126.

**459, 460 Two carved plaques with St. Anne

Syria, 6th–8th century

Ivory

10.3 × 6.9 cm. ($4\frac{1}{16}$ × $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum, Ø 300,
Ø 301

These plaques are from the wing of a diptych to which belong nos. 457, 458, and 461. Their decorative frames have been trimmed, and worn surfaces have been overpainted, but the Leningrad panels remain interesting witnesses of a little-known narrative tradition. Although they are very similar to earlier representations of the Annunciation and Visitation (cf. the covers of the Etschmiadzin Gospels [Volbach, 1976, no. 142]), the ivories do not illustrate events in Mary's life. They depict, instead, the story of the Virgin's mother, St. Anne, which is recorded in the Protevangelium of James, an apocryphal gospel written in Syria during the last half of the second century—the same text illustrated in other parts of the diptych. Although the annunciation to Anne was patterned after portrayals of the canonical scene, the birds in the tree clearly allude to Anne's lament over her barrenness: "even the birds are fruitful before thee" (Protevangelium of James 3. 2 [Hennecke, 1963, pp. 375–376]). The second scene, which has always been identified as the Visitation, lacks any suggestion of tender acknowledgment. It is probably a depiction of the episode just prior to the annunciation to Anne, when Euthine, Anne's handmaid, interrupts her mistress' lamentation to offer her own headband. These ivories, which are the earliest known illustrations of the Protevangelium, closely resemble such later cycles as the ninth-century frescoes in Kizel Çukur and the thirteenth-century ciborium column in Venice.



No. 458, above

No. 457

No. 459, far right top



No. 460, far right bottom



No. 461, below



In style, format, and size, the diptych of which these plaques were once a part is virtually identical to the Murano diptych in Ravenna (fig. 59). The tubular torsos, drilled eyes, and rudimentary modeling of these ivories have long been associated with sixth-century Syria. Weitzmann ([3], 1970) has recently proposed, however, that the rough carving of the Leningrad plaques and the use of double lines to suggest garment folds may indicate a date as late as the seventh, or even eighth, century.

Formerly in the Botkin collection, Leningrad.

H. L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lafontaine-Dosogne, 1964–1965, pp. 70–71; Weitzmann (3), 1970, p. 12; Volbach, 1976, no. 129.

461 Plaque with scenes of the life of the Virgin

Syria, 6th–8th century

Ivory

7.1 × 30.5 cm. (2 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 12 in.)

Anonymous loan

The bottom plaque of the diptych wing to which belong the plaques nos. 457–460 is framed on three sides by a schematized leaf ornament, partly acanthus and vine scroll. It presents three scenes from the life of Mary as reported in the apocryphal *Protevangelium of James*: 1, the Annunciation to Mary while she spins purple wool for the temple (11.1); 2, the temple priest testing Mary's virginity with water (16.1–2); and 3, the journey to Bethlehem, in which Joseph converses with Mary (17.1–2) and an angel with a cross leads them. At the left is a palm tree.

Such details as the wicker chair and tall basket in the Annunciation and the scenes of the test and the journey to Bethlehem appear in Eastern works (as, e.g., on the Maximianus cathedra and a diptych in Paris [Volbach, 1976, nos. 140, 145]). Distinct from those of the other representations in the diptych, these scenes are rendered in a developed narrative style, in which the figures display more vivacity and the features are less refined. Probably because of the squat field, the figures are not as elongated and tubular as those in the other plaques.

Formerly in the Stroganoff collection, Rome, and collection of Comtesse de Béhague, Paris.

E. L. -P.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, 1976, no. 128.

Iconic Representations

In the first centuries following Christ's death, Christians, in accordance with their Jewish heritage, did not use religious images as a means of proselytizing their young religion. But by the third century—when the cult was firmly established throughout the Mediterranean world—most Christians were not Jews but pagans accustomed to visible testimony of their belief in statues, paintings, and small-scale images of their gods. Christians were surrounded as well by representations of other important figures from their daily lives: ancestors were revered in portraits set up in their homes and statues of the emperor and officials dominated public places. Hellenized Christians, therefore, began to develop a repertory of religious imagery out of their pagan past. For depictions of Christ, the Virgin, angels, and saints, they drew upon classical, imperial, and Eastern cultic precedents, which often embodied similar religious significance. These depictions were, at first, largely within the classical mode. By the seventh century, however, artists developed artistic devices to embody the sanctity of the figures portrayed, in response to the increasing importance of religious imagery in popular worship. In modern times such images have been termed "iconic," but in the ancient as well as in the Early Christian world, the Greek word "*eikon*" meant simply "image."

The emperor Alexander Severus (222–235) is reported to have commissioned one of the earliest recorded statues of Christ, according to a late fourth-century text (S.H.A. *Alex. Sev.* 29. 2). Although Alexander Severus was not a Christian, he apparently wished to acknowledge this new god, whose cult was radically affecting the religious life of his empire. At the same time Christians were portraying Christ in their churches. The fresco behind the font in the baptistery at Dura Europos of about 230 (fig. 50; nos. 360, 580) shows the garden of paradise with a small Adam and Eve and a much larger figure of Christ as the Good Shepherd. In the Gospels of Luke

(15: 3–7) and John (10: 1–16), Christ is characterized as the shepherd who protects and loves his flock and who will bring the soul of man to salvation as a shepherd retrieves lost sheep. The model for this Christ derives from a classical, bucolic ram-bearing shepherd, which personified philanthropy and when used in funerary monuments implied the promise of salvation. So similar is the Christian shepherd to its pagan model that it is often impossible to determine if the shepherd is actually Christ (no. 462).

The very popular image of the Good Shepherd had a precedent in the pagan mystery cult of Orpheus, who was sometimes shown as a shepherd, especially in the art of North Africa (nos. 464, 466). Several fourth-century representations of the Good Shepherd show Christ in Orphic costume (no. 465).

Comparable sources can be established for early images of the Virgin, especially the Virgin lactans (fig. 69). A bucolic scene on a relief in the basilica of S. Sebastiano in Rome (no. 237) portrays a mother and child similar in composition to a Virgin and Child, while statuettes of Isis lactans (no. 167) provide a parallel from mystery cults. As with Good Shepherd representations, some woman and child scenes, like that in the catacomb of Priscilla in Rome, cannot be conclusively identified as either the Virgin and Child or a genre group.

Other secular scenes lent formal precedents to Christian art. Depictions of Christ as teacher and philosopher (no. 472) were based on pagan teaching scenes, such as the mosaic at Apamea of Socrates heading the group of seven sages (fig. 70). The meaning of the Christian scene, with the disciples seated symmetrically around their centrally placed teacher, must have been instantly recognizable to the viewer. So, too, must have been the pagan symbols adapted for portrayals of Christ as heavenly ruler. When the artist of the mosaics of the tomb of the Julii under St. Peter's (no. 467) portrayed Christ with



FIG. 69 *Marble grave stele of the Virgin lactans.*
 Berlin, German Democratic Republic, Staatliche Museen
 zu Berlin, Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung

a rayed nimbus, like Helios in a quadriga ascending to heaven, he was quoting imagery of Sol Invictus, whose cult was favored by late Roman emperors.

With the Edict of Milan in 313 and the ensuing Peace of the Church, Christian art entered an unprecedented period of growth, largely aided by the support and patronage of the emperor Constantine. Imperial prototypes were adapted for many Christian compositions. Constantine gave to the Lateran basilica in Rome a chancel screen made of silver and decorated with life-size figures. On the side facing the apse Christ was seated between guardian angels holding spears—a scene that most likely derived from images

of the emperor enthroned between his bodyguards (cf. no. 64)—and on the side facing the nave was another seated Christ flanked by his apostles. The latter group may have resembled a scene on fourth-century sarcophagi of Christ standing or seated like an emperor (cf. no. 58) receiving the acclamation of his principal advisors and followers (fig. 71). Later Christian images, like the sixth- or seventh-century icon of St. Peter on Mt. Sinai (no. 488) continued to emulate official art, in this case a consular diptych (no. 88).

The flowering of Christian imagery during these centuries provoked disputes among theologians. A principal defense of image making was based on the didactic value of illustrations from the Bible, an argument included by Paulinus of Nola in his description of the decorative program of the church of Nola (*Carmina* 27. 512–595). But his contemporaries, St. Augustine in the West and Epiphanius of Salamis in the East, were firm in their prohibition of Christian images, fearing, with justification, that despite the purity of intention, these images would divert worship from Christ's teaching to the image itself. Thus Bishop Eusebius (about 265–340) admonished Constantia, sister of Constantine, when she requested him to send her a painted portrait of Christ, that Christ, being God, could not be portrayed accurately in human form. Like Epiphanius, Eusebius condemned

FIG. 70 *Mosaic of the seven sages.*
 Apamea, Syria



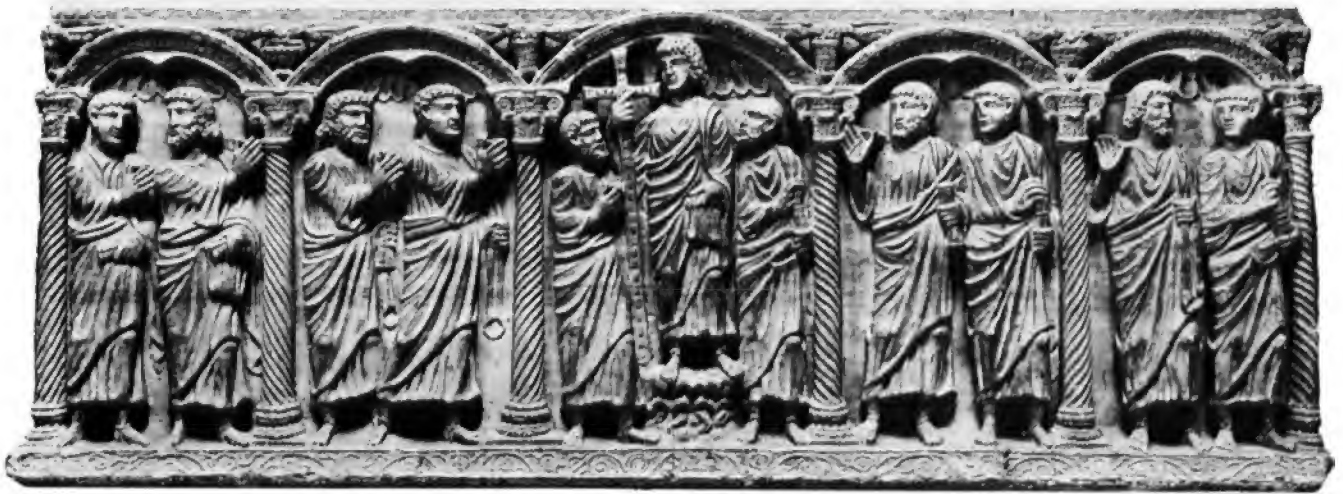


FIG. 71 *Sarcophagus of Probus with Christ and the apostles.*

Vatican City, Grotti Vaticani, Reverenda Fabbrica di S. Pietro in Vaticano

the making of such images as a pagan custom. In his *Historia ecclesiastica*, he says, "... I have examined images of the apostles Paul and Peter and indeed of Christ himself preserved in painting: presumably, men of olden times were heedlessly wont to honor them thus in their houses, as the pagan custom is with regard to saviors" (7. 18. 4 [Mango, 1972, p. 16]).

Despite these arguments, portrayals of Christ, the Virgin, angels, and saints became ever more popular in the fifth century. The cults of the most important saints and the widespread distribution of relics and mementoes from pilgrimage sites intensified their worship. Even educated men found peace and inspiration in portrayals of saints' lives. Asterius, bishop of Amaseia (about 410), was captivated by a painting of the martyrdom of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon (Mango, 1972, p. 37). In the late fifth century, porches of workshops in Rome contained small images of St. Symeon Stylites for "protection and security" (Theodoret *Historia religiosa* 16 [Mango, 1972, p. 41]; cf. no. 529). By the late sixth and early seventh centuries the cult of images was so popular that Pope Gregory the Great (590–604) reprimanded Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, for destroying the images of saints in his church. He directed him to restore them because of their instructional value and

to turn his people, by teaching, away from their misguided adoration of them (Davis-Weyer, 1971, pp. 47–49).

Although the Neoplatonic writings of Pseudo-Dionysios in the late fifth century were not meant to describe the relationship of a pictorial image to its prototype, they helped stimulate the development of iconic images, especially in the post-Justinianic period. One drew closer and was uplifted toward the holy prototype itself by contemplation of the holy image. St. Theodore of Studion (759–826), interpreting Dionysian sources, instructed the painter thus: "... if the painter looks without interruption at the archetypal form, neither distracted by any other visible thing nor splitting his attention toward anything else, then he will, so to speak, duplicate the person painted and will show the true in the similitude, the archetype in the image, the one in the other except for their different essences (*De ecclesiastica hierarchia* 4. 3 [Ladner, 1953, p. 13]). The effect of the new iconic character of the image in its relation to the holy prototype was profound. Even within a narrative scene like the ivory of the Adoration of the Magi in London (no. 476), the Virgin is enlarged, centralized, and isolated, as though she were already in heaven. With the icon of Christ from Mt. Sinai and the ivory diptych of Christ and the Virgin in Berlin (nos. 473, 474), the dematerialization of the figures, their frontality, and the minimal use of pictorial space provide an immediacy of contact with the divine rarely seen in earlier works.

Iconic art also influenced the decorative programs



FIG. 72 *Mosaic of St. Demetrios and Virgin.*
Thessalonike, Hagios Demetrios

of churches. The walls and pillars of Hagios Demetrios in Thessalonike were decorated in the seventh and eighth centuries with individual panels—icons in mosaic—of St. Demetrios as protector of and intercessor for the worshipers who commissioned the mosaic (no. 500). These panels also reflect the increasingly important role of saints and particularly the Virgin as intercessors with Christ for the salvation of souls. One panel at Hagios Demetrios clearly illustrates the hierarchy of such intercession. The patron saint appeals to the Virgin, who in turn directs her prayers to Christ, shown in the segment of heaven above (fig. 72).

As with the portrayal of individual holy figures on icons, the formulae for these intercession pictures remained constant for centuries in Byzantine art. Justinian's silver chancel screen at Hagia Sophia depicted medallions of Christ, the Virgin, angels, prophets, and apostles, although from Paulus Silentiarius' description one cannot be sure of their precise relationship to each other (*Descriptio S. Sophiae* 682). In the Justinianic mosaic at Mt. Sinai (548–565; fig. 73), however, the theme of intercession, though secondary to the eschatological and dogmatic meaning of the Transfiguration, is clear. Medallions of the Virgin and John the Baptist flank the Lamb of God, an early version of the Deesis, the principal intercession picture of later Byzantine art.

MARGARET E. FRAZER

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grabar, 1943, I; 1946, II, and atlas; Kollwitz, 1953; Ladner, 1953; Kitzinger, 1954; Kitzinger, 1955; Klauser, 1958–(1), 1961; 1963–1967; Ihm, 1960; Davis-Weyer, 1971; Mango, 1972; Forsyth and Weitzmann [1973]; Weitzmann, 1976, I.



FIG. 73 *Apse mosaic with Transfiguration of Christ.*
Mt. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine

462 Sarcophagus from the Via Salaria with Good Shepherd

Rome, 3rd quarter 3rd century

White marble

69 × 238 × 73 cm. ($27\frac{3}{16}$ × $93\frac{3}{4}$ × $28\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Vatican City, Monumenti, Musei, e Gallerie

Pontificie, Museo Pio Cristiano, Lat. 181

This tub-shaped frieze sarcophagus has been reassembled from several large fragments and is much restored. The lid is not preserved, and a new base has been provided. The carving suggests the predominant use of the chisel; drilling, as seen in the hair, has been kept to a minimum.

In the center, standing between two olive trees, is a figure dressed in the traditional shepherd's costume of belted tunic exomis, boots, and shepherd's purse. He carries a ram on his shoulders, and two others graze at his feet. The shepherd turns to an orant. Flanking these two figures are two groups, each defined by a slightly enlarged seated figure. To the left, holding a scroll, is a bearded and barefoot man dressed as a philosopher, and standing to his sides are two similar figures, who appear to engage him in discussion. Behind the left man is a sundial on a column. The corresponding group to the right comprises a woman seated beside a capsella and, behind her, a standing woman, both similarly dressed, with their pallia drawn over their heads. The seated woman holds a closed scroll in one hand and (if correctly restored) makes a speaking gesture with the other, suggesting that the two women are participating in a discussion with the three men to the left. The frieze is flanked at the ends by oversize crouching rams.

The style is classicistic. The figures are well modeled and well proportioned, and the draperies are naturalistic, with positive, plastic folds. This style either suggests the direct influence of imported Eastern sarcophagi (possibly from Asia Minor) or more likely betrays the hand of an Eastern sculptor working in Rome. In a general sense, the style can be related to the classicistic revival of the Gallienic period (A.D. 253–268). The tub shape and flanking rams place it within the traditions of the city of Rome (von Sybel, 1909, II, pp. 45–47).

The significance of the figural program has been variously interpreted. The two seated figures most likely represent a deceased husband and wife, posed as two disputing intellectuals according to an Eastern iconographic type that was well integrated into the sarcophagus repertory of the West (Rodenwaldt, 1940). The orant probably alludes to the deceased's prayers for salvation and the shepherd to the fulfillment of these prayers in paradise. If the frieze has an overall theme, it is that through the contemplation and study of religious philosophy one attains salvation.

When it occurs in such a sarcophagus program, the ram-bearing shepherd has traditionally been given the specifically Christian interpretation of the Good Shepherd—a "substitute" image for Christ as Savior of his flock. Indeed, the occurrence of the Good Shepherd and orant together as a compositional unit was a hallmark of Early Christian funerary imagery, and they are to be found on unmistakably Christian sarcophagi of the period. However, their exclusively Christian usage in all contexts has been questioned, and it appears likely that the late pagan as well as the Early Christian communities employed these images, imbuing them with similar salvational meanings.



Discovered in 1881 on the Amante property near the Via Salaria in Rome, this sarcophagus became in 1891 part of the Museo Cristiano Lateranense, now at the Vatican.

J. N. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wilpert, 1929, I, pp. 4–7, pl. I, 1; Gerke, 1940, pp. 295–299, pls. 51, 1, 55, 56; Bovini, 1949, pp. 86–91, figs. 57–60; Klauser, 1960, pp. 114–115, pl. 6a; Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 66, pp. 62–63, pl. 21.

463 Relief with Good Shepherd

Italy, late 3rd–early 4th century

White marble

36 × 30 × 7 cm. ($14\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{13}{16} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Princeton, The Art Museum, Princeton University,
52–169

The relief is in good condition with only slight fracturing at the edges and on the back. It is presumed to have belonged originally to a larger relief panel, probably from a sarcophagus; if so, it has been cut down and finished on the sides. The relief is chiseled and drilled; the back is roughly hewn.

The figure of a shepherd stands beneath an architectural frame of a pedimented gable resting on two spirally fluted Corinthian columns. The shepherd is dressed in a belted, sleeved tunic, laced boots, and leggings. He supports a ram on his shoulders, grasping its legs with both hands, and two rams are at his feet. The shepherd is represented as a beardless, Apollo-like figure, his hair fashioned from large, irregularly ordered, circular locks. At either side grow broadleaved plants or trees; in the left one sits a large bird.

The youthful ram-bearing shepherd has a long tradition of pagan usage (offering bearer, bucolic figure, personification of Winter, Hermes psychopompos), but in the Late Antique period this image acquired a general philanthropic savior symbolism. As such it was adopted by the Christians as the Good Shepherd (John 10:1–16; Luke 15:3–7)—Christ as the Savior of the Christian flock (Clem. Al. *Protr.* 11. 116. 1). In funerary contexts, the shepherd image manifested the doctrinal belief in the salvation of the soul, being similar in intent to Noah, Daniel, and Jonah



imagery, and it remained a viable “substitute” image for Christ through the early Constantinian period (first quarter of the fourth century). It then lost favor to more specific representations (cf. nos. 386, 472, 503).

The broadness of the chisel strokes, the summary treatment of patterns and textures, and especially the exaggerated size of the compositional parts (fingers, face, leaves, fleece) suggest that this relief is to be dated to the Tetrarchic to early Constantinian period (late third to early fourth century). It compares favorably with sarcophagi thought to have been produced in Ostia (cf. Stern [2], 1973, figs. 7–9).

The present state of its preservation leaves in question an understanding of the relief’s function. If it came from a sarcophagus, it probably served as the central or left end section in the five-part program of a strigilated sarcophagus, although its height would suggest a sarcophagus of unusually small size. Alternatively, it may have been part of a double register sarcophagus or part of a sarcophagus lid frieze.

Provenance unknown.

J. N. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jones, 1954, p. 243, ill.; Calkins, 1968, no. 4, p. 102, ill.; Waltham, 1968, no. 30, pl. 17.



464 Orpheus/Good Shepherd statuette

Egypt, early 4th century

Ivory

10 × 6 cm. ($3\frac{1}{8}$ × $2\frac{3}{16}$ in.)

Liverpool, Merseyside County Museums, 56.20.330

This ivory statuette is somewhat fragmentary but otherwise in fairly good condition. A piece originally doweled into the ram's body and including the figure's left arm and hand and the front of the supported ram is missing. Also missing are the figure's left leg and the shepherd's purse. The oval "plug" base has four dowel holes, which originally served to attach the statuette to another object, perhaps a staff or piece of furniture; only one of the attachment pins is preserved. The piece has been carved and incised.

This figure is of the Good Shepherd type: he carries a ram on his shoulders and is flanked by two others at his feet. He wears a belted tunica exomis with a decorative border at the hem. His Phrygian cap, which is strapped under the chin,

identifies him as Orpheus (cf. nos. 161, 162). Against the back of the figure is a tree, an unnecessary support, which must have originated in a sculptural prototype (cf. no. 364).

Weitzmann ([1], 1972, III) has dated this piece to the fourth century, and Legner (1959) has related it to the general production of Good Shepherd statues that he believes to have originated in the Constantinian period. The geometric regularization of the rams' fleece finds parallels in several Copto-Egyptian ivories, as does the stiffness of the pose. Such stylistic features, especially in Coptic art, have proved difficult to date, however, and the piece has been dated to as late as the sixth to seventh century (London, 1923).

Iconographically, this statuette can be associated with two other ivory statuettes of the Orpheus/Good Shepherd, one at Dumbarton Oaks (Weitzmann [1], 1972, III, no. 5) and the other in Riggisberg, Abegg Stiftung (Weitzmann [1], 1972, III, figs. 8–10). Weitzmann suggests an Egyptian origin for all three.

Said to have been found on the banks of the Nile in 1870 (London, 1923), the statuette was in the Norwich Castle Museum (47, 281) until entering the Liverpool collection.

J. N. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: London, 1923, no. 31; Legner, 1959, p. 15, pl. 6; Weitzmann (1), 1972, III, pp. 12–15, figs. 5–7.

465 Bowl with Orpheus/Good Shepherd and Jonah

North Africa, 4th century

Red earthenware

Diam. 18 cm. ($7\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, 0.39447

Except for a repaired break and a missing fragment near the rim, this footless redware bowl (sigillata chiara C [Salomonson, 1969, pp. 17, 101]) is in good condition.

Four molded figural appliqués are found on the interior, the largest of which is the figure of Orpheus/Good Shepherd (cf. no. 464). Orpheus is elaborately dressed with a Phrygian cap, a long-sleeved tunic with a jeweled belt, tight leggings,

shoes, and a paludamentum, which is fastened at the left shoulder with a tripendant circular fibula. These elements characterize the figure as an Orpheus/Good Shepherd, for in the Late Antique world, the "mythical singer" Orpheus was traditionally associated with this costume. Orpheus supports a ram on his shoulders, and two others flank him at his feet. Below and oriented to the opposite direction is the figure of Jonah (cf. no. 384). Nude and seated on rocks, Jonah rests his head on his left arm, which is supported by his raised left leg.

The fusion of Orpheus with the Good Shepherd has parallels (cf. nos. 464, 466, and Weitzmann [1], 1972, III, no. 5, fig. 8), and it must have served as a frequent "substitute" image for Christ in the Early Christian period. Similarly, representations of the lyre-playing Orpheus taming the wild beasts were used in catacomb paintings, where, like the Good Shepherd, they manifested a salvational theme (cf. no. 161).

The inclusion of Jonah in the figural composition of this bowl specifically suggests a Christian interpretation of the Orpheus/Good Shepherd figure. Although the typical Early Christian abbreviated Jonah narrative comprised only three vignettes (Jonah being thrown from the boat into the mouth of the ketos, Jonah being disgorged from the monster's belly, and Jonah reclining under the pergola), a fourth image, the seated Jonah contemplating, is frequently to be found in quadri-

partite compositions, especially cubiculum vaults (Wilpert, 1903, p. 53, pls. 61, 96, 100, 210, 221, 233). This last image is included on this bowl, and its extraction from a more complete Jonah cycle is proven by comparison with another red earthenware bowl (no. 384). In both cases, Jonah is seated on rocks but without an enclosing pergola, an element frequently found in catacomb paintings.

Provenance not recorded.

J. N. C.

Unpublished.



466 Orpheus/Good Shepherd statuette

Egypt (?), 1st half 5th century (?)

Bicolored marble

4.9 × 4.5 cm. (2 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Geneva, George Ortiz Collection

This marble statuette is both incomplete and badly worn. Missing are the animal's head and the figure's lower body, left arm, and right elbow and forearm. The front shows abrasion, especially in the face and hand.

This Orpheus/Good Shepherd figure (cf. nos. 464, 465) supports a sheep or a ram on his shoulders, holding the animal's four legs in his right hand. He wears a tall Phrygian cap and tunic. With his left hand he may have held a pedom, as is typical of shepherds with this pose (cf. no. 364). It is impossible to say how the lower half of the figure was represented.

Certain stylistic features relate this statuette to



portrait sculptures and consular diptychs of the fifth century, although this would seem a late date for the iconographic type of the Orpheus/Good Shepherd. The large, expressive eyes with their high, arched brows and large, circular pupils, the straight hair combed forward and terminated on the forehead in a profusion of curls, and the faint smile on the lips resemble the features of a portrait in the Louvre, Paris (Delbrueck, 1933, pl. 127), and a diptych leaf in Munich (Volbach, 1976, no. 45). The artist of the statuette has utilized well the two-toned quality of the marble, reserving the dark layer for the animal's body and the shepherd's cap and hair, and the light layer for the remainder.

It has been suggested that the statuette comes from Egypt, where it may have served originally as a votive figurine.

J. N. C.

Unpublished.

Detail of no. 467



*467 Vault decoration with Christ/Helios

Rome, late 3rd–early 4th century

Mosaic

198 × 163 cm. (78 × 64 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.)

Vatican City, tomb of the Julii under St. Peter's

This mosaic on the vault of a small mausoleum is only partly preserved. A hole has destroyed part of the central section and many tesserae have fallen, revealing that the design had been tinted in on the final plaster surface to guide the mosaicist.

An octagonal panel in the center of a field of intertwined grapevines on a gold background contains the figure of Christ-Helios standing in a chariot pulled by four white horses (two of which are destroyed). This beardless figure has a rayed nimbus, wears a tunic and a cloak that billows behind him, and holds an orb in his left hand. His right hand, which is destroyed, was probably extended with palm open.

The Christian interpretation of this sun-god image is suggested by the other figural mosaics in the tomb—a fisherman, Jonah cast into the mouth of the ketos, and the Good Shepherd—all of which are known from other Early Christian sepulchral contexts (cf. a Vatican sarcophagus [Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 35] and an early fourth-century catacomb fresco [Wilpert, 1929, I, pl. 1, 3] where Christ-Helios is also coupled with Jonah iconography). The image of the standing, ray-nimbed Helios driving a quadriga and holding an orb was derived from iconography of the Invincible Sun (Sol Invictus), a cult particularly strong among late Roman emperors and their legions. First taken over for imperial usage (L'Orange, 1935), this image was later adopted for Christ as the true god of light. The ascent of Helios in his chariot also suggests a prototype for ascension imagery (cf. Sol on the Arch of Constantine [no. 58] and the Ascension of Elijah on a Louvre Museum sarcophagus [Grabar (1), 1968, pl. 282]), and a similar idea may have been intended here.

The connections of this mosaic with imperial imagery and the iconography of the accompanying Christian scenes suggest a date not earlier than the last quarter of the third century, if not in the beginning of the fourth. It can date no later than

about 330–333, when work was begun on the Constantinian basilica of St. Peter's directly above it.

The mosaic was discovered in chapel M of the tomb of the Julii.

J. N. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Perler, 1953, pls. 2, 3; Toynbee and Ward-Perkins, 1956, pp. 72–74, pl. 32; Gerke, 1967, pp. 32, 58, pl. on p. 59.

*468 Panel with bust of Christ

Ostia, end of 4th century
Opus sectile
40 × 30 cm. (15½ × 11½ in.)
Ostia Antica, Museo

Against a porphyry background edged on three sides by narrow red and white marble bands is a large bust of Christ composed of inlaid polychrome marbles, which nearly fills the rectangular panel. Christ is nimbed, has a forked beard (made of a single piece of marble), long curly hair, and wears a tunic with a clavus over the right shoulder. His body is turned slightly to the right, but his face looks directly at the beholder as he raises his right hand in benediction. The pupils of the eyes and the eyebrows, which may originally have been in glass paste, are lost, as is the upper part of the nose and other small fragments; some large pieces of marble have been broken into smaller pieces, but otherwise the figure is remarkably well preserved. While it is relatively crude in execution, considerable skill has been used in fire-tinting the yellow marble of the flesh tones to give the effect of shading.

The inlay technique lends a certain abstract quality to the image that is unusual at this early date. The type of Christ, with long hair and beard, is less frequent than the youthful, beardless type—especially in Rome—but it has many parallels in art of the late fourth century (Becatti, 1969, pp. 139–140); it anticipates the image known later as the Christ Pantocrator (cf. no. 473). The unusual stippling of the beard is reminiscent of the drillwork on sarcophagi of Theodosian date (cf. Gerke, 1941, figs. 70, 71, 74).

Discovered in 1959 in the ruins of an unfinished



building outside the Porta Marina at Ostia that can be dated on numismatic evidence to the end of the fourth century, the panel comes from the splendid revetment of a room whose walls were sumptuously decorated in opus sectile (cf. no. 340). The decoration was predominantly ornamental, consisting of elaborately inlaid panels with geometric motifs as well as a variety of friezes (e.g., interlocking circles and an exquisite acanthus rinceau); there were also large panels, each with a lion or tiger attacking a hart. Only one other human figure occurs, the bust of an unidentified youth. The room's identification as a Christian cult room is based on the presence of this nimbed bust of Christ and a few fragments of a jeweled intarsia cross.

Relatively few figured mural decorations in opus sectile have survived, even though the technique was widespread in late antiquity. The remarkable head of the divinized Sun from the Mithraeum of Sta. Prisca, Rome (Bianchi Bandinelli, 1971, fig. 83), documents the high artistic level achieved in the early third century, but the mid-fourth century panels from the Basilica of Junius Bassus in Rome (Becatti, 1969, pls. LXXXI–LXXXIII) provide closer analogies to those at Ostia. The extraordinary glass intarsia panels recently discovered at Kenchreai, near Corinth (Ibrahim,

Scranton, and Brill, 1976), dating to the mid-fourth century, should also be mentioned in this regard. While the Christ figure at Ostia is less skillfully executed than the animal and ornamental panels in the Guild Hall, the work as a whole is of high quality.

S. A. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Becatti, 1969, pp. 78–79, 139–141; pls. LV, 2, LVI; Bianchi Bandinelli, 1971, pp. 98–99; Frazer, 1971; Meiggs, 1973, pp. 588–589.

469 Statuette of Christ

Eastern Mediterranean (?), about 370–380

White marble

72 cm. (28 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 61565

This statuette consists of two separate pieces, the figure of Italian marble and the chair-base of Greek (Thulin, 1929, p. 203). The figure's right forearm, his left index finger, and part of his scroll have broken off. Other minor damages include part of the right foot and chips in the hair and drapery.

The youthful, beardless Christ is seated on a draped chair, holding a partially opened scroll and, presumably, making a speaking gesture. He wears a short-sleeved tunic, pallium, and sandals, and his long, loosely curled hair falls to his shoulders.

Although the identity of this unusual statuette has been questioned, the iconography compares favorably with many early seated Christ figures in relief sculpture (cf. sarcophagus 174, Vatican [Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 677]) and painting. Such representations usually portray Christ as a philosopher seated among apostles, saints, martyrs, or deceased Christians (cf. no. 472), for, according to Early Christian doctrine, Christ was the Teacher of the True Philosophy (Clem. Al. *Protr.* 11. 112. 1), a belief carried over from Roman interest in pagan philosophy. The Christ statuette, moreover, alludes to the tradition of seated deity statuary, since the chair has been draped with a cloth of honor. This philosopher-deity type was later to develop into the Christ in Majesty.

The statuette often has been dated to about 350–360 by comparison with the Christ figure on



the Junius Bassus sarcophagus (no. 386). However, the slightly elongated body parts, the round pupils, and the drapery passages that cling to the legs and chest and fall in soft or crisp folds depending on the drapery tension are all hallmarks of the Theodosian style. Whether the statuette is best seen as a Western work inspired by this late fourth-century Eastern classicism or as an Eastern import is still debated (Kollwitz, 1963; Brenk, 1969). The best comparisons, however, are with Eastern sculptures, such as the Prince's sarcophagus, Istanbul, the Theodosian obelisk base, Istanbul (no. 99), and the Scholastikia statue, Ephesus (Brenk, 1969, pls. 3a, 4b, 5a).

The place of origin and original function of the statuette are unknown. It may have been used in a Christian tomb or as part of church decoration, either alone or in a group composition. A precedent for its possible use within a church is suggested by the *Liber Pontificalis* (1. 171), which mentions a Constantinian donation to the Lateran basilica of life-size silver statues of Christ the Teacher and his apostles, which were found under a silver fastigium (Teasdale Smith, 1970, p. 149). Nevertheless, the paucity of three-dimensional Christian sculpture, due in part to the Judeo-Christian fear of idolatry, makes it difficult to interpret correctly this unique piece.

J. N. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Thulin, 1929; Gerke, 1940, pp. 42–43, pls. 56–59; Schefold, 1943, p. 186; Kollwitz, 1963, p. 222, pls. 19, 20; Brenk, 1969, pp. 54–57, pl. 4a.

470 Ring with Christ enthroned and Entry into Jerusalem

Probably Constantinople, late 4th–early 5th century
Gold

Diam. ring 2.5 cm. (1 in.); diam. bezel 1.3 cm. ($\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
Anonymous loan

Rings with revolving bezels may be traced back to the scarab rings of ancient Egypt, but those that have survived from the Early Christian period are very rare (cf. Chatzidakis, 1939–1943). This one has a solid hoop made of overlapping petal motifs, first cast, then chased. The circular bezel, held in place by pins, is deeply engraved on both sides.



No. 470: above, Christ enthroned; below, Entry into Jerusalem



On the obverse is Christ enthroned, flanked by two apostles or evangelists holding scrolls. Christ is a nimbed, youthful figure, seated frontally on a highbacked throne, his head turned in profile to his right; he wears a tunic and pallium and raises his right hand in blessing. The flanking figures, also beardless and with short curly hair, stand in slightly swaying poses and turn their heads toward him. On the reverse is an abbreviated version of the Entry into Jerusalem: beardless and without nimbus, Christ rides astride a donkey, carrying a long palm branch; he wears a tunic and pallium, a swag of which billows out behind him. At the right, a figure greets him by laying a palm (?) on the ground. A cross is in the field above.

Both compositions are patterned closely on imperial prototypes. The Entry into Jerusalem is based on the *adventus*, the ceremonial entry of the Roman emperor into a city (see Kantorowicz, 1944, pp. 208–221). The frontal image of Christ enthroned reflects an image introduced by Constantine I on his coinage, in which the emperor is represented in a symmetrical composition enthroned between two figures (Grabar, 1936, pp. 196–198). A silver medallion in Paris (no. 63), on which Constantine II is enthroned between his co-emperors, provides the type of model, except that on the ring Christ's head is in profile. The

only parallel for the profile head on an otherwise frontal image occurs on a ring, perhaps depicting a consul, in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Ross, 1965, II, no. 57). The composition anticipates the type of enthroned Christ found in the sixth century (cf. no. 474). The resemblance of the religious and imperial themes here is so close, that were it not for the cross on the Entry, the scenes could be interpreted equally well as an emperor or consul on the obverse and an *adventus* on the reverse.

The ring is of extremely fine quality, with the figures plastically modeled and the drapery carved with surprising delicacy and detail for such a tiny object. The coiffures of short curly hair and the classical treatment of the drapery find their closest parallels in the art of the Theodosian period (cf. no. 64). Supporting such a date is the chasing on the hoop, which is comparable to that on a ring in London (Oman, 1930, no. 203) and on several early fifth-century reliquaries (Buschhausen, 1971, C2, C4, C5). A fifth-century ring in the British Museum (Dalton, 1901, no. 190) is closely related both stylistically and iconographically. While its find-site is not known, our ring is said to have come from Constantinople.

S. A. B.

Unpublished.

471 Lamp with Christ trampling the beasts

North Africa (probably Tunisia), 5th century
Red earthenware with polished red-orange slip
14.1 × 8.3 cm. (5 $\frac{9}{16}$ × 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Rogers Fund, 1927, 27.94.30

The moldmade lamp has a flat top, plain stump handle, and a long spout connected to a circular disc enclosed by a broad rim. Two filling holes pierce the disc, which is decorated in relief with the standing figure of Christ, nimbed and flanked by flying angels. Christ holds a cross-staff and treads underfoot the lion, the dragon, the asp, and the basilisk (Ps. 91:13). The rim is decorated in crisp relief with circles enclosing the christogram,



foliated lozenges, and chevrons. Its condition is good.

The image of the triumphant Christ is drawn from the pagan iconography of victory, which shows the emperor in military dress, crushing the vanquished enemy; the immediate prototype depicted Constantine, holding the Christian standard (*labarum*) as the instrument of victory, trampling on a serpent (Grabar, 1936, pp. 238–239). The Christian interpretation of this triumphal theme, with Christ replacing the emperor, became popular during the fifth century in all media, and by the sixth century the image included the connotation of Christ's victory over death, hence the Resurrection (Grabar, 1936, pp. 195, 238).

Although similar lamps have been found all over the Mediterranean littoral, this shape is typical of a North African workshop; there is little doubt that most of these lamps were produced in Tunisia and widely exported (Hayes, 1972, pp. 310–311). Analogies to stamped "Red Slip Ware" suggest that such lamps were not made before the early fifth century. It may have been found in or near Rome, as it was in the Volpi and Stroganoff collections in Rome.

S. A. B.

Unpublished.

472 Disc or fragment of a plate with Christ and saints

Rome, 2nd half 4th century

Gold glass

Diam. 9.3 cm. ($3\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Oxford, The Governors of Pusey House, on loan to the Ashmolean Museum

The Oxford gold glass, either a fragmentary disc or the center of a plate, consists as is usual of two glass layers fused around a layer of etched gold leaf. Major damaged areas are found to either side of the figural composition, and several smaller damages mar the surface.

Within a circular field, an enlarged figure of Christ (labeled CRISTVS) is seated frontally on a highbacked chair among eight saints. Dressed in a long-sleeved tunic and pallium, he makes a speaking gesture with his right hand and holds an inscribed tablet or book in his left. On each side are groups of four similarly dressed, seated figures; the two in the foreground raise their right hands in acclamation while the remaining six, some of whom turn to one another, hold scrolls. Inscriptions identify the figure to Christ's right as St. Peter and four of the remaining figures as SS Timothy, Sixtus or Justus, Simon, and Florus. The badly damaged figure to Christ's left is probably

St. Paul; the remaining two figures are unknown, their inscriptions being lost due to damage.

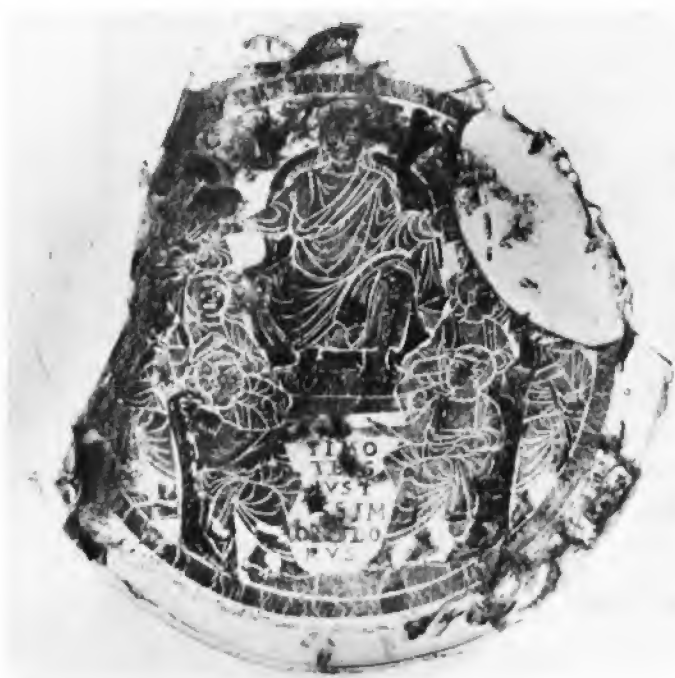
The Oxford glass portrays Christ as the Teacher of the True Philosophy (cf. no. 469), a popular Early Christian theme ultimately derived from pagan representations of philosophic discussions (cf. fig. 70). Here, Christ is in the company of saints, replacing the apostles, the first to be instructed by him (cf. the apse mosaics of Sta. Pudenziana, Rome, and S. Aquilino, Milan [Volbach, 1958, pls. 130, 138]).

Although difficult to date stylistically, the iconography suggests a date well into the fourth century. In addition, the clear, relatively small lettering and especially the drapery treatment can be compared to features of a gold glass in the Vatican, dated to the mid-fourth century, which depicts SS. Timothy and Sixtus receiving from Christ the crowns of martyrdom (Zanchi Roppo, 1969, no. 160).

Many gold glasses were reused by being imbedded into catacomb walls to mark grave loculi. The Oxford glass may also have served this function, although its find-site is unknown.

J. N. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Morey, 1959, no. 364; Wright, 1967, p. 74, pl. 6e; Grabar (1), 1968, p. 72, fig. 171; Rosenthal, 1972, p. 115, fig. 139.



*473 Icon of Christ Pantocrator

Constantinople, about mid-6th century

Encaustic on wood

84 × 45.5 cm. ($33\frac{1}{16}$ × $17\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Mt. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine

Painted in colored waxes on a thin (about $\frac{3}{8}$ inch) wood panel, the large icon has been cut down at the top and along the sides, accounting for the slightly off-center placement of Christ. An unpainted strip along the bottom edge indicates the panel was once inserted into a grooved frame, possibly bearing an inscription (cf. nos. 478, 479, 488). In 1962, late overpainting was removed, and, except for a major repair to the left side of Christ's head, a few small repairs, and minor flaking and rubbing, the original surface is in remarkably good condition.

The imposing figure of Christ is represented almost frontally, his right hand raised in blessing and his left holding a large, jeweled Gospel book. He wears a tunic and himation, both of the same deep purple, the folds defined not by highlights but by darker and lighter shades of purple. The gold cross-nimbus is decorated with a punched design along the edge. Of superb artistic quality, the nearly life-size figure fills the frame, and its placement so close to the front picture plane imbues the image with a startling immediacy. The rhythmic linear movement of hairline, brow line, and eyes rivet attention on the luminous tones of the face, with its large eyes staring benignly—but not directly—at the beholder. Behind Christ,



a low shallow niche implies a limited spatial depth that accommodates the slightly three-quarter pose of his torso. The inscription on the niche $\text{IC XC O } \Phi\text{IA (AN}\Theta\text{P}\omega\text{)}\Pi\text{(OC)}$ may be late Byzantine.

The iconographic type of Christ Pantocrator, the all-powerful, so frequent in later Byzantine art, has been associated with the well-known lost icon of the Chalke Gate, which was probably painted shortly after 532 (Chatzidakis, 1967, pp. 203–204). One of the earliest Pantocrator images occurs on the cross of Justin II (Volbach and Lafontaine-Dosogne, 1968, fig. 69), but the type became prevalent only after it was introduced on the coinage of Justinian II. Christ's youthful, serene face here differs considerably from the older and rather severe image of the canonical Pantocrator type (cf. no. 474).

The face is modeled with exceptional refinement in the application of fine white highlights and deep shadows, and, despite the frontality, strict symmetry is carefully avoided in the drawing of hair, nose, and beard; the differentiation of the eyes and brows, especially, enliven and intensify the calm, somewhat detached expression. The plastic strength of the figure, its three dimensionality, and the illusionistic modeling of the face suggest the icon was painted during the classical renovatio under Justinian I; it is one of the few preiconoclast icons to survive. It was probably made in Constantinople, and sent as a gift to Mt. Sinai.

S. A. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weitzmann, 1976, I, no. B.1.

474 Diptych of Christ and the Virgin

Constantinople, mid-6th century

Ivory

29 × 13 and 12.7 cm. ($11\frac{7}{16}$ × $5\frac{1}{8}$ and 5 in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, 564/565

Both plaques are trimmed along the sides and a piece, probably bearing a monogram of which only a Sigma remains, is cut off along the bottom. The large drill holes (for ivory pegs?) and small



nail holes piercing the borders indicate that the plaques were mounted more than once. They originally formed a hinged diptych, and, while many secular diptychs came to be used in the liturgy, the subject here shows it was made for religious purposes from the beginning. On the reverse, written in two columns in Carolingian

semiuncials, is a list of saints or illustrious members of the Church, whose names were read out during the prayer of intercession.

The figures are seated before identical elaborate architectural settings recalling those on consular diptychs: a richly decorated arch is supported by columns and filled with a scallop shell; between

the columns hangs a curtain, and half-figure personifications of the Sun and Moon fill the spandrels. Enthroned on the front leaf is a severe, bearded Christ, seated frontally on a *sella curulis*, his feet on a *suppedaneum*, his right hand blessing, his left balancing a closed Gospel book on his knee; behind him stand Peter and Paul. On the back leaf is the Virgin, seated frontally, holding on her lap the Christ child, who blesses with his right hand and holds a closed scroll in his left. Flanking her are two angels, probably Michael and Gabriel, each wearing a *chlamys* and diadem. The angel on the right holding an orb is found also on nos. 477 and 478. These solemn, majestic figures, displayed virtually as cult images, are based on formulae furnished by the official imagery of the Byzantine court (cf. the *Missorium* of Theodosius, no. 64) and adapted to consular diptychs. Similar compositions occur on diptychs in Paris and Etschmiadzin (Volbach, 1976, nos. 142, 145), where they are surrounded by scenes from the New Testament, but here the figures are isolated and become, in themselves, sacred devotional images.

The eclectic, but thoroughly classicizing style of the diptych is closely related to that of the plaques on the front of the Maximianus cathedra in Ravenna (Cecchelli, 1936, 2, pl. viii; 1937, 3, pl. xiv; 1944, 4–5, pls. xv, xvi). It surpasses the cathedra, however, in the intricacy of the background, the refinement of the carving, and the skillful modeling of the draped garments, which nevertheless betray a certain overelaboration and academic dryness. Despite the authoritative treatment of the human figure and the detailed carving of hair and drapery, the figures—who are seated before, rather than solidly on, their thrones—exhibit the same process of dematerialization seen on the Archangel ivory (no. 481). The iconic quality of the image is greatly enhanced by this shift in emphasis from the corporeality to the spiritualization of these sacred personages.

The high quality of the carving—one of the finest Justinianic ivories preserved—indicates a workshop in Constantinople, where the Hellenistic tradition survived in its purest form. It should be dated in the middle of the sixth century.

S. A. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bovini and Ottolenghi, 1956, no. 66 (2nd ed.); Delvoye, 1971, p. 208; Volbach, 1976, no. 137.



475 Plaque with Christ in a mandorla

Place of origin uncertain, 6th century or medieval copy

Ivory

17 × 10.6 cm. (6 $\frac{11}{16}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.)

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 71.303

The rectangular plaque is carved in low relief, with the frontal figure of Christ seated in an oval mandorla studded with incised stars and supported by four angels crowded into the spandrels. He holds a closed book from below in his left hand and blesses with his right in front of his chest. A narrow flange around the edge (broken off at the right) indicates the plaque formed the central panel of a five-part diptych, many of which were reused as book covers.

The hieratic image is probably taken from the Ascension of Christ, with the mandorla being lifted heavenward by angels (fig. 75). It resembles a seventh-century icon from Mt. Sinai (Weitzmann, 1976, I, no. B. 16), which also has the star-studded mandorla. The image of the older, bearded Christ alludes to his nature as "Ancient of Days" (Dan. 7:22).

The plaque's date and localization are controversial. Its style is closely dependent on that of a group including the St. Lupicin book covers in Paris, a plaque with St. Paul in Paris, and one with the Baptism in Lyons (Volbach, 1976, nos. 145, 150, and 149), all dating in the second half of the sixth century. The Christ of the Lupicin diptych offers particularly close analogies in many details of pose, gesture, and design. On the basis of such similarities many scholars, following Goldschmidt (1923), have dated it in the sixth or seventh century—considering its style to be derived from the carvings of the Maximianus cathedra in Ravenna (fig. 60)—and have attributed it to Egypt.

Volbach (1976), on the other hand (followed by Stern [1], 1954), perceiving the considerable stylistic differences with its sixth-century models, suggests a date in the tenth to eleventh century and implies it was made in a workshop in Gaul. (See also Volbach, 1952, pp. 50–53.) The absence of either a throne or rainbow for Christ to sit on and the unusual manner in which the hands of the angels are encased in their sleeves, rather than covered by veils, are misunderstandings that tend to support the theory that the ivory is a provincial, medieval copy of an Early Christian model.

Acquired by the Walters Gallery in 1930. Previously in the Campe collection, Hamburg, and the Kahn collection, Paris.

S. A. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Goldschmidt, 1923, p. 30, fig. 6; Stern (1), 1954, pp. 111–114; Beckwith, 1963, p. 25, fig. 109; Volbach, 1976, no. 235.

476 Plaque with Adoration of the Magi and the Nativity

Eastern Mediterranean, 1st half 6th century

Ivory

21.5 × 8.5 cm. ($8\frac{7}{16} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

London, The Trustees of the British Museum, 1904,

7–2, 1

The plaque originally formed the central panel of a five-part diptych like that in Ravenna (fig. 59). Carved in low relief and slightly rubbed, the ivory is dark in color; its narrow flanged edge is partly broken away, as is the upper right corner and a piece on the lower edge. On the back, in Greek minuscule, are nine lines of a prayer, written in a hand thought to be twelfth-century.

In contrast to the "narrative" version of the scene (cf. no. 287; fig. 64), the Adoration here is presented as a solemn hieratic image of majesty. The Virgin, larger in scale than the other figures, is seated frontally in the center, holding the Christ child on her lap, her eyes wide open and staring. Neither is nimbed. An angel, holding a cross-staff, stands behind her on the left, while the three Magi, wearing Oriental costume (tight trousers, short tunics, and Phrygian caps), present their



offerings with veiled hands. The symmetrical disposition of the figures around a central image and its setting within an arch supported by spirally fluted columns and foliate capitals, while based on imperial imagery, reflect the development toward a purely devotional image that culminates in the representations on the diptych in Berlin and the icon from Mt. Sinai (nos. 474, 478). The same hieratic version of the Adoration is represented on the silver ampullae from Palestine (Grabar, 1958, nos. 1, 2, pls. I, II, IV), and it has been suggested that it may derive from the lost mosaics on the west facade of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, known from medieval descriptions (Ainalov, 1961, pp. 233–236). In the narrow panel below is the scene of the Nativity, with the Virgin lying on a lobed mattress at the left; at the right is the child, lying in a masonry manger, flanked by the ox and ass, with the star of Bethlehem above. In front of the manger, the incredulous midwife, Salome, extends her withered hand toward the child, a detail based on the apocryphal gospels (see no. 406).

Closely related to our ivory are parts of a diptych wing in Manchester and elsewhere (nos. 457–461), and from the back leaf of the Murano diptych, now in Ravenna (fig. 59). The Manchester and Ravenna ivories form the core of a group characterized by elongated, angular figures with almost tubular arms and legs, faces with rather square jaws and round, inexpressive eyes with prominently drilled pupils, and drapery rendered in a sketchy and rather abstract style. The London ivory shares certain distinctive features of this group, but its figures are better proportioned, the forms are rounder and less angular, and the drapery falls in softer, more naturalistic folds.

The ivory was made in the eastern Mediterranean, but the exact location is uncertain. Syria or Palestine is favored by Kollwitz (1959, col. 1131), Ainalov (1961, pp. 264–271), and most recently by Weitzmann ([1], 1972, III, p. 36; Weitzmann, 1974, p. 39), while Egypt is proposed by Wessel (1958) and Beckwith (1963, p. 13). In view of the demonstrable differences in style from objects attributed to the capital (nos. 474, 481), the proposed origin in Constantinople (Volbach [3], 1962, p. 84; Delvoye, 1971) is less convincing.

S. A. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Delvoye, 1971, p. 213; Volbach, 1976, no. 131.

477 Icon of the Virgin enthroned

Color plate XIV

Egypt, 6th century

Wool

178 × 110 cm. (70 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 43 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., Bequest, 67.144

This large tapestry is well preserved except for losses in the border and the upper third. The two-zone design is woven at right angles to the warp, and the weaver apparently made some miscalculations: the mandorla with Christ, for example, is off-center, and the feet of the flying angel at the right project into the border area (Shepherd, 1969, p. 98).

The Virgin in Majesty, seated nearly frontally on a highbacked jeweled throne with footstool, holds the Christ child on her lap. The solemn image is closely related to that on the Berlin diptych and the Mt. Sinai icon (nos. 474, 478). Flanking the throne are the archangels Michael and Gabriel, both holding scepters; in his left hand Gabriel holds a large globe. They are placed within an architectural framework consisting of two columns surmounted by acanthus capitals, which support a narrow lintel bearing inscriptions in Greek with their names: O AΓΓ OC MIXAHA, H AHA [*sic*] MAPIA, O AΓΓ OC Γ A(BPIHA). The main background is red, and multicolored leafy plant tendrils grow around the throne; except for a triangular area of starry blue sky directly above the lintel, the red ground extends into the upper zone. Above, Christ is enthroned within a mandorla carried by two angels, a motif derived from the Ascension (cf. no. 475). Framing the composition is a wide foliate border of fruits and flowers and twelve medallions containing the busts of the twelve apostles; the name of each is written in Greek (often misspelled) in the foliage nearby.

The tapestry is of high quality, with the individual colors modeled by a wide variety of shades. In addition, the weaver has skillfully altered the tension of the weave to create internal variations and modulations of volume within a single color area. The quality of drawing of the figures is uneven; those on the main panel are finer than those of the roundels. The tapestry is closely related in style to the Hestia tapestry in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Friedländer, 1945, pp. 1–26) and to certain other textiles (nos. 129,



172, 494), all of which may be dated in the sixth century. The spatial ambiguity evident in the angel at the left, whose torso is behind the throne but whose feet protrude beneath the footstool, is a stylistic phenomenon not uncommon in the sixth century (cf. no. 481).

Few large-scale Christian textiles have survived (see also no. 494). The size of the tapestry indicates it was a wall hanging, and it is unique in that it was clearly intended as a monumental icon, like such painted wooden images as no. 478. It may well have hung on the wall of the church, in a function similar to the fresco and mosaic panels in sixth- and seventh-century churches (e.g., SS. Felix and Adauctus in the catacomb of Commodilla, Rome; Hagios Demetrios, Thessalonike; and Sta. Maria Antiqua, Rome). Indeed, it is likely that the

composition here is derived from monumental art. The closest iconographic analogy is with the frescoed apse of Chapel VI in Bawit, where the same subjects, a theophanic vision of Christ's Second Coming combined with the image of the Mother of God as the instrument of his Incarnation, are represented in a similar two-zoned composition (Shepherd, 1969, fig. 13).

Although the provenance of the textile is not known, its many and close connections with other textiles known to have come from Egypt provide a compelling reason to assume that it, too, was made there.

S. A. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Shepherd, 1969, pp. 90–120, figs. 11a, 14, 16, 22, cover ill.; Thompson, forthcoming, under no. 47.

*478 Icon of the Virgin enthroned between SS. Theodore and George

Constantinople, 2nd half 6th–early 7th century

Encaustic on wood

68.5 × 49.7 cm. (27 × 19 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.)

Mt. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine

Warping has caused the thin wood panel to split down the middle; except for this crack and certain areas of loss to St. George (most of his hair and a patch over his thigh have been restored), the impasto surface of the icon is remarkably well preserved, with only minor flaking. The icon was originally inserted into a grooved wooden frame, probably inscribed, that covered the unpainted strips along its edges.

This large icon bears a hieratic composition of the Virgin and Child enthroned, flanked by two military saints, Theodore left and George right, holding martyrs' crosses and dressed in the elaborate ceremonial garb of the imperial guard. In contrast to these solemn immobile figures, two archangels behind the throne, painted in free, broad brushstrokes in off-white shades, are shown in a quick, spirited movement, turning their heads to glance up at the hand of God with its band of light, which issues from the segment of heaven above. The composition recalls the tapestry icon of the Virgin (no. 477) and the Berlin diptych (no.

474). The figures are fitted tightly within the frame and are placed in front of an architectural background devoid of depth.

A curious mixture of styles creates a compelling tension within the composition. The Virgin appears relatively solid and three-dimensional with her knees turning slightly to the right; although her head is strictly frontal, her eyes are sharply averted. Christ is rendered convincingly as a child, the Word Incarnate, and he, too, averts his gaze from the beholder. On both, the colors are carefully modulated and the brushwork lively. The two saints stand motionless in stark frontality, their eyes staring hypnotically out at the beholder. Their richly embroidered mantles fall in straight tubular folds, implying volume, and shadows are cast by their feet; nevertheless, they appear weightless and insubstantial. Conflicting with the stability of the front picture plane is the movement of the angels, who are fully three-dimensional. The vivid impressionistic technique of the angels

indicates the strength of the classicism still prevalent in this period. At the same time, the variety of stylistic modes reflects the diversity of sources and traditions available to the artist, who used them selectively to express a variety of purposes.

The quality and stylistic complexity of the icon suggest it was made in Constantinople, but the date is still debated. An early seventh-century date is proposed by Kitzinger (1955, pp. 136–137; Kitzinger, 1958, pp. 30, 47, 49) and Wright (1975, pp. 14–15), who compare it to the pier mosaics at Hagios Demetrios, Thessalonike (no. 500) and to the early frescoes in Sta. Maria Antiqua in Rome, placing it within the Hellenistic revival under Heraclius. Weitzmann (1976, I), along with G. and M. Soteriou (1958, II, pp. 21–22), concludes that the classicism of the style places the icon within the classical revival under Justinian, and dates it no later than the second half of the sixth century.

S. A. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weitzmann, 1976, I, pp. 18–21, no. B.3.

*479 Icon of John the Baptist

Palestine (?), 6th century

Encaustic on wood

46.8 × 25.1 cm. (18 $\frac{7}{16}$ × 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Kiev, City Museum of Eastern and Western Art, 113

The icon is in poor condition because much of the encaustic has flaked off, exposing areas of bare wood. The figure, however, is relatively intact. Like no. 473, the panel is very thin (about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch), has been trimmed slightly at the sides, and was originally inserted into a grooved frame, as indicated by unpainted strips along the edge. The holes at the top and sides are evidence of a later attachment.

The full-length, standing figure of John the Baptist is represented frontally in contrapposto, with his head turned to the right; his right hand is raised, probably pointing to Christ above, and his left holds an open scroll that bears the remnants of the text, John 1:29: +Ε (ΙΑΕ) Ο/ΑΜ(ΝΟ)C /ΤΟV (ΘΕΟ)V Ο/(ΑΙΡΩ)Ν/(ΤΗΝ) Α/(ΜΑ)ΡΤΙ/-





(AN)TOV/ KOCMOV ("Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world"). He wears a tunic and himation, and over his shoulders the melote. Above him, left and right, are roundels containing the busts of Christ and the Virgin, each turned toward the Baptist.

The dress, pose, and gesture of John resemble those of the Baptist on the Maximianus cathedra (Cecchelli, 1937, 3, pl. xiv), but his long, slightly disheveled hair and beard, and his gaunt face with its expressive eyes suggest far more vividly the reality of a hermit saint. Weitzmann (1976, I) believes the image of the Baptist here derives from a narrative context and that the inclusion of the Virgin—for whom there is no iconographic justifi-

cation—anticipates the Deesis composition, which first appears in the mosaics at Mt. Sinai (fig. 73).

The loose, cursive treatment of the figure, with the highlights applied freely over the drapery, and the expressive realism of the face show little similarity to the refined classicizing style of icons attributed to Constantinople (nos. 473, 478, 488) or to the stark, rigid style associated with those from Egypt (nos. 496–498). On the basis of a number of similarities, including the treatment of the highlights and the sharply glancing eyes, to those on an icon attributed to Palestine, Weitzmann has proposed a Palestinian origin. The icon is one of several brought to Kiev from Mt. Sinai by Porphyry Uspensky in the mid-nineteenth century.

S. A. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weitzmann, 1976, I, no. B.11.

480 Textile fragment with Victory holding a wreath

Egypt, 5th–early 6th century

Wool and linen

41.3 × 65.4 cm. (16¼ × 25¾ in.)

London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 349–1887

A winged, flying female figure supports in both hands a floral wreath enclosing a jeweled cross, with a dove in the upper angles of the cross and the Alpha and Omega (symbols of Christ's eternal nature) below; the right half of the wreath is missing. The figure wears a high girdled tunic with a peplos, a caplike jeweled crown, earrings, a pair of armbands, and a pair of bracelets. A second figure would have supported the wreath on the right, forming a heraldic composition proclaiming the triumph of Christianity through the triumphal cross, a theme popular on ivory diptychs (cf. no. 28; fig. 59; Volbach, 1976, no. 145), as well as on mosaics (cf. S. Vitale, Ravenna [Deichmann, 1958, pls. 314, 315]). The figure and the wreath are wool and linen tapestry, woven into a linen ground. Though fragmentary, the textile is in good condition.

Despite the Christian context, the figure is not an angel but the pagan personification of Victory. The motif is based on that of winged Victories

supporting the laurel wreath, such as those depicted on late Roman sarcophagi and on the Arch of Constantine (no. 58). The Christian angel is derived from the Roman Victory but is differentiated as a male figure, wearing a tunic and pallium (cf. no. 481), a distinction that evolved during the fourth and fifth centuries. The earliest example of angels bearing the wreath occurs on the late fourth-century Prince's sarcophagus in Istanbul (Kollwitz, 1941, pp. 132–133, pl. 45). However, Victories continued to be used almost interchangeably with angels on textiles, ivories, and sculpture (nos. 28, 458), even in the sixth century.

The fragment was once part of a much larger hanging, a curtain that opened down the middle (note the seam at the right). A large pair of curtains in the British Museum (29.771) bears the same subject across the top. The weaving is of exceptionally high quality, and the relatively naturalistic drawing of the face (with its rounded jawline and short neck), the coherent treatment of the drapery, and the slightly chubby proportions of the body suggest a date in the second half of the fifth or the early sixth century.

Found at Akhmîm.

S. A. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kendrick, 1921, II, no. 317, pl. VII; Peirce and Tyler, 1934, II, pp. 96, 98, pl. 78.



481 Leaf of a diptych with an archangel

Constantinople, 1st half 6th century

Ivory

42.8 × 14.3 cm. (16 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

London, The Trustees of the British Museum,
EC 295

The large relief is extremely well preserved. Holes along the left side and the sunken field at the back indicate it formed the front leaf of a diptych, while other holes piercing the border suggest reuse. On its reverse is a nearly illegible text in Greek, perhaps part of a prayer, written in ink in a seventh-century hand.

Standing at the top of a flight of six steps is the imposing figure of a winged archangel (most likely Michael), wearing a tunic and pallium that fall in delicate rippling folds; he holds an orb surmounted by a jeweled cross in his right hand, a long staff in his left. The receding stairs suggest that he stands within the arcade, the arch of which is intricately carved with acanthus and supported by fluted columns, yet his wings and arms overlap the columns, indicating that he is in front of them. Within the arch is a scallop shell, and in front of the shell is a wreath enclosing a cross; rosettes and acanthus leaves fill the spandrels, and at the top is a tablet with a Greek inscription: + ΔΕΧΟΜΕΝΑΙ ΠΑΡΟΝΤΑ/ΚΑΙ ΜΑΘΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΙΤΙΑΝ ("Receive these gifts, and having learned the cause . . ."). The inscription would have continued on the top of the missing companion leaf. The exceptionally large size of the ivory, its superb workmanship, and the attitude of the angel, who seems to offer the orb of imperial power, suggest that an emperor was represented on the second leaf (Vasiliev, 1950, p. 419).

The sculptural quality of the figure, its illusion of corporeality, and the strength of the classical tradition—apparent in the skillful carving of the rich sweep of drapery over the carefully modeled body—have led some scholars to date the ivory in the fourth or fifth century. But the spatial ambiguity of the figure's placement and his unstable stance, in which his feet appear to slide down the steps, reflect the beginning of the dematerialization of the human figure that occurs during the sixth century (cf. no. 474). Vasiliev (1950, p. 422) as-



sociated the pose of the angel with a change that occurred in the coinage of Justin I, in which the personification of Victory (cf. no. 480), a female shown in profile, is transformed into a frontal archangel clad in male attire. The delicacy of the carving and the sensitive modeling of the drapery are comparable to that on the Musée de Cluny Ariadne (no. 127) and the diptych of the poet and the muse (Volbach, 1976, no. 68), and confirm a date in the first third of the sixth century.

The large size of the carving, its refined aristocratic style, and its superb quality epitomize the art of Constantinople; it was undoubtedly executed in a court workshop.

S. A. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vasiliev, 1950, pp. 418–426; Delvoye, 1971, p. 209; Volbach, 1976, no. 109.

****482 Paten with angels and cross**

Constantinople, late 6th century (?)

Silver

Diam. 18.6 cm. ($7\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum, 0 209

The plate is made of a single piece of silver and rests on a partly crushed ring foot, from which a piece is broken. Only traces of the original gilding are preserved. At the top, over the cross, is a round hole.

The archangels Gabriel and Michael are represented standing on either side of a jeweled cross, which is supported on a starry globe. Under the figures' feet are four "streams" representing the four rivers of paradise. The arrangement is symbolic of the Glory of the Cross or the Praise of the Cross, and each angel's right hand is raised in an attitude of adoration. To the sides and near the top of the cross are engraved schematic representations of Sol and Luna, which must be later additions.

The nimbed angels are garbed in classical robes like that worn by the archangel Michael on no. 481. Their agitated drapery, a feature enhanced by an accomplished chasing technique, has been compared by Volbach (1961, pp. 358–359, pl. 245) to that on ivories such as the Ariadne in the Musée de Cluny (no. 127). Although it lacks imperial control



483 Icon of an archangel

Egypt, 6th century

Encaustic on wood

25 × 14 cm. (9 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles,
Collection Froehner, 1129b

Much of the paint has been lost from the surface of the slightly warped, thin wood (sycamore) panel. It is pierced by two large knotholes and is cracked at the right. The image is painted in colored waxes directly on the roughly hewn wood, and a nail hole at the top was used for suspension. It has a narrow painted border.

Filling the panel is the strictly frontal half figure of an archangel, nimbed and dressed in military costume (a chlamys fastened over his right shoulder

stamps, the piece can be dated to before the seventh century on the basis of style; but whether it can have originated as early as the Justinianic period (527–565), as has been suggested, remains an open question (see Volbach [2], 1962, pp. 29–30).

The theme of the Leningrad paten is paralleled on two pilgrim's flasks at Bobbio (Grabar, 1958, pls. XXXII, XXXIII) and on other small objects that show a dependence on monumental compositions. Ihm (1960, pp. 91–92, 194–195) pointed to the former existence of such an apse composition, dating from the early seventh century, in the chapel of Adam in the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and correctly related the Leningrad paten to an evidently earlier lost apse decoration.

According to Smirnov (1909, no. 37, p. 13, pl. xv, fig. 3), the paten was found before 1867 at a site called Berezovyi Ostro (in western Siberia) or in a place called Berezovo, probably in the Perm district. Acquired by the Hermitage in 1911 from the Stroganoff collection in Rome.

J. L. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Muñoz, 1912, II, pl. 133; Elbern, 1963, p. 175, ill. p. 173, fig. 117; Bank, 1966, no. 84, ill.; Wessel, 1969, p. 371; Dodd, 1973, pp. 28–29.



and a tunic decorated with embroidered segments identical to the ceremonial garb worn by the imperial guard (cf. SS. George and Theodore, no. 478). His right hand is held before his chest in a gesture of blessing. Depicted as a youth with short, curly brown hair, the angel lacks his usual attributes (wings, scepter, or globe; cf. nos. 481, 482). His identification rests exclusively on the jeweled fillet tied in his hair, the ends of which are visible on either side of his neck.

The icon's provenance is not known, but its rough style, with the emphasis on heavy outlines and thick broad strokes of color, and the rigid frontality of the figure, relate it to other early Coptic icons (cf. nos. 489, 497, 498). A certain looseness in the treatment of the drapery and the fullness of the coiffure suggest that this piece should be dated slightly earlier than the others, perhaps in the first half of the sixth century. Its modest quality and small dimensions suggest it was a private devotional image.

S. A. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Essen, 1963, no. 235; Parlasca, 1966, p. 210, pl. 53, 2.

484 Ring with an archangel

Constantinople (?), early 7th century

Gold

Bezel 1.4 cm. ($\frac{9}{16}$ in.); diam. hoop 2.3 cm. ($\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Anonymous loan

This small ring has a plain wire hoop with a flat oval bezel. The bezel depicts in intaglio a standing frontal figure of an archangel, his wings outspread, holding a scepter in his right hand and a globe (?) in his left. He wears a tunic and elaborately draped pallium, has short curly hair, and is not nimbed.

Rings bearing Christian subjects are relatively common in this period and continue the pagan practice of decorating gems and rings with representations of gods, heroes, or magical emblems. Other rings with archangels (Ross, 1965, II, nos. 62, 63; Segall, 1938, no. 258; Schlunk, 1939, no. 37) have been dated to the sixth century mainly on the basis of their similarity to the archangel-Victory types on the coinage of Justin I and Justinian. The plastically conceived archangel on



our ring, however, stands apart from these attenuated figures, and it is likely that it should be dated to the classical revival in the early seventh century and its style compared—despite the difference in scale—to that of the bowl with St. Sergios (no. 493) and to the David plates (nos. 425–433).

As it is carved in intaglio, the ring may have been used as a signet, and, as it is gold, it must have belonged to a person of considerable importance.

Formerly in the Melvin Gutman collection, Oberlin, Ohio.

S. A. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Parkhurst, 1961, no. 129.

485 Plaque with St. Peter

Ravenna (?), about 500

Ivory

14 × 9 cm. ($5\frac{1}{2}$ × $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, Glencairn Foundation

The plaque is broken at the lower left and chipped at the lower right. There is a hole just above Peter's head, another (now plugged) at the top of the cross, and another for a hinge at the upper left. On the back, at the bottom, is a circular molding, perhaps the frame of a medallion, a feature that would indicate that this ivory is a reused wing of a consular diptych.

The figure of Peter, identified by the key he holds, strides to the right, grasping a tall cross that stands on a mound from which flow the four rivers of paradise. He is clad in a long tunic and a billowing pallium. The composition is framed by a pair of columns, each with single grooves. The columns support a conch with an exagger-

atedly scalloped edge. There are acanthus leaf acroteria; plain moldings serve as a groundline.

This ivory has been associated with works executed in Ravenna in the fifth and sixth centuries (Griffing, 1938). The apostle hastening toward Christ with a flying mantle and the cross atop a mound from which flow the four rivers appear on Ravennate sarcophagi (e.g., Lawrence, 1945, figs. 2, 56, 61); the odd shell form appears on Ravennate mosaics (e.g., Volbach, 1961, nos. 145, 167, 173). The treatment of the rivers as incised teardrops and the shape of the cross bear particular resemblance to the Cross sarcophagus, dated about 500 (Lawrence, 1945, p. 36). The facial type, however, with its shadow of a beard and wide lips, has its closest parallel on a piece of Syrian silver (no. 554); the isolated figure of Peter with a large key appears on ampullae from the eastern Mediterranean (Griffing, 1938, figs. 4, 5), and the curious conch appears on a consular diptych in the Louvre, which has been attributed to North Africa (Vol-

bach, 1976, no. 58; cf. Salomonson, 1973, pp. 24–28).

The iconography is unusual. In other depictions Peter carries the cross on his shoulders (no. 503), or the cross stands by itself on the mound of Golgotha with the four rivers (Milan book covers [Volbach, 1961, nos. 100, 101]), sometimes accompanied by angels (cf. no. 482) or by the lamb (Lawrence, 1945, figs. 2, 56, 61). The combination as it exists here is unparalleled.

The plaque is surely not complete in itself. It is nonetheless hard to reconstruct what may have adorned the adjoining wing, for any representation of Christ would have been redundant.

Formerly in the Stroganoff collection in Rome.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Griffing, 1938, p. 269 n. 10; Gómez-Moreno, 1968, no. 70; Volbach, 1976, no. 134.



486 Two panels with the four evangelists

Egypt (?), 6th century

Ivory

Each panel, 33.3 × 13.6 cm. (13 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, M. 10, M. 11–1904

There are numerous nail holes in the ivory, and the borders by which the panels were once attached to a frame have apparently been narrowed.

Each panel contains two unnamed evangelists and a New Testament scene above. The bearded evangelists, who turn slightly toward each other, carry Gospel books decorated with eight-pointed stars; they stand between pairs of spiral columns topped by Corinthian capitals. They wear tunics and pallia, and unusual slippers over short socks marked by hatched lines. Two of them raise their right hands in blessing, and two hold their books in veiled hands.

On one panel, separated by an architrave from the figures below, is the scene of Christ healing the paralytic (see, e.g., Matt. 9:1–7). The cured man raises his bed on his back and walks off to the right toward an apostle, who bears witness to the miracle by raising his hand. The youthful



Christ at the left has no halo but holds a cross-staff and gestures toward the paralytic. Horizontal courses of masonry form a backdrop to the scene.

The other panel depicts Christ conversing with the Samaritan woman (John 4: 6–26). Christ stands at the left, holding the cross-staff. Beyond the well is the Samaritan woman, holding a rope as she lowers her bucket from the windlass. The background is the same as before.

The evangelists have been associated in style with the Peter ivory in the *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Brussels (Volbach, 1976, no. 153), the St. Paul in Notre Dame in Tongres (Volbach, 1976, no. 154), and the evangelist (?) in the Metropolitan Museum (no. 487). These five ivories (plus two others) are thought to have adorned an episcopal throne once in the church of St. Maximin in Trier. (The Cambridge ivories themselves were reported in a seventeenth-century description as being in a "coenobium" of St. Maximin, though it is not clear whether this monastery was the famous one in Trier or another in Luxembourg.) Several ivories of the group can surely be connected with the area of Trier, and Volbach has suggested (1976) that they were all executed there by local artists influenced by the portraits of the standing evangelists on the front of the great Maximianus cathedra in Ravenna.

The seven ivories, however, differ enough among themselves and in their relation to the chair to challenge any assumption that they could once have adorned a single piece of furniture. The Cambridge evangelists are perhaps the furthest removed from the chair panels: the architectural background is simplified, while the drapery style is looser and more fluid, with fewer deep incisions. The restless folds are nearer to those on such surely Constantinopolitan ivories as the archangel ivory in London (no. 481) and the Berlin Christ (no. 474).

The two miracle scenes do resemble the New Testament scenes on the Maximianus cathedra, but, with their wooden figures and striated backgrounds, they are yet more closely related to some later sixth-century pyxides (especially those in Berlin and the Louvre [Volbach, 1976, nos. 187, 185]), which are usually attributed to Egyptian workshops. The four-evangelist panels may themselves have been carved in Egypt, though under strong metropolitan influence.

The narrow format of the panels is puzzling, but does not preclude their use as a diptych, or

even together as the cover for a Gospel book—for which the evangelists would indeed have been an appropriate theme.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stern (1), 1954, pp. 112–113; Volbach, 1976, no. 152.

487 Plaque with an evangelist or an apostle

Egypt (?), 6th century

Ivory

23.2 × 10.5 cm. (9 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941, 41.100.156

The ivory has several vertical cracks; half of the left-hand border is broken off, and the top has been neatly cropped. There is a hole just above the figure's head.

A figure dressed in tunic, pallium, and sandals holds a book in his left hand. He stands frontally between a pair of curtains, which must originally have been shown hanging from a rod above. Identified in the past as St. Paul or St. Peter, he has neither the usual physical attribute of Paul (a straight, pointed beard) nor the iconographic attribute of Peter (keys); it is more likely that he represents either an evangelist or an apostle.

The style of this ivory is strikingly close to that of the two ivory panels of the four evangelists in Cambridge (no. 486). The general execution is somewhat cruder, the drapery folds are less well understood, and the figure is shown in ordinary sandals instead of special slippers. But the overall proportions and the facial features correspond—eyes with both upper and lower lids, tight curls on the beard marked with deep hatchings, and thick lips and ears. The drapery has similar undulating folds hanging in loops along the edge of the leg.

It has been proposed that this plaque, along with four others, as well as the Cambridge ivories, once adorned an episcopal throne. This particular panel comes from Mettlach, near Trier, and scholars have suggested that the hypothetical throne was originally located in the cathedral of Trier.



The Metropolitan panel is closer in style to the Cambridge ivories than to any other ivory in the group. Though it can scarcely have ever belonged to the same object, it is no doubt a later product of the same milieu—whether Gaul, as Volbach suggests (1976), or, more likely, Coptic Egypt. It may have been one of a set of four standing figures of evangelists—like the Cambridge evangelists or those on the Maximianus cathedra—or, if it is an apostle, one of a series of twelve, perhaps adorning a church door.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stern (I), 1954, p. 112; Ostioia, 1969, no. 15; Volbach, 1976, no. 155.

*488 Icon of St. Peter

Constantinople, 2nd half 6th–1st half 7th century (?)

Encaustic on wood

92.8 × 53.1 cm. (36 $\frac{9}{16}$ × 20 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Mt. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine

The icon is damaged around the edges, on the face of Christ, and in the area of the saint's left hand. Paint has flaked off in many other smaller areas of the icon's surface.

St. Peter is portrayed as a half figure, his head slightly turned to the left; he has a heavy neck and wide shoulders and the customary short gray hair and beard. In his right hand he holds three keys, and in his left a long golden cross-staff. He is placed before a niche, whose carefully articulated cornice is visible behind the saint's large halo. Above, in an undefined space, are three medallions: that in the center contains the head of Christ (with a beard and a white cross behind his head); the Virgin is on the right; and a young beardless saint is on the left, identified by some as Moses and by others, more plausibly, as St. John the Evangelist.

The composition is based on that of consular diptychs, such as that of Anastasius (no. 88). St. Peter here assumes the role of the consul, holding the attributes of his office, while the medallions above portray those from whom he derives his authority: Christ in place of the emperor and the Virgin in place of the empress. The young saint corresponds to the image of the co-consul.

Because Peter is depicted as a half figure, there is a greater concentration on the head and features than is ever found on the consular images. Surely the penetrating Late Antique portraits of private individuals (cf. no. 271) have also contributed much to the genesis of this striking image.

The date of the icon is disputed. Weitzmann (1976, I) and others consider it to be of the later sixth or early seventh century, its mastery of modeling and color harmonies coinciding with a hardening of the drapery patterns. Kitzinger (1977, p. 120) proposes a date a century later, basing his arguments on the comparison of the icon with



489 Relief with St. Mark enthroned

Egypt, 1st half 7th century

Ivory

16 × 12 cm. (6 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets
d'Art, OA. 3317

The relief preserves the shape of the tusk, and its back side is uncarved. It was apparently stained purple. There are numerous repairs throughout; some heads and the right hand of the seated saint are restored. The cityscape above the figures is badly damaged.

A large seated and haloed figure dominates the composition. The saint is evidently an evangelist or apostle, in classical garb, holding a Gospel book and raising his right hand in speech; he sits on a cushioned throne with a high latticed back. His features, a thin face with pointed beard and balding brow, correspond to those of Mark as he appears on later Coptic and Syrian monuments.

Around him stand thirty-five men dressed in richly ornamented chlamydes over long tunics. Those on the right hold books; those on the left raise their right hands. The scene is set before a city gate with four piers; the two outer piers are surmounted by towers. Above appears the city, comprising a round structure, a form of basilica, and various buildings with high balconies. Most of the buildings and the gate towers are peopled with tiny figures straining out of windows and over balconies to hear or watch the assemblage below.

The ivory is generally considered Egyptian, primarily because of its relation to an early Coptic wooden relief in Berlin (no. 69), which has similar arrangements of figures and architecture. Strzygowski (1901, pp. 73–74) proposed to identify the seated figure as the evangelist Mark (who became the first patriarch of Alexandria) and the eminent audience as thirty-five of Mark's successors on the patriarchal throne, up to and including the patriarch Anastasios Aposyrgarios (607–619).

The style supports an early seventh-century date. The rather voluminous figure of St. Mark can be compared to the figure of Saul on one of the David plates (no. 427), and the short bulging hairstyle of some of the other figures can be compared to that of Saul's guard or of coin portraits

frescoes in Sta. Maria Antiqua in Rome, especially those done under Pope John VII in 705–707. The icon's place of origin is also disputed. G. and M. Soteriou (1958, II, p. 20) originally suggested Alexandria, but Weitzmann now believes it to have been done in Constantinople, because of its high quality and the artist's familiarity with imperial iconography.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weitzmann, 1976, I, no. B. 5; Kitzinger, 1977, p. 120, pl. viii.



of Phocas and Heraclius. The gaunt standing figures are reminiscent of seventh-century mosaic and icon portraits (cf. no. 478).

Nonetheless, the ivory's meaning remains enigmatic. The so-called patriarchs dress more like city or military officials than ecclesiastics; the identification of the central figure as Mark is not absolutely certain. Strzygowski's interpretation (1901) would make the ivory a most curious mixture of highly specific realistic detail and general commemorative content.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, 1976, no. 144.

490 Plaque with St. Peter dictating the Gospels to St. Mark

Syria (?), late 7th century (?)

Ivory

13.3 × 10.2 cm. (5¼ × 4 in.)

London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 270–1867



The ivory has been cropped across the top; a fragment in the lower right corner has been lost and replaced.

The ivory shows two seated figures and an angel. On the left is St. Peter, recognizable by his curly hair and short beard; he sits in a highbacked chair with a dolphin-shaped armrest and raises his right hand in speech. On the right, an evangelist writes into his Gospel book. He has been identified as St. Mark because of the similarity of his features to those of Mark on the closely related ivories of the so-called Grado chair (no. 456). The letter "A" in his book is the first letter of *Ἀρχή*, the opening word of Mark's Gospel.

Between the figures is an elaborate inkstand; behind it stands the angel, who arches his wings above the seated saints and carries a staff; he turns toward Peter, presumably awarding him divine inspiration. The scene is framed by spiral columns, supporting an architrave inscribed *ΠΟΛΙΣ ΡΩΜΗΣ* ("City of Rome"), evidently a reference to a lost cityscape above. (According to a tradition reaching at least as far back as Eusebius, St. Mark based his Gospel on the reminiscences and preachings of St. Peter in Rome.) This ivory is the earliest example of the rare type of evangelist portrait in which the evangelist is accompanied by an apostle.

It has long been recognized that this plaque belongs to a group of fourteen ivories closely related to each other in style, size, and content, many of them illustrating events in the life of St. Mark (cf. no. 456). The date and the function of the ivories, however, have provoked considerable dispute. In the latest study, Weitzmann ([1], 1972, III) abandons both the early (sixth-century) and late (eleventh-century) dates hitherto proposed, and favors instead a seventh-century date, suggesting that the ivories are Syrian. He considers this ivory of Peter and Mark to be the latest of the fourteen ivories, because of the advanced mannerism of its style—especially the linear folds and the shallow space allotted to the figures. He has proposed that this plaque, along with the other ivories, once adorned a large wooden church door.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weitzmann (1), 1972, III, pp. 54, 72–73, 80–81, 86, fig. 14; Volbach, 1976, no. 243.

*491 Panel with SS. Cosmas and Damian

Thessalonike, about 390 or about 450 (?)

Mosaic

10 m. (32 ft. 8 in.)

Thessalonike, Rotunda of Galerius (Hagios Demetrios)

The mosaics of the Rotunda of Galerius (no. 107) were unrivaled in scale and quality in the Early Christian period.

In the dome, the basic scheme consists of two wide concentric bands around a central medallion in the apex, with a fragmentary standing figure of Christ against a silver ground, borne aloft by four flying angels on a golden ground and, directly above the head of Christ, a rayed phoenix, here probably a symbol of the Resurrection. In the first concentric band only some sandaled feet on a green ground and some hems of white garments are preserved. The number of these figures and their identities remain in doubt.

The lower band is divided into eight panels (of which seven are more or less intact), bordered by acanthus candelabra to the sides, a simulated entablature above, and a simulated console frieze

below. Each panel displays a sophisticated yet fanciful architectural facade in two stories, in front of which stand two or three unimbed orant male martyr saints. Among them the two physician saints Cosmas and Damian wear the silver and gray phelonion over a sleeved white tunic extending to the ankles. They flank a domed, circular ciborium supported by six columns standing on a stepped podium that shelters an altar (backless throne?) displaying an open (Gospel?) book. Between the saints and the ciborium stand two tall candlesticks. The lower story of the facade behind the saints has five distinct parts, the central three connected by a common entablature, while the upper story consists of projecting porticoes flanking a broad tripartite structure. Birds flanking a cross are perched on the upper two lateral porticoes; below the porticoes stand magnificent peacocks, predominantly of blue and gold, facing the central axis of the composition. The columns of the lower story of the facade are ornamented with jewels and strings of pearls and, like all the architectural members of both stories as well as the background of the panel, are golden.

In separate studies Grabar ([2], 1967) and Kleinbauer ([1], 1972) have suggested that the basic theme of the mosaics is the Second Coming of Christ. The overall layout recalls the mosaics in the dome of the Baptistry of the Orthodox at Ravenna (no. 588), while the architectural backdrops bring to mind the stage scenery of Hellenistic and Roman theaters.

The dates suggested for these mosaics range from the late fourth to the early sixth century. The youthful faces, dreamy expressions, soft modeling, and low-set ears of some of the heads of the saints recall works of the Theodosian renaissance (e.g., nos. 99, 399). Yet the faces of other saints, like those of Cosmas and Damian reproduced here, are characterized by a geometric abstraction enlivened by asymmetries of color and structure, features that occur no earlier than about the mid-fifth century (e.g., no. 55). A close technical examination has disclosed that all the mosaics in the building were executed during a single campaign. Whatever their date, they were made by the most talented master or team of mosaicists from Constantinople.

W. E. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weigand, 1939; Torp, 1955; Grabar (2), 1967; Kleinbauer (1), 1972; Soteriou, 1972.



*492 Icon of SS. Sergios and Bacchos

Constantinople (?), 7th century

Encaustic on wood

28.4 × 41.8; with frame, 42.5 cm. (11 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.;
with frame, 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Kiev, City Museum of Eastern and Western Art, 111

The icon is split horizontally. Damaged parts have been retouched, mainly in the face of the right-hand figure. A lid originally protected the surface of the icon. The inscription correctly identifying the saints as Sergios and Bacchos is by a later hand.

The two young saints, depicted in bust with large haloes, hold crosses as symbols of their martyrdom; they wear the military costume of chiton and chlamys, and around their necks a heavy gold band set with three large gems, the maniakion, insignium of their former position as imperial guards. Between them is a medallion enclosing a frontal head of Christ, who has long black hair and a pointed black beard. The background is a pale blue.

A similar torque serves to identify St. Sergios on the contemporary silver plate in London (no. 493). But in sharp contrast to that loosely elegant and somewhat elusive figure, the two saints here are depicted frontally, in virtually identical poses, with wide eyes that gaze compellingly out at the viewer. The saints are stylistically related to the figure of St. George on the Virgin icon on Mt. Sinai (no. 478), though more abstract. This type of young martyr was used for the mid-seventh-



century mosaic portrait of St. Sergios and even for that of St. Demetrios in the church of Hagios Demetrios in Thessalonike (no. 500).

Parallels with these works from Constantinople and Thessalonike suggest a similar date and place of manufacture for this icon, although Syria and Egypt have also been proposed. The icon was found in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai, and brought to Kiev in the mid-nineteenth century by Porphyry Uspensky.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weitzmann, 1976, I, pp. 28–30, pls. XII, LII, LIII; Bank and Popova, 1977, no. 110.

493 Bowl with bust of St. Sergios or St. Bacchos

Constantinople, 641–651

Silver with niello

6–7.8, diam. 24.5 cm. (2 $\frac{3}{8}$ –3 $\frac{1}{16}$, 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

London, The Trustees of the British Museum,
99.4–25.2

In the center of this shallow, ring-foot bowl is a medallion containing the repoussé bust of a youthful military saint, glancing slightly to the right. He has tight curly hair and wears a tunic with a rosette on the shoulder and a chlamys with tablion and fibula. Around his neck hangs a maniakion with five round gems. The saint holds the cross of martyrdom in his right hand. Around the medallion is a band of niello ornament, consisting of a leaf pattern roughly arranged in quatrefoils and framed by a spiral meander. The outer rim has debased egg-and-dart and acanthus friezes, also in repoussé. Although the bowl was evidently a liturgical vessel, its precise use has not been determined.

The maniakion indicates the saint was a member of the imperial guard; hence he is probably St. Sergios (who was a *primicerius scholae gentiliū*, or commander of the foreigners in the emperor's bodyguard) or his second-in-command, St. Bacchos, who, with Sergios, was martyred in Syria in the early fourth century. Other contemporary representations of these saints (cf. no. 492 and a mosaic in Hagios Demetrios in Thessalonike) reflect a similar portrait type.



Detail of no. 493: central medallion

On the bottom of the bowl are five imperial control stamps, including one of Constans II, which fix the date and suggest that the bowl was made in Constantinople. Certain features do associate the bowl with seventh-century silverwork from Constantinople. The tight curly hair-style, the heavy-set neck, the high-placed ear, and some details of costume (particularly the confused depiction of the tunic and chlamys as virtually one garment) are all paralleled in the David plates (especially no. 432). Nevertheless, the figure of the saint on this bowl lacks the linear precision of those silver pieces. Its loose sketchy style remains in the tradition of earlier, sixth-century objects unearthed in Syria, such as the Homs vase in the Louvre (no. 552) and the oil phial in the Walters Art Gallery (no. 536).

Found in Cyprus, near Kyrenia, along with a censer (no. 563), a plate, and thirty-six liturgical spoons, which together comprise the First Cyprus Treasure.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dodd, 1961, no. 78; Volbach, 1961, no. 269.

494 Two fragments of a textile with St. Theodore (?)

Egypt, 6th century

Wool and linen

Fragment with head of saint: 31.8 × 44.1 cm.

(12½ × 17½ in.); fragment with inscription:

48 × 37 cm. (18¾ × 14⅞ in.)

Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum, Gift of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1939.112.1, 2

The pale tan linen warp threads of this tapestry run horizontally, at right angles to the design. The wool weft threads are of at least nine different colors. The tapestry is reversible.

All that remains of the original textile are two fragments, sewn together somewhat arbitrarily at the time the textile entered the Fogg Art Museum. The fragment with the head of a saint is still wrongly assembled in two places: a piece at the lower right and another with the upper part of the staff on the left must have belonged elsewhere in the tapestry.

This fragment contains the nimbed head of a saint with brown curls and a pointed dark beard, looking off to the left with large heavy-lidded eyes. He wears a chlamys attached at his right shoulder with a round buttonlike fibula. His right hand, barely visible at the far left, must have held the staff. To the right of the saint is the hand of a second figure, otherwise destroyed, who holds a staff ending in a jeweled cross. The background is a vivid brick red.

The second fragment has a vine scroll with multi-colored grapes bordering a triangular area studded with pearls and cabochon gems. The jewels surround an inner triangle, which has letters on a blue ground: Ο ΑΓΙ(ΟC) ΘΕΟΔΟ(ΠΟC) ("St. Theodore"). At the upper right is the same red ground as in the other fragment, here surrounding a small roundel, which is also studded with pearls. The fragment probably depicted a piece of architecture or a throne.

The head of the saint on the first fragment does bear the features of St. Theodore as he is known from sixth- to seventh-century icons from Mt. Sinai (Weitzmann, 1976, I, no. B.13; cf. no. 478) and mosaics (SS. Cosmas and Damian in Rome [Wilpert and Schumacher, 1976, pls. 105, 106]).



belong to the same textile. The saint was most likely shown standing.

His leftward gaze suggests another figure once closed the composition on that side. The textile would then have had at least three figures and possibly a throne—an impressive tapestry on the scale of the Cleveland wall hanging of the Virgin (no. 477).

In style, too, it is related to the Cleveland textile, as well as to that of Hestia at Dumbarton Oaks (Thompson, forthcoming, no. 47); the modeling here, however, is far more skillful, perhaps indicating that this piece was executed earlier than either of the others.

The textile is said to have been found at Akhmîm in Upper Egypt.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tyler, 1939; Shepherd, 1969, p. 108; Zaloscer, 1974, p. 166, fig. 80.



Therefore, despite some discrepancies in scale and in execution, these two pieces are considered to

****495 Doors from the Church of St. Barbara, Old Cairo**

Egypt, 6th century

Wood

Each valve, 240 × 107 cm. (94½ × 42½ in.)

Cairo, Coptic Museum, 738

The doors were uncovered during restoration work on the medieval Church of St. Barbara. They are older than the church and had been cut down in size for reuse. The lower portion disintegrated; only the upper half of each door remains. The carving is badly worn.

Both sides of the doors are adorned with carved panels. Those on the front are all figural; in the uppermost panel of each door are two angels who support wreaths, each containing the bust of a man, possibly Christ, holding a book and blessing. Behind each angel is a spiral column to which a curtain is tied. Behind each column stands a figure holding a book or a scroll, probably an evangelist. Under each wreath sits a pair of birds.

Below are large square panels, each with a small central figure seated before a conch-shell niche. Christ, on the left, has a cruciform nimbus and is blessing; the figure on the right (without a halo) is sometimes identified as St. Mark. Both these



and the upper panels were once bordered by an acanthus frieze.

Below, on the left, is a narrow Ascension scene: Christ, seated in a mandorla, is flanked by twelve apostles. The right-hand panel shows a doorway and thirteen figures, one of whom has been described as a seated Virgin, the rest apostles.

The reverse side of the doors displays a series of ornamental panels; the lower ones once formed a cross in the center of each door. They all contain vine scrolls; some of the scrolls enclose baskets of fruit; the junctions between the scrolls are marked by rosettes. Each panel is framed by a shallow acanthus carving.

The doors were originally published (Patricolo and Monneret de Villard, 1922) as fourth-century, but were redated by Kitzinger (1938) to the early sixth on the basis of the correspondence between the angel panels and compositions on sixth-century ivory diptychs (e.g., Barberini [no. 28], Murano [fig. 59]), and between the vine scrolls and those on the Maximianus cathedra (fig. 60). As do sculptures from Bawit, the doors reveal the considerable influence exerted by Byzantium on sixth-century Egyptian art. The doors have certain decidedly provincial features nonetheless: on the right-hand door the angels' way of holding the wreaths is incorrect, one curtain is omitted, and the birds are a highly unusual addition (cf. Grabar, 1936, pp. 240–241). The program of the whole remains an enigma. The ornament has features suggestive

of early Umayyad work (cf. Stern [2], 1954, and Hamilton, 1949, pls. I, LXXII), perhaps indicating that the doors were carved quite late in the sixth century.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Patricolo and Monneret de Villard, 1922, pp. 33–51; Kitzinger, 1938, pp. 212–215; Beckwith, 1963, p. 23, no. 97; Essen, 1963, no. 144.

**496 Portrait of a saint

Egypt, 5th–6th century

Encaustic on wood

21 × 19.9 cm. (8¼ × 7⅞ in.)

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, J 68825

An old man with a full white beard and large eyes gazes straight out at the viewer. He is dressed in a plain tunic with a mantle over his shoulders. His right hand holds before his chest a folded object, perhaps a scroll, though Parlasca (1966) has identified it as a death crown, or artificial garland, worn or held by the deceased in many Egyptian mummy portraits. Coche de la Ferté ([2], 1961, p. 28) claims to have seen traces of a nimbus. The panel has been pierced with a hole at the top.

In format, the panel is related to late mummy portraits and was probably intended to commemorate a specific holy man not long after his death.



Unlike the mummy portraits, however, this figure has no individualized features, and is characterized exclusively by his robes, attribute, and venerable age. In this respect, the panel typifies an early stage in the development away from individualized portraiture toward a more iconic mode of representation.

The absolute frontality of the old man's position, his large eyes, and the heavy outlines describing his features associate the work with other Coptic portrait-icons, such as that of Abbot Menas in the Louvre (no. 497) or of St. Mark in the Bibliothèque Nationale (no. 498).

The panel was found in a vase in a necropolis room during the excavations at Antinoë, along with other small panels, three of them decidedly Christian in their iconography.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Parlasca, 1966, pp. 211–213, pl. 53, 4; du Bourguet, 1971, p. 139, fig. 50.



*497 Icon of Christ and Abbot Menas

Egypt, 6th century

Encaustic on wood

57 × 57 cm. (22 $\frac{7}{16}$ × 22 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes, Section Copte, X 5178

The icon has three vertical cracks; the surface has suffered considerable damage, especially in the area of Christ's right arm and of Menas' chest.

The icon depicts two haloed figures standing side by side, identified by painted Coptic inscriptions near their heads as "Father Menas, Abbot" (repeated twice) and "The Savior" (+ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΠΡΟΕΙCΤΟC + ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΠΡΟ(ΕCΤΟC) and ΨΩΤΗΡ). Between the heads is a christogram. Christ has a short round beard and mustache, and long wavy hair; his halo is cruciform, and he carries a weighty Gospel book ornamented with pearls and gems. He wears a purple tunic and pallium, with highlights in pale blue. He places his right arm on the abbot's far shoulder, in a gesture of protection identical to that made by St. Demetrios in the "founders" panel in Thessalonike (no. 500). Abbot Menas (who should not be con-

fused with the martyr St. Menas) is only slightly smaller than Christ; he is gray-haired and bearded, holds a small scroll, and blesses with his right hand. He wears a brown tunic with red clavi and a pale grayish pallium with purple shadows and white highlights. The background is divided into two zones—dark green hills behind the figures, leading to a salmon-colored sky behind their heads. The figures are outlined with thick greenish black lines, their haloes in deep orange.

The composition is organized through a series of circles: the curves of the pallia, the gestures, chins, brows, heads, and the enormous haloes all exaggerate the wide staring eyes so typical of portraits of this period (cf. no. 498; frescoes at Bawît [Clédât, 1906, II, pls. XLII, XLIV]). The design is not as rigid as it was to become at Bawît or on the "founders" mosaic in Thessalonike (no. 500); the considerable range of color gradations in the landscape, garments, and facial features indicate that the icon belongs to the sixth, rather than to the seventh, century.

The icon was found in the monastery of Apollo at Bawît and may well represent an abbot of that monastery. Menas seems to have been a common name; in Chapel LVI at Bawît, there is a fresco portrait of an Apa Menas, though without the title

of abbot, while inscriptions naming an Apa Menas Proestos have been found elsewhere, at Saqqara and at the sanctuary of St. Menas.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Essen, 1963, no. 236; Wessel, 1965, pp. 172–174, pl. xiv; du Bourguet, 1971, pp. 40, 45, pl. p. 43.

498 Icon of St. Mark (?)

Egypt, late 6th century

Encaustic on wood

32.5 × 15.3 cm. (12½ × 6 in.)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles,
Collection Froehner, 1129a

The upper right of the panel and some of the original painted surface, especially around the face, are damaged. A corpulent bishop with a

dark round beard is depicted holding a Gospel book before him in veiled hands. He wears an omophorion. A Coptic inscription around his head reads: (Π)ΕΝΙΩΤ ΜΑΡΚΟC ΠΕΥΑΝΓΕΛΙC-ΤΗC ("Our father, Mark the Evangelist").

The panel is unusual in that Mark is depicted in bishop's robes, not in the customary classical attire of an apostle, as he is, for example, on the Freer Gospel book covers (Morey, 1914, pl. xiii). The panel could possibly be the portrait of an unknown Coptic bishop: the term evangelist need not refer to an author of one of the four Gospels; it has a wider application in this early period, when it can mean either generally the one who preaches the gospel or specifically the reader of the Gospels during the celebration of the liturgy. However, the fact that Mark was bishop of Alexandria may have prompted the change in his clothing on this icon.

The shape of Mark's head and eyes recall those of Christ and Abbot Menas on no. 497. This panel entered the Froehner collection along with the icon of an archangel (no. 483), to which it is closely related in style.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Parlasca, 1966, p. 210, pl. 53, 1; Grabar (1), 1968, p. 74, fig. 186.

499 Relief of an orant monk

Upper Egypt (?), 6th–7th century

Limestone

30.5 × 35.5 cm. (12 × 14 in.)

Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 35.11

The relief is broken off at the bottom and damaged at the upper left. Traces of paint are still visible on the figure's face and body.

In the center of the slab is a haloed figure in monastic garb, with curly hair and wide round eyes, his hands raised in an orant gesture. The background around the monk is deeply cut. He is enclosed within a wide border—a shallowly carved design of meanders interrupted by four-lobed rosettes. The figure was probably shown standing, with his name painted on the blank panel over his head, as on contemporary icons (Weitz-





mann, 1976, I, nos. B. 13, B. 18). His eyes may have been enlivened with painted pupils.

Stone stelae of this type, showing an orant standing within an elaborate frame, were widely used for both pagan and Coptic graves. The unusual disproportion between frame and figure on this particular example relates it more specifically to a group of sixth-century Coptic textiles on which rows of orant figures are framed by outsize meander borders (Shepherd, 1974). The form of rosette used on this slab is identical to that on a wooden frieze with meander design from Bawît, now in the Louvre (Chassinat, 1911, pl. 58, 3).

In its rigid frontality, restricted gestures, and emphasis on the eyes, the image of this Coptic monk also bears comparison with the icon portraits of his contemporaries (nos. 496, 497), as well as with the fresco portraits of abbot monks, such as St. Apollo of Bawît in the monastery of Saqqara (Quibell, 1908, pl. XLIV).

From the Kelekian collection.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wessel, 1965, pp. 45, 155, pl. 62; Washington, D. C., 1967, no. 37; Shepherd, 1974, p. 333, fig. 5.

*500 St. Demetrios and two “founders”

Thessalonike, mid-7th century

Mosaic

Thessalonike, Hagios Demetrios

One of a series of votive panels set up near the sanctuary, this mosaic occupies the north face of the southwest pier of the bema. St. Demetrios, patron saint of Thessalonike, stands in a long tunic and long court chlamys with tablion, his arms around the shoulders of two men. The inscription of four iambic verses running across the bottom of the mosaic explains the relationship of the figures:

+ ΚΤΙΤΑC ΘΕΩΡΕΙC ΤΟV
ΠΑΝΕΝΔΟΞΟV ΔΟΜΟV
ΕΚΕΙΘΕΝ ΕΝΘΕΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟV
ΤΟV ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΝ ΚΛΥΔΩΝΑ
ΒΑΡΒΑΡΩΝ CΤΟΛΩ(ν)
ΜΕΤΑΤΡΕΠΟΝΤΟC Κ(αι) ΠΟΛΙΝ
ΛΥΤΡΟVΜΕΝΟV +



+ The founders of this glorious house you behold
At both sides of the martyr Demetrios,
He who diverted a barbarous flood
Of barbarian ships and ransomed the city +.

The accompanying figures are unnamed. One is a bishop, who holds a Gospel book in his veiled hands; the other an official, who holds a staff and a container for the codicil as indication of his position as eparch. The bishop is probably the one responsible for the restoration of the church after a severe fire in the seventh century; the official is possibly Leontius, the eparch of Illyricum, who founded the martyrion church in 412–413, though the figure might equally well represent a contemporary of the bishop.

It has not been determined which naval attack is being referred to in the inscription, but the literary sources do suggest the following sequence of events: the fire around 630, the naval attack in 647, with the restoration of the church and the execution of this mosaic following soon thereafter—that is, around 650.

St. Demetrios extends to the two figures a

gesture of protection identical to that provided to Abbot Menas by Christ in the painted icon in the Louvre (no. 497). The three figures here are starkly frontal, restrained by the strongly vertical arrangement of the draperies and by the architectural background. The two “towers” behind the founders act as square haloes, which are usually reserved for living people. The intensity and gravity of these figures can be marked on other icons as well, as on no. 478, where the figure of St. George is physically similar to the Demetrios on the mosaic.

The mosaic was evidently more than a mere commemoration of Demetrios’ rescue of the city and of the rebuilding of the church. It must have served as a monumental icon, which, if properly approached, might be expected to grant the city as a whole the same divine protection that the portable icons offered to its citizens as individuals.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, 1961, no. 217; Cormack, 1969, pp. 43–44.

Apse Themes

The focus of the Early Christian basilica was its apse. Already a place of honor in pagan buildings, it was, as the place where the Eucharist was performed, the most holy part of the church. Images placed on its vaults, conch, and walls acquired a special sanctity—they embodied the universal message of Christian dogma, while retaining some special reference to the particular site. The subjects were new creations or elaborations upon a previously popular theme that suited the scale and solemnity of an apse. The decorated apses that survive are still, with few exceptions, in their original locales. Many more have disappeared, but they may be reconstructed from textual sources and from images on smaller-scale objects that apparently derive from apse compositions.

The *traditio legis*, Christ giving the law, was created in Rome in the fourth century, probably for the apse of St. Peter's (cf. nos. 502, 503). It emphasized the primacy of Peter and the importance of Paul as the princes of the apostles and as Roman martyrs. The scene, however, is primarily eschatological; Christ is the resurrected Lord of the Second Coming. Below him, the lambs, representing the faithful, approach the apocryphal Lamb of God in paradise; they issue from the gates of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, which symbolize the Jewish (Peter) and Gentile (Paul) churches. Although the mosaic in St. Peter's has not survived, its composition is known from a large number of Roman and Italian funerary monuments that copied it, such as the north apse in Sta. Costanza in Rome (fig. 74).

The parable of the Last Judgment, with the division of the sheep from the goats, first appears on a late third-century sarcophagus lid now in New York (no. 501). About a century later, Paulinus of Nola used the parable to decorate his church at Fundi. Although the church was destroyed, we know of the scene in its apse from one of his letters (*Epistola* 32. 17). For the scene, he concentrated not on the literal illustra-

tion of the parable—only two sheep and two goats were shown—but on the elaboration of its meaning in a series of eschatological images of the Trinity and the apocalyptic Lamb of God.

Often, because of the paucity of surviving works, it is difficult to know whether a theme was created specifically for an apse or used simultaneously to decorate apses and smaller works. Beginning in the late third century, the Virgin or Christ flanked by angels and saints (nos. 474, 478), Christ acclaimed by his apostles, and the theme of Christ teaching (no. 472) are found in apses as well as on a wide variety of objects. When they appear in apses, some are presented in simple compositions (Christ teaching, S. Aquilino, Milan), while others are much more complex in their imagery (Christ teaching, Sta. Pudenziana, Rome). A number of themes were widely used in both East and West, particularly those that apparently had specific ties to the Holy Land, such as the cross guarded by apostles (no. 525), angels (no. 482), and saints (fig. 77).

FIG. 74 *Mosaic with traditio legis.*

Rome, Sta. Costanza



Feast scenes also provided a rich source of decoration for apse compositions. The Ascension, with its two-zone composition emphasizing the triumph of Christ over death, suited the form and sanctity of an apse (fig. 75). It appeared frequently on pilgrimage art of the Holy Land, and it may have decorated the apse of the Basilica of Eleona on the Mt. of Olives. An illustration of the Ascension in the Rabbula Gospels (fig. 68) reflects the monumentality of such an apse decoration.

The Transfiguration occurs in two important mid-sixth-century churches, S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna (no. 505) and Mt. Sinai (fig. 73), where the



FIG. 75 *Apsal fresco with Ascension of Christ, from Chapel XVII, Bawit.*
Cairo, Coptic Museum

theme is treated in different ways. In the Ravennate mosaic, the Transfiguration is reduced symbolically to half figures of Moses and Elijah flanking a triumphal cross, with the bust of Christ of the Second Coming at the crossing of the arms. Below, the apostles James, Peter, and John are portrayed as sheep. At Mt. Sinai the scene is more narrative, but

the imagery is equally complex. The dogma of the two natures of Christ, the divine and the human, is depicted by subtle stylistic variations in the portrayals of Christ, the prophets, and the apostles, and in the choice and arrangement of the medallions of the cross, of the other apostles, and of David as the ancestor of Christ.

These two apses also highlight an important aspect of apse compositions: their particular reference to the site of the church. From the fifth century, paralleling a development in iconic images, the role of the patron saint and the Virgin as intercessors and the participation of the donor and worshipers in apse scenes become increasingly prominent. At S. Apollinare recent discoveries of the sinopia under the lower register of the apse mosaic show that originally a frieze of a cross, birds, plants, and baskets of grapes was planned for this area. When the mosaic was laid, however, the frieze was replaced by a large orant figure of St. Apollinaris, the first bishop of Ravenna, flanked by lambs. The portrayal of the patron saint, whose body was buried underneath the altar, had much greater meaning for the congregation. Not only was their saint represented as intercessor, but their relationship to the saint and the eschatological vision above was made clear by the depiction on either side of lambs representing the faithful. At Mt. Sinai the importance of intercession for mankind is emphasized in the Deesis in the triumphal arch. Moses and Elijah, moreover, are local saints, and the face of the donor Justinian may be recognized in the medallion of David.

The apse decorations in Early Christian churches, despite their fragmentary state, display an enormous variety and complexity of themes and meaning. Although traditional forms of the original composition were usually repeated, they were often adjusted to suit local hagiography and popular religious concerns. This flexibility allowed for their widespread use in the Western and Eastern medieval world.

MARGARET E. FRAZER

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grabar, 1946, II; Schumacher (1), 1959; Schumacher (2), 1959; Ihm, 1960; Dinkler, 1964; Brenk, 1966; Deichmann, 1969, I; Forsyth and Weitzmann [1973]; Christe, 1976.

501 Sarcophagus lid with Last Judgment

Rome, late 3rd–early 4th century

Marble

40.6 × 237.3 × 7 cm. (16 × 93½ × 2¾ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Rogers Fund, 1924, 24.240

The relief, in excellent condition, illustrates the Last Judgment by means of the parable of the separation of the sheep from the goats (Matt. 25:31–46). In the center, Christ—dressed as a teacher-philosopher in chiton and himation—sits on a rock in the pose of a shepherd; a capsa rests on the ground at his left. He places his right hand tenderly on the head of a sheep, the first of eight who approach him on his right. On his left, he repulses five goats with his raised hand. Trees in the background lend a pastoral-paradisiac setting to the scene. Palmette acroteria frame the panel.

This relief is the earliest example of the Last Judgment in Christian art, a scene shown, in a more hieratic and symbolic way, on only two other Early Christian monuments: the early fifth-century apse at Fundi (known only from the writings of Paulinus of Nola [*Epistola* 32. 17]) and a sixth-century mosaic at S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (Deichmann, 1969, I, pp. 180–181). As Brenk (1966, pp. 38–43) has shown, the relief is the most literal illustration of the parable to survive. The blessed (lambs) are warmly received by Christ and the damned (goats) unequivocally turned away. The scene is strongly influenced by bucolic themes, which were popular in contemporary pagan and Christian art (see nos. 224–237, 449, 454).

The figural style and the extensive drillwork relate this relief to a group of late third- and early fourth-century sculptures in Rome (Gerke, 1940,

pp. 70, 108). Christ's softly modeled body and wide face resemble his image on a fragmentary sarcophagus in the Museo Cristiano in the Vatican (Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 1; cf. also Gerke, 1940, pl. 41,1), while the carving of the animals and the marked outlines of the relief parallel work on a sarcophagus in the Villa Pamphilj Doria and on the Decennalia base in the Roman Forum (Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 950; Gerke, 1940, pl. 44,2; Brenk, 1966, p. 38).

Formerly in the Sciarra and Stroganoff collections in Rome.

M. E. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roller, 1881, I, pp. 277–278; Brenk, 1966, pp. 38–43.

502 Tomb relief with *traditio legis*

Rome, 4th quarter 4th century

Marble

48.6 × 133.4 × 14.6 (19½ × 52½ × 5¾ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Ernest and Beata Brummer in memory of Joseph Brummer, 1948, 48.76.2

The relief shows Christ in the central right niche, his face missing, his right hand raised in proclamation. He unfurls the scroll of the law toward Peter to his left. Paul, on Christ's right, looks up at him, probably acclaiming him with his missing right hand. Two young apostles also acclaiming, but not facing, Christ stand behind Peter and Paul. Two more apostles occupy the left-most niche. The bottom half of the relief is missing; the surface is considerably worn. Traces of arcades at the edges of the relief indicate that it had at least six,





but most likely seven, niches with Christ in the center. Three more pairs of apostles, therefore, may have flanked the scene of the *traditio legis*, although the missing niches may also have shown scenes from the life of Christ, as in the Lateran sarcophagus 174 (Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 677). The niches are decorated with shell conches and the horseshoe-shaped arches are supported on columns with elaborately carved vine scrolls and composite capitals. Another vine scroll grows from a vase over Christ's niche. It fills the frieze above the baskets of grapes in the spandrels of the arches.

The relief, first thought to be a forgery, has since been recognized as an important Roman sculpture of the Theodosian period (Brenk, 1970, pp. 43–44, 49). It is one of the earliest surviving examples of the *traditio legis*, Christ giving the law to Peter. In pose and dress, Christ resembles the Christ on the fragmentary front of a sarcophagus at S. Sebastiano in Rome, about 370 (Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 200), while the distribution of the apostles and the decoration of the columns parallel those of the Lateran sarcophagus 174 (see Sotomayor, 1961, pp. 225–230; Brenk, 1970, pp. 47–49). The *traditio legis* is here combined with the theme of Christ acclaimed by his apostles, both themes deriving from apse compositions (Ihm, 1960, pp. 33–39; Davis-Weyer, 1961, pp. 10 ff.).

The relief is a finely carved example of Roman work produced under strong Eastern influence in the late fourth century (Brenk, 1970, pp. 46–47,

50). The figural style is clearly Theodosian in the strong and subtly modeled, well-rounded bodies, the carving of the faces, and the delicate and intricate architectural decoration (cf. Kollwitz, 1941, pp. 132 ff.).

By analogy with several recently excavated reliefs in Istanbul (Firatlı, 1960), the Metropolitan Museum's relief is thought to have once faced a wall grave. It was previously identified as the front of a sarcophagus.

Formerly in the collection of the Counts Piccini Benettini di Sarzana, Liguria, Italy.

M. E. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brenk, 1970.

503 Bottom of bowl with *traditio legis*

Rome, late 4th–early 5th century

Gold glass

Max. W. 12.4 cm. (4 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Toledo, Ohio, The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, 67.12

The glass is broken irregularly around the edge, cutting off part of the gold design in the lower right. The surface is blurred in places, and many small air bubbles are trapped between the layers of glass. The scene of the giving of the law is

surrounded by a square frame with four triangular motifs at the sides. Christ, with short hair and beard, stands on the rocky mount of paradise, beneath which a river flows. He raises his right hand in proclamation; with his left he hands a slender scroll, inscribed DOMINUS LEGE(m) DAT, to Peter on the right. The apostle holds a cross-staff in his left hand and receives the scroll in his covered right hand. Paul acclaims Christ on the left. From beyond the picture frame, two date palms arch over the apostles; a nimbed phoenix perches in the tree behind Paul.

The glass is closely related to a fragment in the Vatican (Morey, 1959, no. 78), not only in the arrangement of the figures but also in such details as the river—identified as the Jordan on the Vatican piece—and in the abbreviated foliage of paradise scattered over the background. The themes of Christ's majesty, of resurrection and rebirth in Christ through baptism, so important to the *traditio legis*, are clearly emphasized (see Schumacher [1], 1959, pp. 151–152). The Toledo scene, however, is considerably abbreviated, omitting the apocalyptic vision of the lambs in the exergue of the Vatican glass. It also differs in such details as the young Christ (cf. mosaic of Sta. Costanza, fig. 74) and the pose of the figures (cf. incised plaque at Anagni [Testini, 1973–1974]).

The similarities in iconography of the two glass medallions indicate that they were probably made in the same Roman workshop, but the Toledo

fragment is by a different artist. The figures on our piece are more linear and more incisively designed. Considerable attention was given to the engraving of the faces, where the eyes, especially of Peter, are elegantly elongated. They resemble the eyes of Peter and Paul on a gold glass in Verona dated in the late fourth century (Zanchi Roppo, 1969, no. 262).

The glass was in the Sangiorgi collection, Rome.

M. E. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Riefstahl, 1967; Toledo, Ohio, 1969, p. 29; "Recent Important Acquisitions," 1969.

504 Two plaques with SS. Peter and Paul

South Gaul, 5th century

Ivory

Each, 29.2 × 11.4 cm. (11½ × 4½ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.54, 55

The plaques depict two youthful saints: Peter holding his keys and another apostle, probably Paul, holding a book, both with draped hands. (Occasionally, Paul and Peter are shown with short hair and beardless; cf. no. 507.) St. Peter's plaque is broken on the upper sides and top. The background of both plaques is very thin; a number of breaks occur around the figures. Incisions, perhaps for hinges, are cut on the back inner sides, and the ivories are pierced by numerous nail holes. The apostles, dressed in himation and chiton, are placed in arcades consisting of broadly faceted columns with Corinthian capitals and arches decorated with four sheep proceeding from two city gates, Jerusalem and Bethlehem, toward a central cross.

It has been conjectured that Peter and Paul walk toward Christ enthroned on a lost central plaque (Friend, 1923, p. 59), carrying before them the symbols of their apostolic mission. Similar homage scenes with apostles acclaiming Christ decorated the apses of several fourth- and fifth-century churches in Rome (Ihm, 1960, pp. 15–21) and were frequently depicted on sarcophagi (e.g., Le Blant, 1886, pl. xi; Bovini and Brandenburg, 1967, I, no. 678). The apocalyptic vision of the





lambs sometimes accompanied these homage scenes (e.g., Pola casket, fig. 83 [Buddensieg, 1959; Ihm, 1960, pl. vi]), although it was more commonly shown with the *traditio legis* (Nikolasch,

1969, p. 40). The lambs' portrayal in the arcades is unique on these ivories, however. Morey (1953, p. 176) suggests *mensa tables* as a possible source (see no. 576).

Dated in the late fifth century, the plaques are closely related in style to a group of ivories that has been localized in the West (Delbrueck [1], 1952, pp. 186–187) and, based on their resemblance to late fourth-century sarcophagi, to southern Gaul (Volbach, 1952, p. 49). Arresting parallels for the carving of the faces of Peter and Paul, and for the mannered drapery that flattens and widens their bodies are found on two sarcophagi in Marseilles and Arles (Benoit, 1954, nos. 10, 37). The Metropolitan plaques, however, stand alone among fifth-century ivories in their extreme reduction of human and architectural forms (see Morey, 1953, pp. 176–177, and Clemen, 1892, pp. 129–130).

Although the use of the plaques has not yet been determined, they may have decorated a piece of liturgical furniture, perhaps an episcopal throne, as Friend suggested (1923, pp. 58–59; cf. figs. 60, 65).

Formerly in the parish church of Kranenburg in West Germany (see Schnitzler, 1957, I, no. 38).

M. E. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, 1976, no. 147.

*505 Apse with the Transfiguration

Ravenna, dedicated in 549

Mosaic

Apse diam. about 11.7 m. (38 ft. 5 in.)

Ravenna, S. Apollinare in Classe

The apse at S. Apollinare in Classe is decorated with mosaics from several periods. The Transfiguration in the conch is depicted in symbolic form: half figures of Moses and Elijah emerge from a cloud-filled sky, flanking a jeweled cross with a bust of Christ at its crossing, enclosed in a star-studded blue circle. The hand of God issues from the heavens; below, three lambs, emblematic of James, Peter, and John, look up at the vision from a verdant garden. In the lower register, still within the garden, twelve lambs approach St. Apollinaris, orant, dressed in bishop's robes. Between the windows of the apse four bishops of Ravenna—Ecclesius, Severus, Ursus, and Ursicinus (533–536), the founder of the church—hold books and stand in curtained niches beneath suspended

crowns. The archangels Michael and Gabriel, each holding a labarum, stand on the sides of the triumphal arch. This program dates from the mid-sixth century. Two panels from the seventh, one with Melchisedek, Abraham, and Abel, the other with Constantine IV granting a privilege to Archbishop Reparatus, flank the panels with the bishops. The other mosaics on the triumphal arch date from the ninth and eleventh to twelfth centuries. (For Renaissance and modern restorations, see Pelà, 1970, pp. 53–98.)

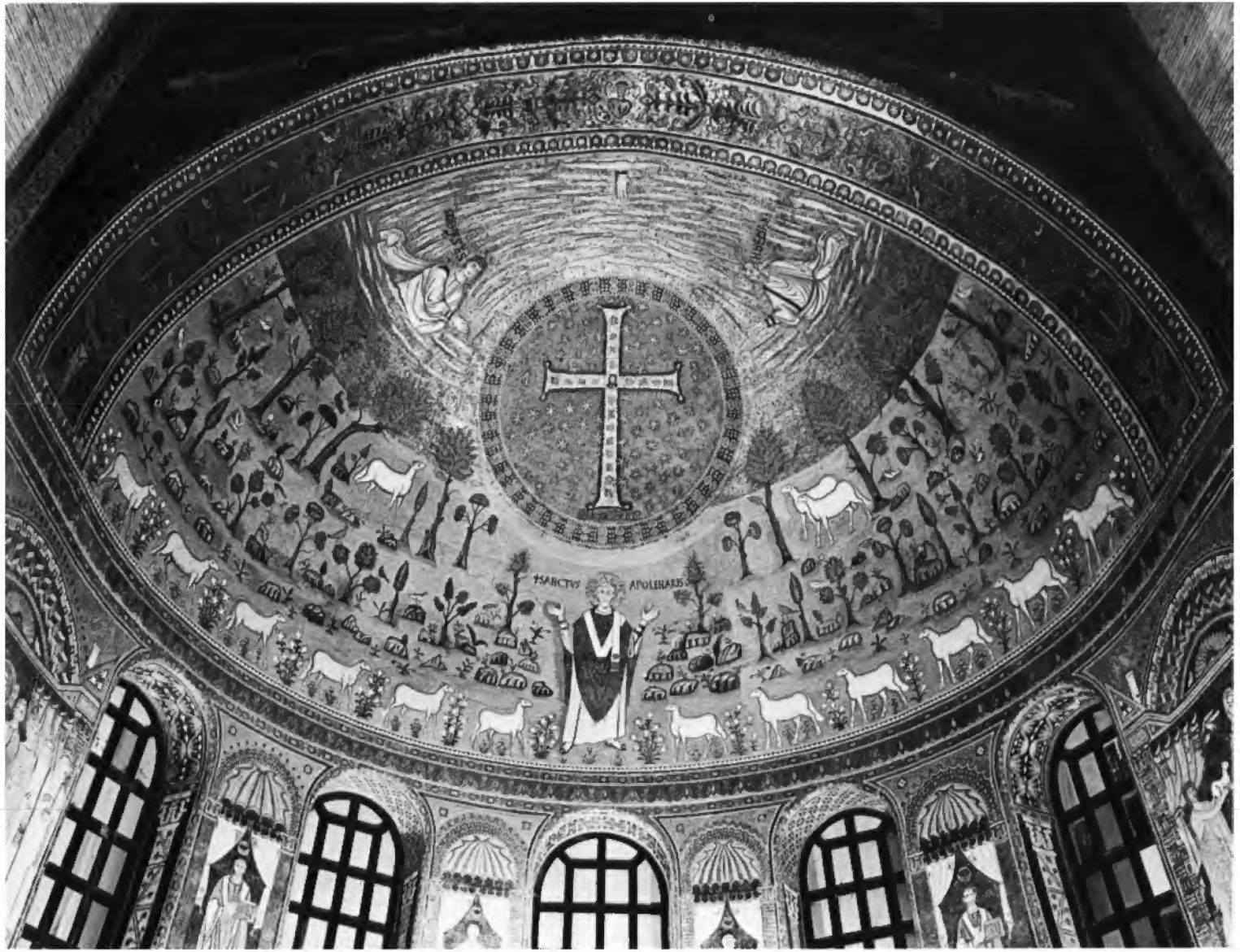
The symbolic depiction is unique among the few known Early Christian examples of the Transfiguration, such as the apse decorations at the Ecclesia Stephania in Naples (535–555 [Ihm, 1960, p. 176]) and at Mt. Sinai (548–565 [Dinkler, 1964, pp. 26–45]). Unlike the mosaic at Mt. Sinai, where the leading idea is the dogma of the Two Natures of Christ (Weitzmann, in Forsyth and Weitzmann [1973], p. 14), an eschatological interpretation of the feast predominates. The triumphal cross signals the Second Coming of the Lord from out of the heavens. The medallion bust of Christ, the inscriptions IXΘVC ("Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior") and SALUS MUNDI ("the salvation of the world"), and the archangels guarding the entrance to the sanctuary—paradise—emphasize the promise of Christ's coming again in judgment as described in early interpretations of the Transfiguration (St. John Chrysostom *In Mattaeum Homilia* 56 [Deichmann, 1969, I, pp. 262–263]).

In the lower zone, the sinopia under the mosaic depicts a frieze with garlands above a central cross flanked by plants, birds, and baskets of grapes (Bovini, 1972–1973). When the mosaic was laid, this traditional paradisiac subject was replaced with the figure of the church's martyr St. Apollinaris interceding for the faithful, represented by the lambs. His prayers for their salvation are reinforced by the blessings of the bishops below.

Although made only a few years after the mosaics at S. Vitale (nos. 65, 66, 593), the style of the mosaics at S. Apollinare is far more schematic in presentation of the landscape, the animals, and the human figures. Contours are thick, anatomical elements more isolated. Even the plants are more regimented in their balanced placement of stems, leaves, and flowers.

M. E. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dinkler, 1964; Deichmann, 1969, I, pp. 256–277; Pelà, 1970; Bovini, 1972–1973.



Holy Sites Representations

The magnificent buildings and sanctuaries that were constructed to commemorate important biblical events and the tombs of apostles and saints after the Edict of Milan in 313 drew pilgrims from all parts of the late Roman Empire. The churches erected by Constantine and his family in the Holy Land were the most prominent, but the martyria of the apostles and saints—of Peter and Paul in Rome, Menas in Egypt, and Symeon Stylites in Syria, among others—attracted large crowds of worshipers. Spurred by religious fervor, Christians undertook the often arduous journeys in a spirit of adventure. Journals of their trips provide valuable records of the architecture, plans, and decoration of the sites they visited and their reactions to the services they attended at the various sanctuaries.

To satisfy the pilgrims' desire for souvenirs of the holy sites, a broad range of objects was mass-produced locally. This had already been the custom in the great centers of pagan cults. Of the Christian objects, the most widely preserved are small flasks, or ampullae, in lead (nos. 524, 526, 527) and terracotta (no. 515), which contained oil from the lamps of the sanctuary. The oil had special healing powers (see St. John Chrysostom *In Martyres Homilia* [Migne, PG 50, col. 664]), conferred a blessing (eulogia) on the owner, and assured his safe return journey. Many of the ampullae are decorated with reliefs of the event or saint commemorated at the site. In addition to these vessels, there have survived many other kinds of commemorative objects—silver and marble reliefs, painted wooden boxes (fig. 76), gold-glass bowls, and terracotta and bronze medallions—which were produced at the site or commissioned by the pilgrims on their return home. The images these objects bore had a significant effect on the development of Christian art and iconography.

The church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem was the most sacred of all pilgrimage sites. It com-

prised a number of buildings commissioned by Constantine and completed by his sons (see nos. 582, 523, 528). Egeria, a pilgrim who journeyed to the Holy Land from southern France or Spain in the early fifth century, wrote about the site as she visited its various parts during the services and processions of Holy Week and Easter. Several of the important landmarks she described are depicted on a series of

FIG. 76 *Lid of reliquary box with scenes from life of Christ.*

Vatican City, Museo Sacro





FIG. 77 *Mosaic with bust of Christ over the cross, flanked by SS. Primo and Feliciano.*

Rome, S. Stefano Rotondo

ampullae from Jerusalem of the late sixth century (no. 524). They show the Crucifixion on one side depicted symbolically by the bust of Christ superimposed on the cross, flanked by the crucified thieves and two men (pilgrims ? soldiers ?) kneeling on the ground—perhaps a composition that decorated the apse of the church of the martyrdom. The neck of the ampulla is decorated with a cross enclosed within an arch, possibly a reference to a small building that stood on Golgotha and to the relic of the true cross. On the other side, the two Marys approach the tomb of the Resurrected Lord, which is shown as an abbreviated version of the aedicula that stood over Christ's tomb in the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulcher. A wooden pilgrim's box in the Vatican (fig. 76), which is filled with pebbles and earth from five sites marking Christ's Nativity, Baptism, Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension, is painted on the lid with appropriate scenes forming the nucleus of the feast cycle. The Resurrection shows the inner aedicula sheltered by the clerestory and dome of the rotunda itself.

The imagery developed at the holy sites spread by means of pilgrimage art throughout the Early Christian world and was adapted to many different illustrations. The symbolic depiction of the bust of Christ over the cross as seen on the ampullae from Jerusalem, for example, is directly quoted on a gem in Vienna (no. 525) and a mosaic at S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome

(fig. 77). The Holy Sepulcher, however, was only one of several holy sites that exercised a strong influence on Christian art. The grilled arched opening to the cave and the altar in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the staircase and altar marking the place of the Sacrifice of Isaac on Mt. Garazim in Samaria, for example, appear on a number of ivories (see nos. 518, 521). It has been suggested that, like the closely related box from the Sancta Sanctorum treasure (fig. 76), painted icons served as pilgrim's souvenirs and were important agents in the dissemination of holy sites iconography.

On sixth-century lead ampullae from different sites in the Holy Land (nos. 524, 526, 527), a large range of subjects is represented. Some of these seem to reflect monumental precedents like the Ascension or the Virgin and Child enthroned with the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 78). Others are decorated with a cycle of scenes from the life of Christ that is more extensive but similar to the cycle on the Vatican

FIG. 78 *Ampulla with Adoration of the Magi and annunciation to the shepherds.*

Monza, Cathedral Treasury





FIG. 79 *Ampulla with scenes from the life of Christ.*
Monza, Cathedral Treasury

painted box. They represent a comprehensive pictorial "map" of the pilgrimage of its owner (fig. 79).

As may be seen from the mosaic map at Madaba (no. 523), many Old Testament sites outside the main urban centers in the Holy Land were also popular places of pilgrimage. According to the church historian Sozomenos (*Hist. eccl.* 2. 4), Constantine built a church at Mamre, where the three angels visited Abraham, to combat the pagan and Jewish "abuse" of the site. A terracotta mold showing the angels beneath the oak at Mamre and a female deity may still reflect, a century later, a mixture of cults at this sanctuary (no. 522). The mold is also important for its relatively early date, since so little survives that can be directly connected with sites in the Holy Land from before the second half of the sixth century.

Some of the earliest surviving objects from holy sites are connected with the Constantinian martyria of the princes of the apostles in Rome. Although scenes from the life of St. Peter decorated Roman sarcophagi from the beginning of the fourth century (no. 374), with Constantine's founding of the magni-

ficent commemorative basilica over his tomb (no. 581), the volume of Petrine art greatly increased. The mosaic in the apse of Old St. Peter's, for example, probably Christ giving the law to Peter, inspired numerous copies (nos. 502, 503), while smaller artifacts, terracotta and gold-glass bowls, and bronze medallions and statuettes (nos. 506–510), were produced in quantity to satisfy the demands of pilgrims and local worshipers. On most of these objects, Peter is accompanied by St. Paul—also martyred in Rome—whose feast day, 29 June, he shares. The objects are decorated with many subjects, from portraits of the two apostles to more active depictions of Peter preaching, or Peter and Paul guarding a column with Christ's monogram or praying for the salvation of souls.

Constantine built a basilica for St. Lawrence outside the walls of Rome, and a number of objects dated in the late fourth to early fifth century can be connected with his cult. A gold-glass fragment depicts the saint, like Peter, carrying the cross of Christ's Resurrection across his shoulder (no. 511). An intriguing late fourth-century medallion, originally bronze but known only in a lead copy, shows the martyrdom of Lawrence on the grill on one side and the ciborium over his tomb on the other (fig. 80). The medallion was commissioned by a woman named Sucessa, and it most likely commemorates her worship at the saint's church. The actual furniture of a holy site is depicted for the first time on this commemorative object (cf. the Pola casket, fig. 83). As St. Lawrence's cult spread,

FIG. 80 *Drawing of lead medallion with martyrdom of St. Lawrence and his tomb ciborium.*

Whereabouts unknown





FIG. 81 *Mosaic with St. Lawrence and the grill.*

Ravenna, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia

his imagery—the cross over his shoulder and the fiery grill of his martyrdom—occurred outside of Rome. They appear, for example, in the fifth-century mosaic of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna (fig. 81).

Only a few ampullae with St. Peter, among the Roman saints, survive, and they probably do not come from Rome. But the number of ampullae with St. Menas from his sanctuary at Abu Mena, near Alexandria in Egypt, is legion (no. 515). Found throughout the Mediterranean world, they testify to the extraordinary popularity of this saint. His early history is unknown, but as early as the fourth to early sixth centuries, his martyrdom drew such large crowds that the church was rebuilt or enlarged three times (no. 591). The crypt where he was buried displayed a relief of the orant saint standing between two camels. The subject is found on almost all Menas commemorative objects, from the marble copies of the original relief (no. 512) to the crudest ampullae (no. 515). Occasionally, the orant saint is shown in a sanctuary niche, on objects that are not directly connected with Abu Mena, as on an ivory relief in

Milan (no. 517) and a pyxis in London (no. 514). Other saints—like Thecla, a virgin martyr who died at Seleucia in Isauria and was popular in Egypt—were coupled with Menas on ampullae (no. 516). The popularity of Menas and the potency of the eulogia brought back from Abu Mena did much to spread his cult; churches were built in his honor in many parts of the empire.

Monasticism was a major component of Early Christian religious life. In addition to large and prosperous monastic communities, smaller enclaves were established in remote areas, where the monks followed rigorously their religious practices. Holy men became an important part of the life of local communities, especially in the countryside of the late Roman world. Sometimes, the fervor of the monk and the isolation in which he lived led to extremes of asceticism. A curious result of this cultural phenomenon was the Stylite saints. Symeon the Elder (d. 459) was the first of a number of monks whose self-inflicted trial of sitting on a column for many years appealed to Christians. Those who sought the counsel of Symeon the Elder visited his column,

which, after his death, was enshrined in a large and complex building at Qal'at Sim'an in Syria (no. 590). The art commemorating St. Symeon, including stone reliefs, terracotta medallions, and a fine silver plaque (no. 529), shows him on his column performing miracles. Like St. Menas, he was enormously popular outside of Syria. As early as the late fifth century, for example, craftsmen in Rome, who probably never visited Qal'at Sim'an, tacked images of the saint to the porches of their shops (Theodoret *Historia religiosa* 16).

The widespread appeal of pilgrimages to the Holy Land and to the sanctuaries of popular local saints enriched the repertory of Christian art with symbolic depictions of Gospel scenes, a new category of por-

traits of saints, and illustrations of their lives and martyrdoms. So popular and potent were images of saints that they affected the compositions of scenes in narrative art by the intrusion of elements of the sanctuaries of the holy sites. Loca sancta art, serving as a documentary of a trip, contributed to the formation of the liturgical cycle of feast scenes that was to become a standard element in posticonoclastic Byzantine art.

MARGARET E. FRAZER

BIBLIOGRAPHY: De Rossi, 1869; Geyer, 1898; Vincent and Abel, 1914, I; 1926, II; Grabar, 1943, I; 1946, II, and atlas; Grabar, 1958; Ainalov, 1961; Galavaris, 1970; Weitzmann, 1974; Krautheimer, 1975.



Above: no. 506; below: detail of no. 506, inner medallion



506 Bowl with SS. Peter and Paul

Rome, mid-4th century
Terracotta
Diam. 14 cm. (5½ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Fletcher Fund, 1952, 52.25.1

The bowl has neither base nor foot. A portion of the lip is broken and restored. The green glaze, perhaps a later addition, is very worn, except in the deep corners of the inner medallion.

The outside of the bowl has four bosses, each stamped with a christogram enclosed within a wreath. The floor of the bowl is stamped with

a medallion showing Peter and Paul (inscribed PETRVS and PAVLVS) seated on stools facing each other in profile; between their heads is another christogram within a wreath adorned with a tied ribbon. There are two borders to the medallion: the inner one a wreath, the outer composed of a series of crenellations.

Both apostles are apparently beardless. They are shown engaging in lively conversation: Peter extends his right arm across to point at Paul, who raises his right hand before himself in a speaking gesture. Each holds his robe on his lap with the left hand.

The composition has precise analogies among gold-glass medallions, especially early products of the so-called square-bordered atelier, isolated by Morey (1959, nos. 74, 112), though the christogram shape, with its reentrant terminals, may indicate a slightly later date (cf. Morey, 1959, no. 243). The border is more unusual, but some glass medallions often do have an inner border similar to the crenellation motif used here (cf. Morey, 1959, no. 67).

The bowl was found on the Via Appia in Rome.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baltimore, 1947, no. 642; Salomonson, 1973, pp. 19–20, fig. 13.

507 Bottom of a bowl with SS. Peter and Paul crowned by Christ

Rome, mid-4th century
Gold glass
Diam. 9.2 cm. (3⅝ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Rogers Fund, 1911, 11.91.4

The glass is still embedded in a piece of the cement from the sealing of a tomb in the unknown catacomb from which it came. It is broken around the edges. Attempts to remove the iridescence have abraded the surface and blurred the image. Some sections of the gold have separated, as at Paul's right foot.

Within the medallion sit Peter and Paul (so inscribed), each on a sort of bench. They face each other, their right hands raised in speech,



their left hands in their laps, holding their pallia. Neither figure has a beard. Above and between them stands a small frontal figure of Christ, also beardless, holding a wreath over the head of each apostle. Around the medallion, enclosed by a double border, runs the inscription: DENGNETAS AMICORUM ELARES EN CRISTO ("Worthy among [thy] friends, joyful in Christ").

The composition has its source in imperial coinage, where co-rulers are united, even crowned, by a Victory (cf. Kantorowicz, 1965, p. 107), and it is used frequently on gold-glass medallions honoring Peter and Paul. This particular example has two fairly rare features: first, Peter and Paul are shown seated and full length; second, neither is bearded (cf. Garrucci, 1876, III, pl. 184, fig. 3, where, however, the saints have beards; or Morey, 1959, nos. 112, 269, 438, where there is no figure of Christ). A close parallel on formal grounds is the Vatican glass of Morey's "square-bordered atelier," showing Christ crowning Sixtus and Timothy (1959, no. 74).

Despite the words of the inscription around the figures, which relate this piece to Morey's Dignitas Amicorum group, the style here is closest to early products of the "square-bordered atelier," particularly in the almond shape of the profile eyes, and Peter's "amputated" left hand (cf. Morey, 1959, nos. 71, 72, 75).

The glass was probably made for the celebration of a feast of SS. Peter and Paul in Rome.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Morey, 1959, no. 450; Testini, 1969, no. 146.

508 Bottom of a bowl with SS. Peter and Paul flanking a column

Rome, late 4th century

Gold glass

Diam. 10.2 cm. (4 in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Rogers Fund, 1916, 16.174.3

The glass around the medallion has been carefully cut away, along with the rim foot; one small segment at the right has been shattered.

Within a circular gold border stand two figures inscribed PETRVS and PAVLVS; they flank a column decorated with inset gems, resting on a base and topped by a torus molding; it supports the christogram inscribed within a circle. Figures and column stand on a strip of gold ground, and Peter's right foot extends out into the border. The apostles have the features common to their depictions since the



second half of the fourth century: Peter with short beard, Paul balding, with a longer pointed beard.

The composition, though with few exact parallels among gold-glass medallions (cf. Morey, 1959, nos. 76, 88), is surely related to compositions showing Peter and Paul flanking the christogram alone (Morey, 1959, nos. 112, 126) and to later works in other media that show the apostles flanking the cross itself (Ihm, 1960, pp. 88–89). However, the precise significance of the composition—in which a column, perhaps a general indication of sanctity or a symbol of the church, is added as a support for the monogram of Christ—has not been determined.

A fragment of another medallion preserves a nearly identical portrait of St. Paul (Morey, 1959, no. 54; cf. also no. 313), executed with the same unusually precise linear detail.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ostoia, 1969, no. 3; Testini, 1969, no. 147.

509 Statuette of St. Peter

Rome, late 4th–early 5th century

Bronze

9.3 cm. (3 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, 1

This statuette is complete and in good repair. Its identification as St. Peter is assumed from the hairstyle and physiognomy and by the attribute of the cross. Peter stands in contrapposto, wearing a short-sleeved tunic and pallium and holding a monogrammed cross (fashioned to suggest the first two Greek letters in *XPICTOC*). He makes a speaking gesture with his right hand.

The iconography of Peter holding a cross typically appears in *Dominus legem dat* scenes, where Christ invests Peter with the responsibility of his ministry (cf. nos. 502, 503). The gem-encrusted or Chi-Rho-monogrammed cross held by Peter in such scenes is the triumphal cross of Christ's Resurrection and not the instrument of Peter's own martyrdom. Peter is thus singled out as the primary witness of the triumph over death and as Christ's earthly representative (Schumacher [2],



1959, pp. 15–18). This idea appears also to have motivated this representation, where Peter, making a speaking gesture often characteristic of Christ representations, displays the enlarged symbol of Christ's triumph.

The origin of this iconography is unclear. It is found on very few other monuments (cf. a terracotta lamp from Athens [Thompson, 1959, pl. 5, 7] and Griffing, 1938, pp. 269–270), and no monumental prototype has been preserved. The dependence of Early Christian bronze sculptures on monumental art, however, can be demonstrated (cf. a lamp fragment with a *Dominus legem dat* scene, Verona [Franzoni, 1973, no. 186]). But whether the bronze records a lost Peter image from a holy site or is more simply a small iconic representation of the foremost prince of the apostles is difficult to determine (cf. an ivory

diptych leaf with Peter and cross [Volbach, 1976, no. 135]).

Stylistically, this statuette is to be dated to the late fourth to early fifth century. Its similarity to the Verona lamp fragment, dated to the same period, all but assures an Italian origin. Although it has been suggested that the Berlin bronze also originally served as part of a lamp, it more likely follows the Roman tradition of small bronze deity statuettes. A representation of St. Paul could, theoretically, have been a companion piece to this statuette (see no. 554).

The Berlin bronze was said to have been found in a Roman catacomb in the early eighteenth century and was formerly in the Bellori collection, Rome.

J. N. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schlunk, 1939, no. 129, pl. 41; Cecchelli, 1954, p. 140, fig. 64; Maccarrone, 1968, p. 66, fig. 1; Grabar (1), 1968, p. 70, fig. 169; Testini, 1969, no. 40.

510 Bottom of plate with Peregrina and SS. Peter and Paul

Rome, mid-4th century

Gold glass

14 × 11.5 cm. (5½ × 4½ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1918, 18.145.2

The glass is broken around the edges, and the



surface is discolored badly in several areas. The plate had a ring foot.

Within a square frame stand three frontal figures, inscribed PETRVS, PAVLVS, and, between them, PEREGRINA. Peter and Paul are beardless; they look slightly toward Peregrina, to whom they point with their right hands. Their left hands grasp a fold of their pallia. Peregrina, dressed in a long tunic and palla, and wearing earrings, necklace, and a fillet in her elaborately plaited hair, stands as an orant looking directly out at the viewer. Two plants, bearing six-petaled rosettes, perhaps indicating paradise, rise from the ground between the figures, while two plain discs and two rosettes appear at the level of their heads.

The medallion is a product of what Morey (1959) has called the "square-bordered atelier" (cf. especially the discs and rosettes, heavy-lidded eyes and straight mouth of Morey, 1959, nos. 72, 246, 270; cf. no. 313). The representation of Peter and Paul as beardless suggests the date cannot be much later than the mid-fourth century, when beards became standard for depictions of these saints.

It is not clear who Peregrina might have been: perhaps an otherwise unknown saint (St. Agnes, for example, was frequently depicted standing between Peter and Paul on gold-glass medallions [e.g., Morey, 1959, no. 75]), but more likely a deceased Roman lady called Peregrina, who is being commended to the care of Peter and Paul. Parallels for such a composition can be found on sarcophagi that show the apostles flanking a standing female orant, obviously meant to represent the dead woman buried within (Wilpert, 1932, II, p. 337, pl. 246. 12). The name Peregrina, while not common, is found in a dozen Roman sepulchral inscriptions (*CIL* VI.7, s.v. Peregrina).

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Morey, 1959, no. 449.

511 Fragment of the bottom of a bowl with St. Lawrence

Rome, 5th century

Gold glass

10.2 × 5.4 cm. (4 × 2½ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1918, 18.145.3

The glass is broken in half diagonally and there is considerable iridescent film along the break, extending up into the saint's shoulder and face. The plate had a ring foot.

The medallion once contained the half-length figure of St. Lawrence (inscribed LAURENTIO) turned toward the left, with a large cross-staff slung over his right shoulder. He is bearded and has short curly hair; behind his head, in place of a nimbus, are the arms of the christogram, which was apparently completed by an Alpha (now lost) and an Omega (still visible to the right of the saint's shoulder). Around the figure run the words "... ANE VIVAS IN CR(ISTO)," to which perhaps should be added "(et in) LAURENTIO." If "... ane" is the vocative ending of a proper name, the inscription would then be translated as "... anus, live in Christ (and in) Lawrence."

A similar bearded figure of St. Lawrence shouldering a large cross is found on a fifth-century mosaic in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna (fig. 81), where he is shown striding toward the fiery grill of his martyrdom. Certain other features of this gold glass tend to support a fifth-century date: Lawrence is bearded, which he is not on the fourth-century medallions; the very thickened form of the letters is usually a sign of late date, as may be the absence of any framing border; the glass is an unusually dark shade of green; and the style of the figure has no

parallel among the medallions attributed to the fourth century.

It is rare for a saint to be endowed with the christogram, but there is another example, again a fifth-century work, a fresco in a Naples catacomb: the martyr St. Gennarius has a halo within which the christogram, as well as the Alpha and Omega, is inscribed (Achelis, 1936, pl. 38).

The plate may have been made for private use during a celebration of the feast of St. Lawrence in Rome, where, by the fifth century, three churches were already dedicated to him.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Morey, 1959, no. 460.

**512 Relief with St. Menas

Alexandria (?), 5th century

Marble

69 × 58 cm. (27 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 22 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum, 13.860

The youthful saint, with wide open eyes and tightly curled hair, stands as an orant. He is dressed in a short belted tunic, with a long chlamys thrown back over his shoulders, and high boots. At his side, facing him in profile, kneel two camels.

The camels identify this figure as St. Menas, the semilegendary Egyptian soldier martyred around A.D. 295, whose remains became known throughout the Mediterranean world for effecting miraculous cures. A famous pilgrimage center grew up around his tomb at Abu Mena (see no. 591), which flourished primarily from the late fourth through the mid-seventh century.

Images of Menas as orant between a pair of camels occur frequently and in very similar form throughout this period. The remarkable consistency of their iconography suggests that they may all derive from one particular image of the saint, probably the relief known to have existed in his underground tomb chamber. This marble plaque and the ampullae (no. 515) display the figure without architectural background and may reproduce the original cult image more faithfully than does the St. Menas ivory in Milan (no. 517).

The meaning of the camels is still a matter of speculation. The Passion, Miracles, and Encomium of St. Menas all relate episodes that connect him





with camels, yet none of these stories really fits the image. It is quite possible that the association of the saint with camels is as old as the cult itself, and that it precedes, perhaps even in part inspires, the narrative sources themselves.

This plaque comes not from the sanctuary but from ruins at El Dekhela adjacent to the town of Mex, near Abu Mena; they may be the remains of the monastery of St. Thecla at the Ennaton. The dry classicism of its carving reflects a style current in and around Alexandria during the fifth century.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kaufmann, 1910, p. 96, fig. 35; Ward-Perkins, 1949, pp. 46, 65, pl. VIII, fig. 1; Beckwith, 1963, p. 9, pl. 10.

513 Roundel with St. Thecla

Egypt, 5th century

Limestone

Diam. 64.7 cm. (25½ in.)

Kansas City, Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum (Nelson Fund), 48.10

A hole has been bored through the stone just above the animal on the right, and the outer rim is slightly chipped.

The roundel is framed by a laurel wreath interrupted at top and bottom by round bosses. In the center stands a haloed St. Thecla, clad in a long belted robe, with folds crossing her chest. Her hands are tied behind her back, and ropes lead to a lion and lioness posed heraldically beside her. Above each animal is the bust of an angel replacing the usual pair of bulls. Each angel wears a fillet in his hair and a cross around his neck; they open wide their arms.

According to the apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla, probably written in the second half of the second century, Thecla was converted by St. Paul. Denounced as a Christian by a rejected suitor, she was confronted in the arena in Antioch with a succession of wild beasts and finally roped between a pair of bulls. She escaped from all these trials and retired to a hillside above Seleucia, in Isauria, where she died. Her tomb there became an important pilgrimage site by the end of the fourth century.

Parallels for this iconography are rare. Ampullae from Egypt show Thecla bound between lions and bulls (Kaufmann, 1910, pp. 139–141) and a very damaged sixth- or seventh-century Sinai icon shows her bound, with a bull at her left side, and a small figure of Paul near her right shoulder (Weitzmann, 1976, I, no. B.19–20). The angels on this relief are unique.



The style of the carving resembles that of the fourth- to fifth-century Coptic sculptures found at Oxyrhynchos and Ahnas. Though most of the material from these centers is pagan in theme, there are a few Christian pieces, characterized by the supple carving of the female body, the laurel-wreath frame, and the slit eyes with a drilled pupil (Breccia, 1932, fig. p. 102; cf. pl. 39, fig. 142). A church of St. Thecla in Oxyrhynchos is mentioned in papyri from the sixth century (Greenfield, 1924, no. 1993; Lobel, 1957, no. 2419).

The roundel form is unusual for this school of carvers, who had particular preference for carved niches and tympana, but this relief must undoubtedly have been placed in an architectural setting.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Buschhausen, 1962–1963, p. 148, fig. 6; Boston, 1976, no. 236.

514 Pyxis with St. Menas scenes

Egypt or Constantinople, 6th century

Ivory

8, diam. 10.7 cm. (3 $\frac{1}{8}$, 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

London, The Trustees of the British Museum,
79.12–20.1

The pyxis has lost its cover and base as well as its lock and hinge. It is chipped in places along the rim, and the carving is smoothed with wear.

The pyxis is carved with scenes relating to the martyrdom of St. Menas. The series starts with a scene of judgment: the prefect is seated on a stool, flanked to the left by a guard and to the right by a scribe. The scribe holds a diptych and stands before a table with an inkpot upon it. At the far left of the scene is a large, apparently irrelevant basket. The execution of St. Menas follows on the right: Menas, clad in a loincloth, crouches with his hands tied behind him, while the executioner, in a short belted tunic and long trousers, raises his sword and seizes the saint by the hair. An angel flies in, extending his veiled hands to receive the soul of the saint. To the right is a low hill and a tree.

Then follows the familiar representation of St. Menas standing as orant between his two camels

(cf. 512, 515). He is dressed in a short tunic, high boots, and a long chlamys decorated with a tablion. He has a halo and stands under an arch supported by two spiral columns, representing his sanctuary. Pilgrims approach from the sides—two women from the left, two men from the right. This figure of St. Menas must ultimately reflect the image that adorned his tomb chamber at Abu Mena in Egypt, amplified here to include the



No. 514, execution of St. Menas



No. 514, St. Menas with camels and pilgrims

architectural setting and the figures of pilgrims.

The subject matter of the pyxis has led scholars to assume it was carved in Egypt, an assumption strengthened by its stylistic affinities with the Wiesbaden pyxis (no. 170), which is adorned with Nilotic themes. Yet its style has still more in common with the ivories of the Maximianus cathedra (figs. 60, 65), whose Egyptian provenance is still disputed. The cult of St. Menas, furthermore, was not confined to Egypt, and there were several sanctuaries of St. Menas in the sixth century for which the pyxis could conceivably have been made. Recently, Beckwith (1963, figs. 35, 36) and Kollwitz (1964, n. 41) have suggested that the ivory was carved in Constantinople.

Its original purpose is unclear; it may have been used as an incense box or as a reliquary. It was bought from a dealer in Rome in the late nineteenth century, but there is no evidence for the assumption that it came from a sanctuary of St. Menas in that city.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, 1976, no. 181.

515 Ampulla with St. Menas

Egypt, 610–641

Terracotta

8.3 × 7.6 cm. (3¼ × 3 in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Rogers Fund, 1927, 27.94.27



The sides of this ampulla were pressed separately in a mold and then joined. The handles and neck (here broken off) were added by hand.

Both sides of the ampulla have the same decoration. Within a circular border of raised dots stands St. Menas, identified by the two camels alongside him; the creatures are so cramped into the circular field that they appear to be standing on their heads. The orant saint has no halo; he wears a short tunic, while his usual long chlamys hangs down behind him. A cross on either side of his head completes the decoration.

The image is a crude version of that on the marble slab from Alexandria (no. 512) and may also distantly echo the lost cult image from the wall of the saint's tomb chamber at Abu Mena, near Alexandria (see no. 591).

Similar ampullae have been found throughout the Mediterranean world and bear witness to the importance of the sanctuary of St. Menas as a pilgrimage site in the Early Christian period (Kaufmann, 1910, esp. pp. 59–78). The ampullae were filled either with oil from the lamps burning over the tomb of the saint, or with miracle-working water, which then assumed the power of the saint's remains and could be expected to produce remarkable cures.

Recent Polish excavations in Alexandria have led to the first serious attempts to determine a chronology for the Menas ampullae, the majority of which were apparently produced from the fifth through the seventh century. The decoration of this example (the circle of dots, the identical image repeated on both sides of the flask, and the absence of any inscription) shows it to belong with the latest group, which is dated by Kiss (1973, p. 144), on the basis of stratigraphy, to the period of Heraclius.

N. P. Š.

Unpublished.

516 Flask with St. Thecla and orant (St. Menas ?)

Egypt, 7th century

Red terracotta

27, diam. 17.5 cm. (10⅝, 6⅞ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités

Grecques et Romaines, MNC 1926



No. 516, St. Thecla

The flask has a short base not commonly found on the smaller ampullae (no. 515). It is broken at the top of the neck.

In the central medallion on one side of the flask is a crude image of St. Thecla (inscribed Η ΑΓΙΑ ΘΕΚΛΑ[α]), standing with her hands behind her back and dressed in a long robe. Turning to face her from behind is an unidentifiable animal, perhaps the lioness or the bear that belong to her legend (see no. 513); to her right is the neck and head of a large lion. Around the medallion runs the inscription: ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ ΑΜΗ (v) ("Eulogia of St. Menas, Amen").

The reverse of the flask has a similar inscription: ΕΥΛΟ + ΓΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙ(ΟΥ) ΜΗΝΑ ΑΜΗ(v) enclosing an orant figure placed between two structures; that on the left has a hanging lamp, that on the right is domed and topped by a cross. The structures are debased "shrines," echoing those found on the Philip medallion (no. 530) and



No. 516, orant

on the fragment of a large ampulla with St. Athenogenes in Berlin (Wulff, 1909, no. 1403). The orant figure may represent St. Menas, who is named on both border inscriptions, or St. Thecla herself. All the known ampullae that honor St. Thecla also honor Menas and apparently come from the site of his sanctuary (Kaufmann, 1910, pp. 139–141). However, there are no parallels for either figure being flanked by such sanctuary images as appear on this flask. The schematic figures can be compared to the relief portrait of Apa Schenute in Berlin (Beckwith, 1963, fig. 115), itself probably no earlier than the seventh century.

The play on the name ΜΗΝΑ as ΑΜΗ(v) may make reference to a story in the Coptic Synaxarium, according to which Menas' mother went to pray for a child to a statue of the Virgin. The statue responded Amen, and the mother later gratefully named her son Menas (Kaufmann, 1910, pp. 34, 158). Another ampulla using the phrase ΜΗΝΑC

AMHN is known (Kaufmann, 1910, p. 158), but the form is apparently very rare.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cabrol and Leclercq, 1907, I, 1, cols. 1729–1730, fig. 452; Kaufmann, 1910, pp. 141, 158; Coche de la Ferté (2), 1961, fig. p. 25.

517 Plaque with St. Menas

Syria (?), late 7th century (?)

Ivory

10 × 8 cm. ($3\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Milan, Castello Sforzesco, Civiche Raccolte d'Arte applicata ed Incisioni, Avori I

The ivory is broken at the lower right corner. A hole has been bored in each upper corner and another below the saint's left elbow.

The ivory has a raised undecorated border. In the center stands the orant figure of St. Menas. He is haloed and has tightly curled short hair; he is clad in a long, belted, and embroidered tunic with long sleeves, and a chlamys. At his sides kneel two camels. The saint is standing apparently at the entrance to the sanctuary of his church, depicted as an open central bay surmounted by a conch and flanked by two side bays. The latter have latticed closure slabs, a pair of drawn curtains and a lamp, and gables, each topped by a cross; there are acanthus leaves in the spandrels. On the upper border is the incised inscription: + O A(γιος) MHNAC ("St. Menas").

The composition is related to the marble slab in Alexandria (no. 512) and to the British Museum pyxis, where Menas is also haloed and appears before a sanctuary structure (no. 514). On this ivory, however, the architecture is more elaborate, and the human figure has less volume.

The plaque belongs to a group of ivories so closely related to each other in size, content, and style that they were once thought to have belonged to one object, an episcopal throne known as the Grado chair (no. 456). The date and provenance of this group of ivories have been the subject of much discussion. Proposals have ranged from sixth-century Egypt to eleventh-century Italy (Volbach, 1976). Weitzmann's recent study ([2], 1972) suggests a Syrian or Syro-Egyptian provenance and a date in the late seventh century. He associates



the Menas ivory with three others within the group that are of identical size: a plaque in Paris of an orant saint and two plaques of prophets (Weitzmann [2], 1972, figs. 3, 4, 6), which he considers to be among the earliest products of the atelier. The inscription on the Menas ivory, he argues, is a later addition, since the A form for O A(γιος) does not antedate the tenth century. He proposes that the whole group of ivories was designed to adorn a church door.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Volbach, 1976, no. 242.

518 Pyxis with Raising of Lazarus and Sacrifice of Isaac

Syria-Palestine (?), 5th century

Ivory

7.2, diam. 12.5 cm. ($2\frac{1}{8}, 4\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 694/Biz.2

The lid and bottom of the pyxis are missing. The rim encircling the base is broken off in several places, and the altar in the scene of the Sacrifice of Isaac is missing. There are a number of small holes where mountings were probably attached.

One Old Testament scene, the Sacrifice of Isaac, and five New Testament scenes are depicted. Beginning to the right of the Sacrifice of Isaac is the healing of the deaf mute. He wears a long garment rather than the more common short tunic and appears to recoil from Christ's touch. Next is the woman with the issue of blood. Accompanied by another woman, she touches the robe of Christ, who in turn touches the head of another figure with his wand. This figure is probably the blind man, although Christ usually is depicted touching



No. 518, *Sacrifice of Isaac*



No. 518, *Raising of Lazarus*

the blind man's eyes. Next is the Raising of Lazarus, where Christ points his wand downward rather than at Lazarus. To the right, the healed paralytic carries his bed on his shoulders.

In an arrangement common on fourth-century sarcophagi, the Sacrifice of Isaac, considered a prefiguration of Christ's, is placed opposite the Raising of Lazarus to express the idea that the resurrection of the dead was made possible through Christ's own sacrifice. This version of the Sacrifice of Isaac, however, differs markedly from the norm. Isaac stands nude beside Abraham, who rests one hand on Isaac's head and holds a knife in the other. The ram that will be sacrificed in Isaac's place stands on the left. A comparison with related monuments, which include three pyxides (Volbach, 1976, nos. 161, 162, 164) and a miniature in the Etschmiadzin Gospels (Macler, 1920, fol. 8r), indicates that the object behind Isaac is a stairway, on top of which is a pedestal supporting a horned altar. It has been suggested that the stairway was the one leading up Golgotha, where, beginning in the sixth century, pilgrims' accounts place the Sacrifice. Another possible identification is Mt. Garizim in Samaria, where earlier accounts place the Sacrifice. Mt. Garizim boasted an equally renowned stairway and is depicted on coinage with similar horned altars at its summit.

The pyxis is iconographically related to the Berlin pyxis (fig. 86), dated around 400, and a date in the fifth century is thus likely. There are, however, no close parallels for the crude, vigorous carving. The iconography of the Sacrifice of Isaac indicates an Eastern provenance, perhaps Syria or Palestine.

A. ST. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wessel, 1952–1953, p. 68; Bovini, 1956, p. 62, figs. 7–10; Bovini and Ottolenghi, 1956, no. 33 (1st ed.), no. 34 (2nd ed.); Volbach, 1976, no. 163.

519 Pyxis with New Testament scenes

Syria-Palestine, early 6th century

Ivory

8.4 cm., diam. 10.3 cm. ($3\frac{5}{16}$, $4\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 51.114a, b

The pyxis was acquired in three pieces and re-assembled. The lid and bottom are missing. There are numerous small holes where the pyxis was tied or held together by metal mountings. At the center of the composition, opposite the space reserved for the lock, is a baldachin raised on



No. 519, altar



No. 519, Raising of Lazarus and healing of the blind man

three steps. Beneath the central arch, as on the Metropolitan Museum pyxis (no. 520), are a hanging lamp and an altar supporting a Gospel book. A cross stands on or behind the altar. The side arches are hung with curtains, below which are probably thymiateria. The remaining space is devoted to four scenes from the life of Christ. To the right of the space reserved for the lock is the Annunciation. Mary, who is spinning wool, turns her head toward the angel, who approaches her from behind. Next is the Entry into Jerusalem, reduced to Christ accompanied by two palm bearers. To the right of the baldachin are two miracle scenes: the Raising of Lazarus, where Christ holds a cross instead of the usual wand, and the healing of the blind man. In both scenes, Christ is accompanied by a youthful figure who witnesses the miracles. The scenes are not in chronological sequence; the order was probably changed to make the altar the center of the composition. Within the expanded narrative context, the altar can be understood as symbolizing Jerusalem as well as Golgotha and more specifically the Holy Sepulcher (cf. no. 520). The liturgical emphasis indicates that the pyxis most likely served as a container for the host.

In addition to the Metropolitan pyxis (no. 520), the pyxis is stylistically related to pyxides in Sitten (Volbach, 1976, no. 176), Leningrad (Volbach, 1976, no. 179), Paris (no. 405), and Werden (no. 449). The high quality of the carving is especially evident in the figure of Mary, whose elegant three-quarter pose is in the classical tradition. The figures dramatically engage the observer with their eyes. The high quality, along with iconographical considerations, lead to a tentative attribution of the pyxis to an urban center, such as Antioch, although Jerusalem is also possible.

Drawn and described by Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc at Vienne, France, in 1612. Subsequently, one piece appeared in the Georges C. Chalandon collection, Paris, the other two in the Recamier, then Claudius Côte collection.

A. S. T. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Milliken, 1951; Milliken, 1952; Mütterich, 1959, pp. 201–206, figs. 1–3; Elbern, 1962, pp. 29–30, fig. 9; Elbern (1), 1964, p. 105, fig. 106; Volbach, 1976, no. 184.

520 Pyxis with Women at the Tomb

Syria-Palestine, 6th century

Ivory

10.2, diam. 12.7 cm. (4, 5 in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.57

The pyxis retains its original lid, decorated with a laurel wreath, and its bottom. Several holes from a previous mounting are visible. The present copper mountings are later. The subject of the pyxis is the visit of the women to the tomb of Christ; but instead of a tomb, the two Marys, carrying censers, approach an altar, which stands on a platform beneath a structure consisting of three arches capped by domes. The angle of the steps approaching the side arches indicates that the structure was curved and probably intended as a ciborium, similar to that on the related Cleveland pyxis (no. 519). Curtains hang in the side arches and a lamp is suspended above the altar. Lying on the altar is a Gospel book. The remaining space is occupied by three women orants standing before an arcade.

It has been suggested that the altar is the one associated with the Anastasis shrine in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem. But the structure on the pyxis does not resemble the shrine as it is depicted on ampullae (no. 524) or on the Sancta Sanctorum reliquary (fig. 76), and it lacks any distinctive feature, such as the grill, that would connect it with the shrine. Instead, the arrangement corresponds to that typical in apses of Syrian churches of the period, and probably in Palestine as well. By substituting an altar for the actual tomb, the artist illustrated the popular belief in the symbolic identification of the Holy Sepulcher with the altar, an association that grew out of the Eastern belief in the presence of the crucified Christ on the altar during the celebration of the Eucharist. This emphasis on the liturgical reenactment of the event indicates that the pyxis most likely served as a container for the host.

The pyxis is related to a group of ivories including pyxides in Werden (no. 449), Cleveland (no. 519), and Sitten (Volbach, 1976, no. 176). Characteristic of the group is a preference for figures placed frontally against a flat background, large heads with outward-directed gazes, and



No. 520, above, women at altar; below, orants



drapery falling in wide, form-revealing folds. This style contrasts sharply with the vigorous figures and ornamental drapery folds characteristic of the Maximianus cathedra (figs. 60, 65) and related Egyptian ivories, yet the high quality of the group suggests an urban center with a strong classical heritage. Given the iconographical ties to Syria, Antioch seems a likely source, but precise origin has not been established.

Formerly in the J. Pierpont Morgan collection and the Schevitch collection.

A. ST. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wessel, 1952–1953, pp. 71–72; Volbach (3), 1962, p. 85; Volbach, 1976, no. 177.

521 Plaque with Nativity

Syria-Palestine, late 7th–8th century

Ivory

9.3 × 19.1 cm. ($3\frac{1}{16} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Washington, D. C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection,
51.30

The top and bottom corners on the right are broken off. A narrow strip running along the top on the left is restored. The plaque was probably attached to a wooden core at the two holes and held in place by counter ledges, indicated by the recessed ledges at top and bottom. At the center of the composition, the Christ child lies in a tall masonry crib. Behind the crib, the ox is visible on the left; only the neck of the ass remains on the right. The Virgin reclines on a mattress before the crib. Joseph, his chin resting in his hand, is seated on the left. Between them is a vase set on a tripod. Seated on the right is another woman—apparently the midwife

Salome, although she is nimbed and closely resembles the Virgin. Instead of the usual cave, the background is an elaborate architectural setting, with a city wall surrounding several domed buildings, an altar covered by a ciborium, and, on the right, a large building with a paneled door.

An interesting feature is the crib, represented as an altar with a niche for the display of relics. Within the niche is depicted a cloth, probably meant to represent the swaddling cloth of Christ, a relic that, beginning in the eleventh century, was displayed at Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome. The association of the altar with Christ's manger occurs in literature as early as the fourth century. A similar altar is depicted in the Nativity on the seventh-century reliquary lid from the Sancta Sanctorum (fig. 76).

Stylistically, this plaque belongs to a group of fourteen pieces (Goldschmidt, 1926, IV, nos. 112–124, 312), including the plaques from Milan (nos. 448, 456, 517). The group was traditionally associated with the Grado chair (no. 456), but it has also been assigned to eleventh- or twelfth-century Italy, partly because of the close relationship of this plaque to the same scene on the Salerno antependium (Goldschmidt, 1926, IV, no. 126). Pointing to iconographical parallels with Syro-Palestinian works of the seventh century, Weitzmann ([2], 1972; Weitzmann [1], 1972, III) suggested a Palestinian or Syrian provenance, and a



late seventh- or eighth-century date. He suggested that the group belonged to a larger group of New Testament scenes attached to a door, rather than a chair.

Formerly in the Albin Chalandon collection, Lyons, and the Georges C. Chalandon collection, Paris.

A. ST. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weitzmann (2), 1972, pp. 43–91, pl. 2; Weitzmann (1), 1972, III, no. 20, pp. 37–42, pls. 3, XIX, XX; Engemann (3), 1973, p. 18, pl. 13; Weitzmann, 1974, pp. 38–40, fig. 15; Volbach, 1976, no. 249.

522 Mold with the three angels at Mamre

Palestine, 5th century

Limestone

3.5, diam. 14 cm. (1 $\frac{3}{8}$, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

New York, Dr. Lillian Malcove Collection

This well-preserved double-faced mold, said to have been found near Jerusalem, is a humble but fascinating object of pilgrimage art. One face illustrates the three angels on the Plain of Mamre (Gen. 18:1–15), inscribed: ΕΙΛΕΘΕ ΜΟΙ ΟΙ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΙ ("May the angels look propitiously upon me"). The angels are arrayed like emperors (cf. no. 63) behind a three-legged table under the arching oak of Mamre, which has a birdcage hanging from its branches (cf. Grabar [2], 1966). In the exergue, Abraham and Sarah prepare the meal. The central angel, the Lord, raises his right hand proclaiming to Abraham the miraculous conception of Isaac; his companions point their staffs at the calf and Abraham's well (?) below. An enthroned goddess, flanked by four cypresses, occupies the mold's other side. She wears star-studded robes and is inscribed: ΔΕΧΟΜΕ ΧΑΙΡΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑΝ ("I receive, rejoicing, the heavenly one").

The scene of the angels is the most elaborate to survive from the Early Christian period (cf. Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome; S. Vitale, Ravenna). The image here is primarily didactic, reflecting Early Christian theological interpretation of this most important Old Testament theophany. Both Origen (*Homiliae in Genesim* 4) and St. Ambrose (*De Abraham* 1. 5) stress the revelation of divine truth



No. 522, three angels on the Plain of Mamre



No. 522, enthroned goddess flanked by cypresses

and mysteries hidden in the smallest of objects described in the biblical account.

The goddess is more difficult to identify. Isis, Astarte, Atargatis, and Aphrodite were called Urania in the late Roman world. In gesture and dress, this woman most resembles Aphrodite of the sanctuary of Afqa on Mt. Lebanon (Du Mesnil du Buisson, 1970, pp. 108–111). She may also be the Virgin in the guise of one of these goddesses,

but the text of the inscription has not as yet been related to a specific Christian context.

The style of the figures appears to be somewhat earlier than that of the late sixth-century lead ampullae (cf. nos. 524, 526, 527). Although the drapery is defined by similar parallel folds, the body underneath is fuller and denser. The unusual combination of imagery on the mold also points to an earlier date, perhaps the fifth century. It may reflect the coexistence of several cults at Mamre, a situation that, according to Sozomenos (*Hist. eccl.* 2. 4), shocked Constantine's mother-in-law, Eutropia, when she visited the site. Sozomenos also records that Christians, Jews, and Phoenicians came to Mamre every year for the harvest festival, during which ceremonial cakes were thrown into Abraham's well. This mold may have provided the impressions for such cakes or for other mementoes.

Unpublished.

M. E. F.

Detail of no. 523: plan of Jerusalem



*523 Map of the Holy Land

Madaba, Jordan, 2nd half 6th century

Mosaic

About 10.5 × 5 m. (34 ft. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. × 16 ft. 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Madaba, Jordan

The map was discovered in 1884 in the pavement of a church; it probably once covered the transept (about 73 × 23 feet). Part of the map was destroyed when a new church was erected in 1896. Its original boundaries may have been Byblos, Hamat, and Damascus in the north, Sinai and Thebes in the south, the Mediterranean in the west, and Kanat, Bostra, Rabbat Ammon, and Sela (Petra) in the east (Avi-Yonah, 1954, pp. 11–16). Jerusalem stood at the center of the map directly in front of the apse. The major surviving fragment shows the land from the Jordan valley to the Nile. There are modern and ancient repairs, including crude

replacements for human figures that were destroyed, presumably during iconoclasm.

The map's layout depends on a Roman road map and the choice of sites on Eusebius of Caesarea's *Onomasticon*, supplemented by a few Jewish and later Christian sources (Avi-Yonah, 1954, pp. 28–32). Certain sites and churches—such as that of the Nea, the church of the Theotokos, in Jerusalem, which was dedicated in 524—as well as the mosaic's stylistic relationship to sixth-century mosaics—such as that from Qabr Hiram dated 573 in the Louvre (Renan, 1864, pl. XLIX)—date the map in the second half of the sixth century (see Avi-Yonah, 1961, who comments on the artistic interests of Sergios, bishop of Madaba, 578–608).

The map is a topographical guide to Old and New Testament sites. It was laid out to be read from the west, that is, from the nave of the basilica. Small towns are represented by standardized structures. Larger cities like Jerusalem, however, include identifiable streets and ecclesiastical and public buildings. These are seen in bird's-eye view, with important buildings folded out for easier identification. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher, for example, is shown upside down, with its stairs leading from the west side of the main colonnaded street, the *cardo* of the Roman Aelia Capitolina, to the facade of the basilica, with the courtyard and the dome of the rotunda beyond (see no. 582). Sites in the countryside, with few exceptions, are identified by inscriptions summarizing their religious importance. Mountain ranges and rivers, enlivened by animal hunts, fish, and ships, contribute to geographical as well as the pictorial interest.

The mosaic is an important document for the topography of the Holy Land. The only other Early Christian map of the region is found in the Gothic copy of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* in Vienna (Levi, 1967).

M. E. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Avi-Yonah, 1954; Kitzinger, 1956, pp. 152–153; Avi-Yonah, 1961; Donner and Cüppers, 1967.



524 Ampulla with Crucifixion and Women at the Tomb

Palestine, 6th century

Lead

Diam. 4.6 cm. ($1\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 48.18

The ampulla has been crushed flat and the neck is missing, but the scenes executed in relief on each side are well preserved. On one side is the Crucifixion: at the center of the composition is a bust of Christ, bearded and nimbed, with a tabula ansata at the top of his nimbus. A cross with flaring arms replaces Christ's body. At its base, the four rivers of paradise flow from the rock of Golgotha. The cross is perhaps meant to recall the monumental votive cross erected on Golgotha in the fourth century by Constantine. The two kneeling figures flanking the cross have been identified as pilgrims, but they closely resemble the soldiers who occupy that place on related monuments.

The thieves are attached to crosses on either side of Christ. Their arms are bent at the elbow and attached to crossbars at waist level, a compositional variation required by the cramped space, which did not allow the arms to be fully outstretched. Surrounding the scene is the following inscription: +ΕΛΑΙΟΝ ΕΥΛΟΟΝ ΖΩΗC ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ Χ(ριστο)Υ ΤΟΠΙΩΝ ("Oil of the wood of life from the holy sites of Christ").

On the other side of the ampulla is the Women at the Tomb. The two Marys approach a structure that was meant to recall the Anastasis shrine in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem. It consists of a ciborium enclosed by a grill, which is open to reveal an altar and a lamp. Above the ciborium, the tambour supporting the cupola of the church is visible. Both the ciborium and its setting can be seen more clearly on the Sancta Sanctorum reliquary lid (fig. 76). An angel is seated to the right of the structure. Above the scene is the inscription +ΑΝΕΚΤΙ Ο ΚΥΡΙΟC ("The Lord is risen").

The generally accepted view that the ampullae reflect monumental compositions that adorned the holy sites was challenged by Grabar (1958, pp. 45–50), who suggested Constantinopolitan goldwork as their source. Weitzmann (1974), however, argues for a monumental source for some of the ampullae.

The high quality and fine casting of this ampulla may indicate the artistic influence of Constantinople on Palestine, as a result of patronage of the holy sites.

Formerly collection of Hayford Peirce.

A. S. T. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ross, 1962, I, no. 87; Barag, 1970, p. 46, no. 64; Weitzmann, 1974, p. 42, fig. 24; Engemann (3), 1973, p. 25, figs. 7e–f.

525 Gem with SS. Peter and Paul

Palestine or Constantinople, early 6th century
Onyx
9.8 × 6.7 × 1.5 cm. ($3\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{8} \times \frac{5}{8}$ in.)
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum,
Antikensammlung, IX 2607

SS. Peter and Paul stand on either side of a cross surmounted by a bust of Christ Emmanuel (ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ) on this beautifully carved gem. Peter holds a cross, Paul a book; they raise their right hands in gestures of speech. Flowers are depicted in the exergue.

The Christ Emmanuel, the cross suspended in space, and the flowers suggest that the scene takes place in paradise. Peter and Paul as guardians of the cross and extollers of the Christian faith (Ihm, 1960, pp. 88–89) occur on many Early Christian monuments, especially in the West, one of the earliest being the lost apse mosaic of about 450 in the Basilica Apostolorum (S. Francesco) in Ravenna (see also no. 555; fig. 77). The bust of Christ Emmanuel, however, derives from the Holy Land, where it appears frequently above the cross on lead ampullae (no. 524). The Greek inscription and Paul's position on the right of Christ may also point to an Eastern provenance.

The incisive parallel folds of the figures' drapery recall similar patterns on the ampullae, although the volumetric clarity of the figures suggests an earlier date, perhaps the first half of the sixth century. The gem is the largest to survive from the



period, and the quality of its carving has led some authors to attribute it to imperial or patriarchal patronage in Jerusalem, Antioch, or Constantinople.

M. E. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Noll, 1965; Engemann (3), 1973, pp. 9–10; Noll (1), 1974, pp. 35–36.

526 Ampulla with Nativity and Baptism of Christ

Palestine, late 6th–7th century

Lead

Diam. 4.5 cm. (1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Bonn, Franz Joseph Dölger Institut, University of Bonn, 132

Once crushed flat, the ampulla has been restored to its original shape. The neck and immediately surrounding area are missing. There are numerous cracks and fissures. The seam where the two separately cast sides were originally soldered together is clearly visible. Two scenes are depicted: the Nativity and the Baptism of Christ. In the Nativity, Mary reclines on a mattress on the left. She extends her right hand toward Joseph, who is standing or reclining on the right. Between them is an arch closed by a grill and hung with a lamp. Above the arch, the Christ child lies in an oval crib, the ass and the ox behind him. Between them is a six-pointed star. The inscription reads: + ΕΜΜΑΝΟ(VH)Α ΜΕΘ ΗΜΩΝ Ο ΘΕΩC ("Emmanuel, God with us"). The arched opening closed by a grill is a distinctive feature of the Nativity on ampullae, probably meant to depict the entrance to the sanctuary of the cave beneath the Constantinian Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem.

In the Baptism, Christ stands in water that rises to his chest. On the right, John stands with his right arm outstretched toward Christ, and, on the left, an angel holds a cloth. Above Christ's head is the Dove of the Holy Spirit and a segment of heaven enclosing the hand of God. The inscription reads: (+ΕΥ)ΛΟΓΙΑ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΤΟΠΩ(N) ("Blessing of the Lord from the holy places").

The large, crudely cast figures with bulging



No. 526, Nativity



No. 526, Baptism of Christ

eyes and the crowded compositions contrast sharply with the refined figures, fine casting, and spacious compositions of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection ampulla (no. 524). Parallels in style and iconography exist with the gold medallion (no. 287) and a lid from a gold box (Ross, 1965, II, no. 37), both in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and dated at the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century.

Purchased by the Dölger Institut in 1965.

A. S. T. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Engemann (3), 1973, pp. 5–27, pl. 1.



527 Fragment of ampulla with Nativity and Baptism of Christ

Palestine, late 6th–7th century

Lead

Diam. 6.4 cm. (2½ in.)

Bonn, Franz Joseph Dölger Institut, University of Bonn, 131

The surface is cracked and parts of the composition are missing on either side. Two scenes are depicted: the Nativity in the upper half, and the Baptism of Christ in the lower. In the Nativity, Mary reclines on a mattress on the right. She turns her head toward Salome, who kneels with her right arm outstretched, a reference to the story of the withered hand in the Protevangelium of James (20) (cf. no. 447). Joseph is on the left. Beside him is a bucket with a wide handle. The ass Mary rode was probably depicted beside the bucket. It appears in this position on the related gold medallion in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (no. 287). At the center of the composition is an arch hung with a lamp and closed with a grill. Two more arches, of unequal height and width, flank the central arch. The Christ child, inscribed $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XP}}$, lies in a crib above this structure. Behind the crib are the ox and ass. Above is an eight-pointed star in a circle. The single arched opening with a grill is a standard

feature of the Nativity on ampullae, and probably depicts the entrance to the cave beneath the Constantinian Church of the Nativity. It has been suggested that the structure depicted here is instead a ciborium, but the side arches do not appear to be related to the central arch nor are they closed by grills, and there is no suggestion of columns or other features that would indicate a ciborium. The two figures standing below Salome, one of whom gazes upward, are perhaps shepherds or Magi, and thus associated with the Nativity rather than with the Baptism.

In the Baptism, Christ stands nude in water up to his chin. Above his head is a dove and a segment of heaven filled with stars from which issue rays of light. John the Baptist stands on the right and places his right hand on Christ's head. Two angels stand on the left holding cloths. Behind them is the personification of the River Jordan, with water flowing from a jar beside him.

The fragment's closest stylistic parallel is the gold medallion from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (no. 287), also dated in the late sixth or early seventh century.

Gift from L. Koenen to Th. Klauser in 1964.

A. ST. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, 1973, col. 206; Engemann (3), 1973, pls. 2–4.

528 Bread stamp with Holy Sepulcher

Jerusalem, 7th–8th century

Wood

Diam. 8.7 cm. (3⅞ in.)

Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Thirty-fifth Anniversary Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mallon, 51.152

This well-preserved wooden mold depicts the complex of buildings at the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem (no. 582). The propylaeum at the colonnaded street before the group occupies the lower left (cf. no. 523). The basilica church rises behind it. To its rear, at the top of the mold, appears the triangular (conical ?) roof of the sanctuary that sheltered the rock of Golgotha. The rotunda of the

529 Plaque with St. Symeon Stylites (the Elder ?)

Syria, late 6th–early 7th century

Silver with gilding

30 × 26 cm. (11 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des

Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, Bj 2180

The repoussé plaque, broken at the top on the upper right and along the left border, is gilded on the parts in relief, except for the column shaft and the ladder. A hole for attachment is visible at the upper left.

The plaque contains an unusual portrayal of St. Symeon, a Stylite saint. The bearded ascetic, dressed in monastic robes with a cowl, stands behind a balustrade at the top of his column, holding a roll in veiled hands. He has no halo, but above him is a conch shell, a common Early Christian indication of sanctity. The column itself has a Corinthian capital and a stepped base, and is pierced by a small window. A ladder, which usually reaches all the way up to the balustrade, goes only as far as the window, evidently to make space for the serpent coiling around the column. The snake, with his carefully wrought scales and



Church of the Anastasis (no. 582) is on the right. Two columns crowned with sculpture and crescent finials on the roofs of the basilica and the Anastasis fill the background. The primitive, yet logical and detailed description of the site points to a date in the seventh to eighth century, although Galavaris (1970), believing the crescents to be Islamic, dates the mold between the seventh and eleventh centuries (see Rahner, 1957, pp. 218 ff., for crescent moon as Christian symbol).

The mold was probably used to stamp bread distributed to pilgrims at the end of the service at the Holy Sepulcher. It is a most unusual type showing only the architecture of the actual site rather than the biblical event (no. 522) or the saint (no. 530) that occasioned its foundation. Not only does it provide, like the mosaic map at Madaba (no. 523), a valuable topographical description of the Holy Sepulcher, it also documents the existence of otherwise unrecorded architectural details, such as a clerestory in the basilica.

M. E. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Galavaris, 1970, pp. 153–185.



long beard, faces the saint directly as though in conversation. A three-part leaf design frames the scene at the two sides and up along the gently curving gable at the top. Across the bottom is the dedicatory inscription: ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ ΤΩ Θ(Ε)Ω ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ (C)ΥΜΕΩΝΙ CΥΠΡΟΧΝΕΓΚΑ ("I have offered [this] in gratitude to God and to you, St. Symeon").

The composition is unique, and the precise incident depicted here has not been surely identified. Two Symeon Stylites are known, both from Syria—St. Symeon the Elder (about 389–459) and St. Symeon the Younger (521–592)—and passages relating to serpents occur in the vitae of both. One episode, though considered an interpolation by Lietzmann (1908, pp. 58–60, 373; cf. Elbern, 1965, p. 296), fits the iconography of the plaque: St. Symeon the Elder is approached by a huge male snake, who appeals to the saint to cure his sick mate. Lassus (1960) and Buschhausen (1971) prefer to believe that the composition is without any specific literary source, and that the snake is a general symbol of evil.

The plaque, classified as part of a reliquary by Buschhausen, may rather have been a votive image. One such silver votive plaque, adorned with images and an inscription, is known to have been dedicated to St. Daniel Stylites (d. 493) and housed in his sanctuary near Constantinople (*Vita S. Danielis Stylitae* 59).

The plaque is reputed to have been found near Hamah, in Syria. Its cursive and dramatic style as well as the formula of the inscription are paralleled in other sixth-century silver objects from Syria (cf. no. 552; Dodd, 1973, p. 17).

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lassus, 1960; Elbern, 1965, p. 296; Buschhausen, 1971, no. B25; Martinelli, 1974, p. 16, fig. 5; Boston, 1976, no. 226.



530 Bread stamp with St. Philip

Hierapolis, Phrygia (?), late 6th–7th century

Bronze

Diam. 10.5 cm. (4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 66–29–2

The stamp, carved in intaglio and in reverse, has a ring handle on the back.

In the center of the field stands St. Philip (inscribed + Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ). He stands frontally, in slight contrapposto, holding a roll; he is dressed in a long tunic and pallium, has a short round beard and a large halo. Flanking him are two buildings, each preceded by a flight of steps and topped by a cross. The one on the right has a dome on seven columns, that on the left a pyramidal roof with columns and a central arch, from which a lamp is hanging. There are two additional crosses in the space above each building.

Around the edge of the stamp runs a badly misspelled inscription: + ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ CΑΒΑΘΘ ΠΛΗΡΙC Ω ΟΥΡΑΝΟC ΚΕ Η ΓΙΤΗC ΑΓΙΑC CΟΥ ΔΩΞΕΙC ("Holy, holy, holy, Lord Sabaoth, Heaven and Earth are full of thy glory"). The passage, known as the Victory Hymn, or Sanctus, comes from Isa. 6:3, and is

recited during the liturgy just before the consecration of the bread.

The New Testament speaks of two Philips, one the apostle, mentioned particularly during the story of the Feeding of the Five Thousand, and the other a deacon, one of the first seven. The two figures were confused at a very early period, and the tradition developed that Philip the Apostle was martyred along with his daughters (it was actually Philip the Deacon who was martyred with his daughters) in Hierapolis, in Phrygia. Hierapolis became the center of the cult of this composite St. Philip beginning in the second century.

Galavaris (1970) believes the Philip disc was used for impressing loaves of "eulogia bread" distributed to the faithful on the day of the saint's festival. The buildings depicted on the stamp might

possibly reflect actual sanctuary structures (an octagonal mausoleum approached by a long flight of steps has been excavated in Hierapolis [Verzone, 1960]), but they are more likely just conventional "shrine" images (cf. no. 516; Wulff, 1909, no. 1403).

The style of the stamp generally corresponds to that of lead ampullae of the late sixth century, though neither the inscription nor the architectural features are as precisely carved as on ampullae. Philip's bony leg and popping eyes have parallels in contemporary Syrian silverwork (nos. 554, 555). The stamp may have been made in Hierapolis itself.

N. P. Š.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Galavaris, 1970, pp. 149–151, fig. 80; Ross, 1970, no. 14; Boston, 1976, no. 206.

Altar Implements and Liturgical Objects

For the Early Christians, the implements used in the liturgy and the furnishings around the altar had symbolic meaning as well as practical function: each implement came to represent an event in the life of Christ. A commentary (*Historia ecclesiastica et mystica contemplatio*) on the liturgy, attributed to the Byzantine patriarch Germanos (d. about 733), compares the apse of the church to the manger in Bethlehem, the altar with Christ's tomb, and the altar ciborium with Calvary. The eucharistic chalice represents the Holy Communion cup, but it also symbolizes the bowl in which Christ's blood was collected at the Crucifixion. The paten, the plate used to distribute the eucharistic bread, is compared to the hands of Joseph of Arimathea and of Nicodemus, the men who took the body of Christ down from the cross. The liturgical service, the focus of Christian ritual, became revered as a reminder of the sacrifice of Christ and the hope for salvation through its symbolic reenactment. The large number of diverse objects created to perform the actual service enjoyed a similar reverence in the Early Christian Church.

Germanos' observations reflect a tradition that dated from the early centuries of the cult and extended throughout the Christian world. In the Early Christian period, the liturgical implements were even more highly regarded than pictures of the life of Christ. As a Western source from Carolingian times explains: "Through the vessels, therefore, is the sacrifice offered to God, not through the images. . . . If on these [vessels] images are represented, they are not for the sake of veneration or because without them the power of the holy offerings would be less, but rather that they might be made more beautiful by the applied materials" (*Libri Carolini* 2. 1. 29).

Of these vessels, those highest in rank are the chalice and the paten, the only implements that can be truly considered "vasa sacra." The earliest and most significant example of a eucharistic drinking vessel is the Antioch chalice from around 500 (no. 542), which is characterized by its very low foot. It is made of silver and partially gilded—like many chalices of the period. Represented on the chalice are two complex scenes, each with Christ among apostles and with symbolic animals or objects. The scenes probably depict, on one side, Christ teaching and, on the other, the resurrected Lord with the lamb and the eagle. Such elaborate scenes are unusual on surviving chalices, and the low-footed form was never repeated on chalices in the Early Christian period.

The most common form for early and middle Byzantine chalices was one with funnel-shaped foot, with or without knop, and with a bowl-shaped kuppā. This form, judging from silver stamps found on many chalices, originated in the sixth century. This development in form was accompanied by a gradual simplification in decoration. By about 600 chalices with inscriptions only are the most numerous; those with pictorial decoration are often limited to simple bust medallions. The only sixth-century silver chalice that is rich with figures is the one in Baltimore (no. 532), which shows crosses alternating with saints. Of a similar iconographical type is a fragmentary glass chalice in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (no. 545); one of its sides shows the cross between saints, the other an aedicula flanked by angels. Both representations can be connected with Palestinian iconography. In another similar glass chalice, in the Amman museum, the gem-studded

cross is flanked by lambs. Although liturgical usage for these glass chalices cannot be excluded, they may also have been pilgrims' souvenirs from Palestine. The chalice said to be from Christ's Last Supper was displayed in a chapel near the Church of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem from early Byzantine times.

Most of the silver chalices known today were probably used for the communion of the faithful, as they are still used today in the Eastern Church. They often have handles, as the one in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (no. 543). Chalices in use in the service can be seen on the silver patens from Riha (no. 547) and Stuma (fig. 82).

Among Early Christian patens a widespread type was a platter with a raised, inscribed rim. An early example of the type, from the early sixth century, is the paten of the bishop Paternus, with a control stamp of the emperor Anastasius I (no. 546); it is adorned with a monogram of Christ in the center. Many eucharistic plates of the sixth century are decorated with such crosses, either engraved or in niello (no. 548). The emphatic Christian character of two patens at Dumbarton Oaks (Ross, 1962, I, no. 16, A1, A2) is revealed by their inscriptions, "Hope of God" and "Fear of God." It is, of course, possible that some of the plates with crosses were used for distribution of blessed, but not consecrated, bread—called *eulogia*. In some of these plates, the cross is included in the representation of paradise as a tree of life standing over the four rivers of paradise. In a unique paten in the Hermitage (no. 482) a large gem-studded cross flanked by angels appears above the rivers.

In addition to the chalice and paten a range of other implements served the eucharistic liturgy. The derivation of the forms and liturgical usages of some of these implements from antique utensils is demonstrated particularly well by a group of objects found at Hamah and now in Baltimore (nos. 531–541). They include three chalices, several patens or platters, a small bucket, an oil phial, a hanging lamp, a sieve, and several spoons. Such auxiliary utensils as the ewer (*ama* or *amula*), ladle, and strainer were used for the preparation of the eucharistic wine. The function of the many spoons with Christian marks surviving from the period has recently been much discussed. The spoon was apparently an essential

implement in the communion of the faithful. Bread stamps were used to mark the eucharistic bread with a variety of pictures and inscriptions (no. 565). Finally, there was a small knife, called the Holy Lance, used to divide the host into particles. As Germanos noted in his commentary, the knife became associated with the lance that Longinus used to pierce Christ's side at the Crucifixion.

With the patens from Riha and Stuma, certain disc-shaped silver objects were found, dated by their stamps to the time of Justin II. These objects, designed to be borne atop staffs, are engraved on their borders with peacock-feather eyes, indicating that they are fans, or *rhypidia*. Such fans continue to play a liturgical role in the Eastern Church today. The *rhypidion* was originally made of feathers and was used to keep insects and birds away from the altar. According to Braun (1932, pp. 642 ff.), the *rhypidia* from Riha (no. 553) and Stuma represent "petrified liturgical implements without a practical use." But their symbolic use, signified by a cherub (Stuma) or tetramorph above firewheels (Riha; Ezek. 1:5 ff.) is to characterize the altar as the realization of the throne of God. The winged beings at the altar symbolize the actual waving of the fans. Thus, the

FIG. 82 *Silver paten from Stuma with communion of the apostles.*

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum



riphidia very vividly keep physical and spiritual pollution away from the eucharistic elements on the altar. Their value is enhanced by the use of precious metal.

Still other altar implements are pictured on the patens of Riha and Stuma: a vessel for wine and water, a ewer, and an implement in the shape of a trulla (no. 114). Closely comparable are a ewer and a trulla from Malaia Pereshchepina Poltava in the Hermitage, but these utensils, dating from the time of Maurice Tiberius, may have served a secular use. A similar vase in the Louvre, decorated with handsome figure medallions (no. 552), and two others in the Abegg Stiftung, Riggisberg, with dedicatory inscriptions, are the most important surviving examples of this kind.

Candlesticks, or lampstands, as well as hanging lamps, may have had either secular or cultic use (nos. 556–559). A good, though undecorated, hanging lamp is preserved in the Hamah treasure. This type has a parallel in the silver lamp from the Hermitage, which has figure medallions and vegetal patterns on its neck. Of similar type is the gilded silver lamp from the Abegg Stiftung, which is unique in the high quality of its decoration. Dodd (1973, no. 3) relates the text of its dedication to the inscription on the Stuma paten. Most early Byzantine cultic implements from Syria are closely connected stylistically, while objects from the Antalya treasure are more formal and more sophisticated, perhaps an indication of the differences between metropolitan and provincial workshops.

Early Christian lamps, candelabra, and polycandela are preserved in large numbers and varieties. They were often made of silver or even of gold, which shows how highly the Early Christians valued light as a symbol of the splendor of God. The large candlesticks from the find at Hamah have no distinctive Christian connotations (no. 541). The form of such candlesticks as architectural supports, with base and capital atop three feet, emulates antique furniture. A smaller candlestick from Lampsakos (Dodd, 1961, no. 19) bears silver stamps of Emperor Justinian I. Most early Byzantine lamps and candlesticks, however, were made from bronze. They vary from a one-flame table lamp to a multiflame hanging lamp, and from very simple pieces to complex examples of iconographic and stylistic importance. A bronze stat-

uette of St. Peter (no. 509) was thus originally used as a decorative lamp handle, and a multiflame polycandela takes the form of a basilica (no. 559). Early Byzantine polycandela are for the most part flat discs decorated in openwork with symbolic patterns, with the glass light-cups fitted into their round openings (no. 558). The most important piece of this kind artistically, from the Antalya treasure, now in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (*Handbook of the Byzantine Collection*, 1967, no. 66) is made of partially gilded silver and has sixteen lamp openings between crosses, dolphins, and plant motifs. One can imagine the spectacular effect of the light of so many lamps reflected in shining silver, a sight recorded by the sixth-century poet Paulus Silentiarius in his description of Hagia Sophia at night (*Descriptio S. Sophiae* 806–884). Decorative hanging crowns added a further accent to the splendor of the early Byzantine house of God. Although none of these crowns seem to be preserved, they can be found in various liturgical representations of the time, such as the well-known Pola casket (fig. 83).

As light was used in the church to please the eye, incense appealed to the sense of smell. Ascending clouds of incense symbolized, above all, the worshiper's prayers rising to God. Various kinds of early censers are preserved—from early undecorated bowls to openwork vessels with lids and figure-decorated thymiateria—which could be set up, hung, or carried and swung. The most beautiful Early Christian pieces are a silver censer with bust reliefs, now in London (no. 562), and a partially gilded censer with flat reliefs from Finike in Istanbul (Akurgal, Mango, and Ettinghausen, 1966, p. 98). The most important group of Early Byzantine thymiateria show reliefs with representations taken from Palestinian iconography, well known from the numerous pilgrims' souvenirs (nos. 563, 564).

In addition to light and incense, another element in the altar room was water. Holy water was present in church and home from the earliest times, since the first Apostolic Constitutions, but the forms of the liturgical implements used to contain it are known only from the early Middle Ages. A bronze bucket from the Vatican (du Bourguet, 1971, pl. p. 205) may be an earlier form of the holy water situla.

Just as the Christian altar is the center of the service commemorating the eucharistic sacrifice, it



FIG. 83 *Ivory casket from Pola with ciborium of St. Peter's (?)*. Venice, Museo Archeologico

serves at the same time to announce salvation. Therefore, a prominent place on the altar was held by the Gospel book. Various representations show that the Gospel book on the altar was usually open. The bindings of such books could be adorned with precious decoration worthy of God's word. Representations of the holy book in the hands of the evangelists or the apostles, as depicted on Early Christian ivories, show, for the most part, cross-shaped decoration (no. 486). An outstanding Western pair of book covers, in gold and dating to about 600,

is that of Queen Theodelinda, now in the treasury of the cathedral in Monza (fig. 84). Although it cannot yet be ascertained when book covers in ivory came into use, some Early Christian ivory five-part diptychs may have been used as book covers as early as the fifth and sixth centuries. In early representations, the holy book is laid down on a precious piece of cloth. There were also book supports, which sometimes bore pictorial decoration, like that on the wooden lectern of St. Radegundis at Poitiers (fig. 85). The lamb between paradisiac plants, christogram



FIG. 84 *Book cover of Gospels of Queen Theodelinda.*
Monza, Cathedral Treasury

FIG. 85 *Wooden lectern of St. Radegundis.*
Poitiers, St. Croix



between birds, and evangelist symbols in bust form—a characteristic Early Christian iconography—are represented on the slanted top. Colonnades give this small work an architectural character.

Included in the range of precious metal objects that decorated the early Byzantine apse are three silver relief panels in New York (nos. 554, 555). Two of these represent the princes of the apostles, Peter and Paul, standing under arcades, one holding a staff and the other a book. The third shows the same apostles guarding the cross. These silver reliefs are considered by many scholars to have been book covers, but they might possibly have been intended rather as an iconic group. Whatever their function, such works, together with the other silver implements, must have made the early Christian altar room a place of unparalleled beauty. Paulus Silentarius wrote: "For as much of the great church by the eastern arch as was set apart for the bloodless sacrifice is bounded not with ivory or cut stone or bronze, but it is all fenced under a cover of silver" (*Descriptio S. Sophiae* 682 ff. [Mango, 1972, p. 87]).

Early in the history of the Church, the altar table assumed significance as a symbol of the salvation-bringing cross, although the cross was not placed upon it. Referring to the position of the altar cross, a Western source of the early Middle Ages states: "But above, suspended from the arch over the Holy Altar, glitters the exalted Cross, most precious, multicolored, and at the same time radiant" (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 4. 574). Extant silver or bronze crosses from the early Byzantine period, like the so-called altar cross from the Hamah treasure (no. 540), mostly carry personal dedication inscriptions and no direct references to cultic use. They may therefore have been only votive gifts and not altar furnishings. Weitzmann (in Weitzmann and Ševčenko, 1963) has shown, by the example of the large Moses cross from the basilica of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai, that in the Justinianic period one possible location of such a cross was atop the beam of the altar screen; a similar setting has been reconstructed at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

The pyxis, usually cylindrical, served as a container for the host. It was generally made of precious materials, such as silver or ivory. The purpose of the pyxis is sometimes revealed in the decoration:

FIG. 86 *Ivory pyxis with Christ teaching.*

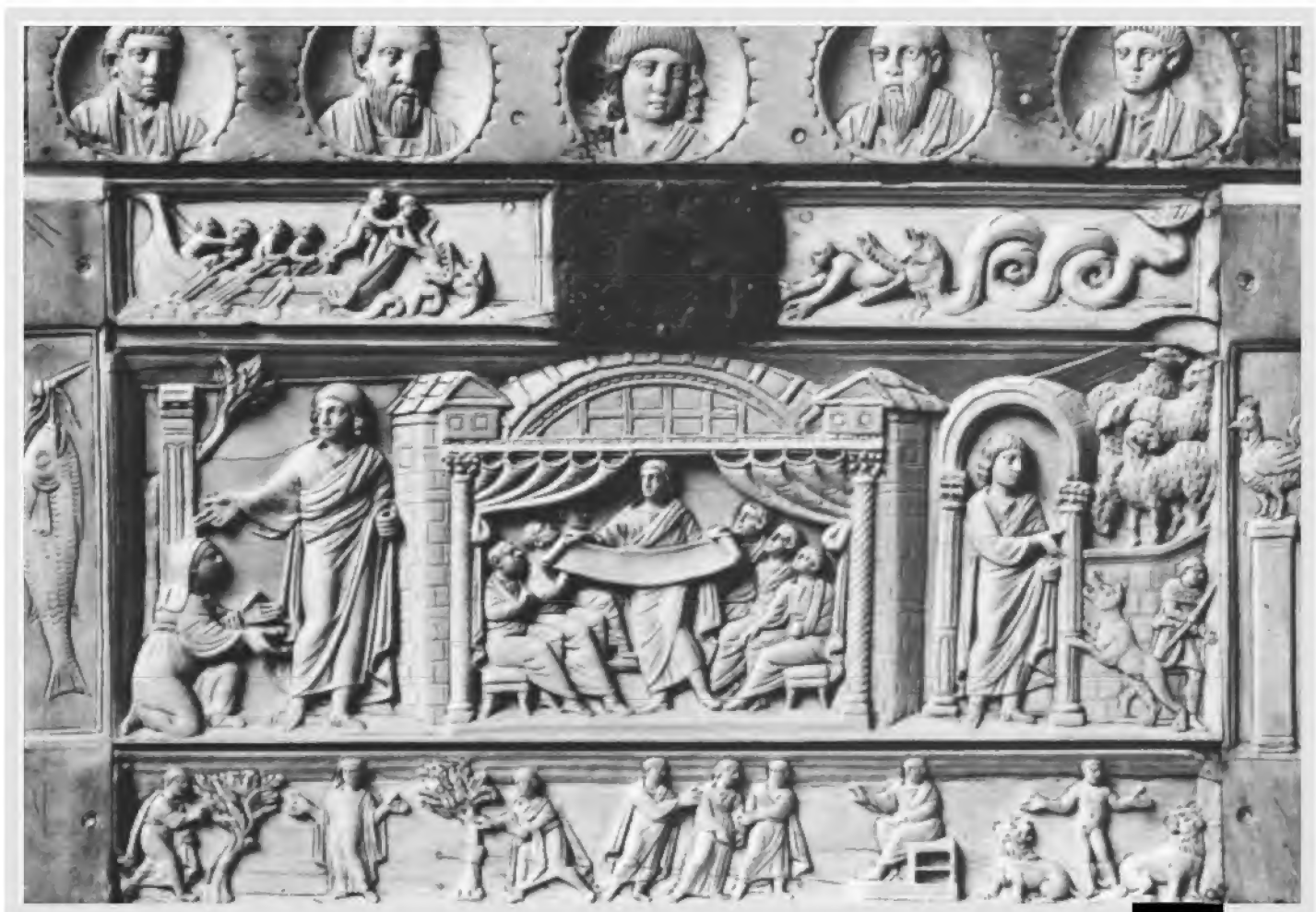
Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung

the Great Berlin Pyxis (fig. 86), for example, shows two scenes—Christ teaching, surrounded by apostles, and the typologically well understood scene of the Sacrifice of Isaac. The representation of the Women at the Tomb on a pyxis from New York (no. 520) indicates that it, too, was made to contain the host, as the new tomb of Christ. Finally, the pyxis from New York with the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes (no. 549) and a silver-gilt pyxis from Hamah with christograms and vegetal symbolism (no. 534) could also be understood to be eucharistic.

In many cases it is difficult to distinguish between eucharistic pyxides and pyxis-shaped reliquaries. A close connection between the liturgy and the cult of

FIG. 87 *Ivory casket with Old and New Testament scenes.*

Brescia, Museo dell'Età Cristiano



the saints was well established in Early Christian times. The faithful recognized in the remains of the martyrs a confirmation of their hopes for immortality, which was obtained through the Eucharist. A box in Paris with the Raising of Lazarus (no. 571) and the lipsanotek of Brescia (fig. 87)—the most important ivory reliquary of Christian antiquity—both express the longing for eternal life. Such caskets—made of silver, bronze, wood, or stone—were kept near the altar where the Eucharist was performed (no. 569). The altar itself either encloses a reliquary, for example, in the form of a miniature sarcophagus (no. 570), or is raised above a scrinium with the relics. Figural representations on the preserved reliquaries reflect manifold aspects of Christian iconography. These representations often display, in miniature, the pictorial programs of such monumental works as church apses—transmitting to us these now lost compositions (see fig. 83). In turn, such monumental works as the mosaics of S. Vitale, in Ravenna (fig. 88) transmit to us the splendor that the Early Christian altars must have presented, with their elaborate vasa sacra and non sacra and their richly woven altar cloths.

The lavish decor of Hagia Sophia described by Paulus Silentarius was replicated in provincial churches. A Syrian text records an imperial donation from Anastasius I to the monastery of Qartarmin in Syria. The emperor not only contributed precious

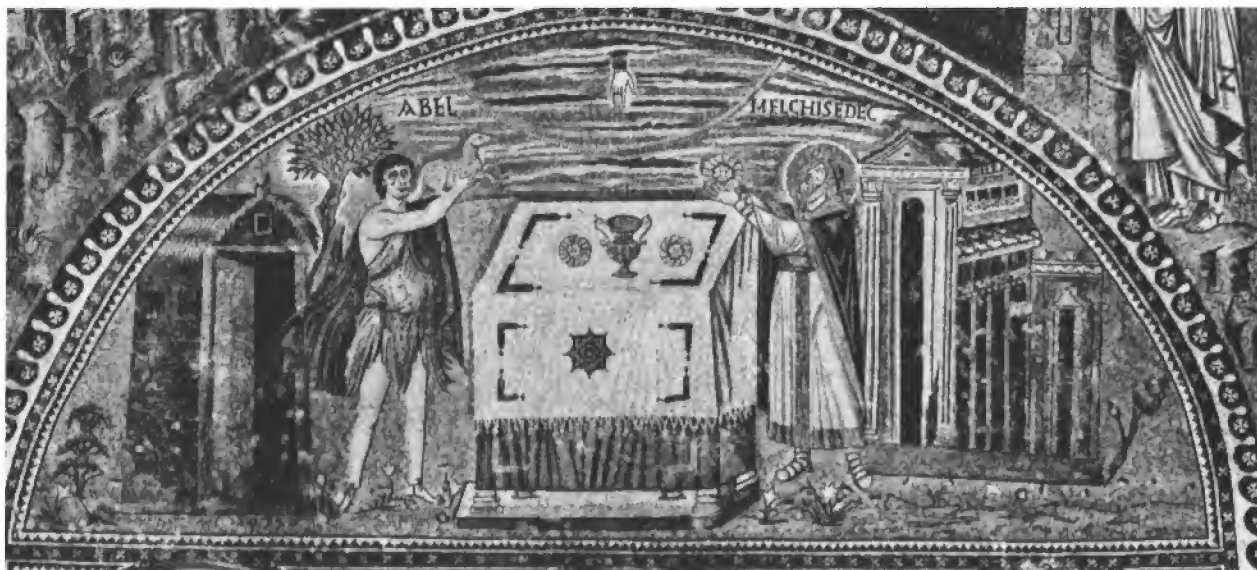
materials, he even sent his own goldsmiths to create the objects that decorated the church. Among the many items mentioned were two bronze “trees” twenty yards high flanking the altar room. They carried numerous lamps and various votive gifts of gold, silver, and bronze. Among them were “. . . red eggs, goblets, animals, birds, crosses, crowns, little bells, [and] engraved discs” (Leroy, 1956).

In the early Byzantine period, Christians had already begun to conceive of ritual as an analogy to the heavenly liturgy, even in the sense of “commemorative allegory” (Theodore of Mopsuestia, Maximus the Confessor). According to this concept, the priest represents in celebrating the liturgy all of its essential elements. He stands for the one who sacrifices as well as for the sacrificed and for the sacrificial meal; he executes the thrust of the lance of Longinus; and, as another Nicodemus, he places, in the form of the host, the body of Christ upon the paten on the altar cloth. In this identification of the priest with the liturgical actions and their religious intentions, the cult implements play an essential role.

VICTOR H. ELBERN

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Braun, 1924; Braun, 1932; Braun, 1940; Leroy, 1956; Ross, 1962, I; Elbern (1), 1964; Elbern (2), 1964; Akurgal, Mango, and Ettinghausen, 1966; Volbach, 1976.

FIG. 88 *Mosaic with Sacrifice of Abel and Melchisedek.* Ravenna, S. Vitale



Formerly in the Aboucasem collection, Port Said.

H. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Diehl, 1926, p. 106, no. 1, pl. XIX, 2; Robert, Tod, and Ziebarth, 1934, p. 21, no. 88; Baltimore, 1947, no. 396; Lassus, 1947, pp. 197–198; Dodd, 1961, pp. 128–129, no. 34.

532 Chalice with apostles

Syria, 6th century

Silver

16.8, diam. cup 14 cm. (6 $\frac{5}{8}$, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 57.636

The gilded silver chalice has a hemispherical cup decorated in repoussé with four standing saints and two large crosses under six arches that rest on spiral columns with acanthus-leaf capitals. Above the arches are rosettes.

The flaring foot of the chalice is fluted. The knob

531 Chalice of Theophilos

Syria, 7th century

Silver

15.2, diam. cup 14 cm. (6, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 57.642

The chalice consists of a hemispherical cup, a knob, and a flaring base. The inscription engraved around the rim reads: + $\Psi\text{I}\epsilon\text{P}\ \epsilon\text{V}\chi\text{H}\text{C}\ \text{KAI}\ \text{C}\omega\text{T}\text{H}\text{P}\text{IAC}\ \text{I}\omega\text{ANNOV}\ \text{K}(\alpha\text{i})\ \Theta\omega\text{MA}\ \text{KAI}\ \text{MANNOV}\ \text{T}\omega\text{N}\ \Theta\epsilon\phi\text{I}\lambda\text{O}\nu$ ("In fulfillment of a vow and for the salvation of John and Thomas and Mannos and Theophilos").

Inside the base are four stamps; the hexagonal one is a monogram of the emperor Phocas and should be dated after 605.

Eight such simple, undecorated chalices with inscriptions around the rim have been found (Dodd, 1961, pp. 14–15). Very similar is the Tyler chalice in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Ross, 1962, I, no. 9), which can be dated in the reign of emperor Justinian I (Dodd, 1961, no. 8).

The chalice of Theophilos belongs to the Hamah treasure, supposed to have been found in the ruins of an ancient village, now called Qara, near Hamah, northern Syria.



depicts a wreath of leaves and a ring with a twisted cord, a decoration similar to that of two chalices in the Cleveland Museum (no. 544). The decoration of the cup is subdivided into two compositions: two pairs of apostles venerate the monumental cross. Three of them hold in their covered left hands a closed book, one a liturgical cross. Comparable figures can be found on two book covers in the Metropolitan Museum (no. 554). The composition of the two apostles flanking the holy cross is well known on eulogia bread stamps; for instance, the stamps from Chersonese, Crimea, from Asia Minor, now in the Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, and from Thessalonike (Latyshev, 1899, p. 23; Galavaris, 1970, pp. 145–146) and on gems; for instance, the onyx from the Lanckoroński collection, in the Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (no. 525). It may have originated in monumental form (fig. 77): Basilica Apostolorum in Ravenna from about 450 and the catacombs of Pécs, Hungary, and Niš, Yugoslavia, about 400 (Mirković, 1954–1955).

The inscription around the rim of the cup reads: +ΕΥΧΕ ΠΕΛΑΓΙΟΥ ΒΑΚΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΕΜΕΛΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΚΩΜΗΚ ΚΑΠΕΡΚΟΡΑΩΝ ("The vows of Pelagius Bassianus, the komes of Kafer Qara [has dedicated] this precious object of St. Sergios").

Part of the Hamah treasure (see no. 531).

H. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Diehl, 1926, pp. 107–108, no. 3, pls. xx–xxi; Peirce and Tyler, 1934, II, p. 126, pl. 171; Robert, Tod, and Ziebarth, 1934, p. 22, no. 92; Baltimore, 1947, no. 394; Lassus, 1947, pp. 197–198; Dodd, 1973, p. 17, fig. 8.

533 Inscribed paten with cross

Syria (?), early 7th century

Silver

Diam. 37.8 cm. (14 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 57.637

The paten is intact, but dented in several places; the rim is bent at the bottom.

The paten is flat on the bottom and has continuous, low sloping sides and a narrow, flat rim ending in a raised lip of tubular profile. The center

is engraved with a large cross surrounded by a Greek inscription within concentric circles. Dodd (1973, pp. 24–26) has called attention to four other examples of this design, the earliest of which (bearing imperial stamps of Anastasius) is in the Alouf collection in Beirut. But the example most faithful to the design (in particular to the elegant, flaring tips of each crossarm), the technique (including the wide, beveled incision around the cross), the distinction in the layout and execution of the inscription, and the measurements is that in the Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg (Dodd, 1973, pp. 24–26). Contemporaneous patens incised with small crosses surrounded by a band of inscription in the center have also been noted for comparison.

The inscription reads: +ΥΠΕΡ ΕΥΧΗΣ ΠΕΛΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΚΑΝΝΑΚ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΜΗΝ ("In fulfillment of a vow of Pelagius and Susanna and of their children, Amen"). Pelagius and his wife Susanna were members of the same family that donated most of the other twenty-one silver objects discovered together with this paten. Many of them are dedicated to a church of SS. Sergios and Bacchos.

Control stamps on the reverse are not the usual type, but they correspond to seventh-century usage, whereas stamps on the Riggisberg paten definitely indicate a date during the reign of Justin II, about 577. Although the control stamps on both the Riggisberg and Baltimore patens appear to be Constantinopolitan, one or both may have been executed in Syria from silver originating in Constantinople; it is impossible to tell whether



the stamps were added before or after the design was engraved.

With other liturgical objects in Baltimore (nos. 531–541) this paten forms the Hamah treasure (see no. 531).

J. L. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Downey, 1948, pp. 23–24, ill. p. 21; Dodd, 1961, no. 98, pp. 266–267; Dodd, 1973, p. 25 n. 49, fig. 21.



Lid of no. 534

534 Reliquary with christogram

Syria, about 400

Silver

6.7 × 6.3 × 6.3 cm. (2 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 57.638

The front and lid of the cube-shaped reliquary are embossed with the christogram, and the border motif was engraved afterward. The right end depicts an ornament consisting of interwoven squares, hexagons, and decagons. On the back side is a floral rosette consisting of four larger diagonally arranged leafs and four smaller in a square. The right end is filled with a quatrefoil diaper motif similar to that on the top.

The ornaments have many parallels in hoards of scrap silver dating from the end of the fourth

to the early fifth century found in northern Europe. The hoards of Balline, County Limerick, Ireland (Grünhagen, 1954, pp. 61–62, pl. 14, C4), that of Hammersdorf, Ostpreussen (Drexler, 1925, pp. 122–128, fig. 8), and of Hustentorp, Denmark (Munksgaard, 1955, pp. 31–67, fig. 9.1), contain fragments of silver with comparable floral motifs. The hoard of Coleraine, Ballinrees, North Ireland (Brett, 1939, pp. 33–41, pl. III, fig. 1), and the hoard of Traprain Law, Scotland (Curle, 1923, p. 40, pl. 61a), contain fragments with quatrefoil diapers. A comparison to this ornament can be made with the silver dish from the Esquiline treasure (Dalton, 1927, p. 69). An example of the interwoven squares, hexagons, and decagons can be seen on the niello dish in the Mildenhall treasure (Kendrick, 1955, pl. 3b; Dohrn, 1949, pp. 104–106, pl. 24) and on the Mileham silver dish (London, 1977, no. 103) from the fourth century. On each of two other reliquaries, from Sofia and from Paspels (Buschhausen, 1971, nos. C2, C5), the front and the top are engraved with a christogram.

Bought in a Syrian market, the casket became only later associated with the Hamah treasure.

H. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Buschhausen, 1971, pp. 270–271, no. C4, pl. C6.

535 Ewer with inscriptions

Syria or Constantinople, 6th century

Silver

26.4 cm. (10 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 57.645

The lid of the ewer is missing. The ewer has a bulbous body standing on a base and a long, slightly flaring neck. The handle was made separately and attached. The inscription on the shoulder reads: +HCTIN TOV AΓIOV CΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΠΙΕΡ ΕΥΧΗC ΔΑΝΙΗΔΟΥ (= ΔΑΝΙΗΛΟΥ) ΚΑΙ CΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ CΥΜΕΩΝΙΟΥ Κ(αί) ΒΑΧΧΟΥ ("Presented to St. Sergios in fulfillment of a vow of Daniel and Sergios and Symeon and Bacchos"). The inscription on the ewer's handle reads: +ΚΑΙ ΠΙΕΡ ΕΥΧΗC ΘΩΜΑ ΚΟΜ (ήτης) (= ΚΥΜΗΤΗΣ) ΚΑΠΡΟΚΟΡΑΟΝ (=

ΚΑΠΠΟΚΟΡΑΘΝ ("... and in fulfillment of a vow of Thomas, the villager of Kafer Qara" [Robert, Tod, and Ziebarth, 1934, p. 22, no. 92, p. 23, no. 108]).

A similar but inferior ewer was found in the village of Vrap, Peqin district, Elbasan province, in Albania, now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Dodd, 1961, no. 103), and two others are in a treasure from northern Syria, now in the Abegg-Stiftung, Bern (Dodd, 1973, nos. 1, 2), dated by control stamps in the reign of Maurice.

Part of the Hamah treasure.

H. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Diehl, 1926, pp. 107–108, no. 7, pl. xxviii; Robert, Tod, and Ziebarth, 1934, p. 22, no. 96; Baltimore, 1947, no. 398; Lassus, 1947, pp. 197–198.



536 Phial for oil, with Christ, Virgin, and saints

Constantinople, 2nd half 6th century

Silver

22.4, diam. 5.9 cm. (8 $\frac{1}{16}$, 2 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 57.639

The tall phial was repaired near the top; the cover is missing. It is divided by braided bands into two sections: the neck is decorated with a Lesbian cyma and the body with four nimbed figures in antique dress standing at ease. On the front is Christ, represented with a book in his left hand; on the back is the Virgin, dressed in a long maphorion, and on the other two sides are orant

No. 536, saint



saints in decorated wide chlamydes, held by clasps on the right shoulders. The differences in the two saints can only be seen in their hairstyles. The composition reflects a type commonly found in Early Christian reliquaries (Buschhausen, 1971, nos. B18, B19) and double-sided crosses (Buschhausen, 1967). The inscription on the neck reads: + $\text{V}\Pi\epsilon\text{P}\ \epsilon\text{V}\chi\epsilon\text{C}\ \text{KAI}\ \text{C}\omega\text{THPIAC}\ \text{ME}\Gamma\text{A}\Lambda\text{HC}$ ("In fulfillment of a vow and for the salvation of Megale"); and that on the foot: + $\text{KAI}\ \text{TON}\ \text{AVTHC}\ \text{TEKN}\omega\text{N}\ \text{KAI}\ \text{AN}\epsilon\text{Psi}\omega\text{N}\ \text{KAI}\ \text{V}\Pi\epsilon\text{P}\ \text{ANAPAVCE}\omega\text{C}\ \text{H}\Lambda\text{IO}\Delta\omega\text{POV}\ \text{KAI}\ \text{AKAKIOV}$ ("... and her children and nephews and nieces and for the repose of Heliodor and of Akakios").

Comparisons for the figure style can be found on the decorated silver chalice, supposedly Syrian, in the Abegg-Stiftung, Bern (Dodd, 1973, no. 5), on a set of silver plaques from Antioch in the Metropolitan Museum (nos. 554, 555), and on a silver reliquary from southern Turkey in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (Buschhausen, 1971, no. B5).

Part of the Hamah treasure.

H. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Diehl, 1926, pp. 107–108, no. 10, pl. xxx; Robert, Tod, and Ziebarth, 1934, p. 22, no. 98; Baltimore, 1947, no. 397; Dodd, 1973, p. 18, figs. 11–13; Martinelli, 1974, p. 12, fig. 3.

537 Ladle with inscription

Syria, 6th century

Silver

25.1 cm. (9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 57.646

The end of the long handle is bent down and flattened into a slightly trough-shaped disc, permitting the ladle to be hung on the wall or to be rested horizontally. The rim of the bowl has a spout. The engraved niello inscription on the handle reads: + $\text{V}\Pi\epsilon\text{P}\ \text{A}\Phi\epsilon\text{CE}\omega\text{C}\ \text{AMAPTI}\omega\text{N}\ \text{CTE}\Phi\text{ANOV}$ ("For the remission of sins of Stephen").

Part of the Hamah treasure.

H. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Diehl, 1926, p. 111, no. 20, pl. xxiii; Robert, Tod, and Ziebarth, 1934, p. 23, no. 106; Baltimore, 1947, no. 409; Lassus, 1947, pp. 197–198.



No. 539

No. 538



538 Strainer with dolphins

Syria, 6th century

Silver

18.9 cm. (7 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 57.650

The long slender handle of the strainer ends in a ring. The bowl with radially designed perforation is connected to the handle by two symmetrically arranged dolphins in silhouette.

Part of the Hamah treasure.

H. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Diehl, 1926, p. 111, no. 21, pl. XXIII; Baltimore, 1947, no. 410.

539 Spoon with a cross

Syria, 6th century

Silver

22.8 cm. (9 in.)

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 57.647

The long slender handle of the spoon is connected to the ovate bowl by a small disc, and the handle and bowl are on different levels. On the disc is engraved the unsolved monogram M, and on the concave side of the bowl an engraved Greek cross.

Comparable spoons of this peculiar form have been found throughout the Mediterranean area, mainly in Syria, Greece, and Cyprus (Ross, 1962, I, no. 13; Kitlinger, 1940, pp. 58–59, no. 63; Milošević, 1970, p. 123, fig. 8, nos. 2–5, 8).

Part of the Hamah treasure.

H. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Diehl, 1926, pp. 110–111, no. 18, pl. XXIII; Baltimore, 1947, no. 411; Lassus, 1947, pp. 197–198.

540 Cross with inscription

Syria, late 6th century

Silver

35.7 × 20.5 cm. (14 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 57.632

The Latin cross has elegantly flaring arms and a copper tongue at the foot for fitting into a base. Engraved on the four arms is the inscription: ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ ΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΠΡΟCΕΝΕΓΚΕΝ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ CΕΡΓΙΩ ("Kyriakos has presented [the cross] after having said his prayers to St. Sergios").



On the horizontal arms are six holes for the suspension of chains, once with precious stones or pearls, now lost. A cross similar in form and in the placing of the inscription was found on the Syrian coast between Baniâs and Djèblé and is now in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Ross, 1962, I, no. 14; London, 1977, no. 146). Very similar crosses are engraved on Early Christian patens, such as the paten of the Abegg-Stiftung (Dodd, 1973, figs. 19–25, pl. XII) and the Hamah paten. These patens can be dated by their control stamps to around 577 (Dodd, 1961, no. 25).

Part of the Hamah treasure.

H. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Diehl, 1926, pp. 109–110, no. 14, pl. xxx, 2; Robert, Tod, and Ziebarth, 1934, p. 23, no. 102; Baltimore, 1947, no. 404.

541 Pair of candlesticks

Syria, 6th century

Silver

51.4 and 51.9 cm. (20 $\frac{1}{4}$ and 20 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 57.635 and 57.634

The base of each candlestick is composed of three legs and capped by a faceted section, whose rim is turned up above each foot. In the center of the base rises a faceted shaft, slightly swelling in its center. It is surmounted by a Corinthian capital, which bears a hexagonal pan with the pricket. The candlestick is composed of several pieces soldered together. On the bases are similar inscriptions. That on 57.635 reads: +ΕΥΞ/ΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΧΗΝ ΑΠΕΔΩΚΑΝ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ/CΕΡΓΙΩΝ (καί) ΒΑΧΧΟΝ ("After having said our prayers, we presented the candlesticks to SS. Sergios and Bacchos"); and +CΕΡΓΙC (καί) CΥΜΕΩΝ (= CΥΜΕΩΝΙC)(καί) ΔΑΝΙΗΛ (καί) ΘΩΜΑC ΒΙΟΙ ΜΑΞΙΜΙΝΟΝ ΚΩΜΗC ΚΑΠΡΟΚΟΡΑΩΝ ("Sergios, Symeon, Daniel, Thomas, the sons of Maximinus, komes of Kafer Qara").

Many similar candlesticks were manufactured in Syria, Cyprus, and Palestine in the sixth and



early seventh centuries, most of them in bronze (Ross, 1962, I, nos. 33, 39).

Part of the Hamah treasure.

H. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Diehl, 1926, p. 108, nos. 8, 9, pl. xxix; Robert, Tod, and Ziebarth, 1934, p. 22, no. 97; Baltimore, 1947, no. 408.

542 The Antioch chalice

Color plate XV

Syria (?), 1st half 6th century

Silver gilt

19, diam. 15.2 cm. (7½, 6 in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 50.54

A plain inner silver cup is cradled in a chased openwork silver gilt outer cup. The foot was made separately. The surface is badly worn, broken, and corroded. Decorating the outer cup are two seated images of Christ acclaimed by ten figures holding furred scrolls and sitting on highbacked chairs. On one side, Christ, apparently beardless, sits on a chair that rises behind his head like a large halo. He stretches out his right hand in a gesture of speech and holds an open scroll in his left. A second, bearded Christ on the other side of the chalice sits on a bench (?) in an identical position. Although his left arm is missing, the fall of the himation on his left side shows that his arm was extended; it may have held a scroll. A lamb looks up at him from the left, and a displayed eagle stands on a basket of grapes beneath his footstool. An inhabited vine scroll frames the figures.

The chalice has been frequently published, but its iconography and date are still under discussion. The figures who acclaim Christ are most likely his apostles, although even Peter and Paul cannot be clearly distinguished. It has been generally agreed that Christ with the lamb and eagle is the resurrected Lord (Jerphanion, 1926, pp. 102–111). The other scene has been identified as Christ giving the law or the keys to Peter and Paul (Jerphanion, 1926, pp. 84–102; Elbern, 1963, pp. 119–120) or a Christ teaching (Stuhlfauth, 1918; Filson, 1942, pp. 9–10). Since many characteristics of Christ giving the law or the keys (e.g., the scroll and the keys) are absent, the identification as Christ teaching is the most convincing (cf. no. 472; fig. 86). Like an ancient philosopher, he instructs his apostles, who acclaim him, while, on the other side, he is represented as the resurrected ruler, in heaven, perhaps, considering the apocalyptic lamb, at the Last Judgment. The vine scroll, the basket of grapes on which the eagle stands, and the basket of bread shown close to the lower border to the right refer to the subjects of Christ's teaching, his



No. 542, bearded Christ

incarnation, and his sacrifice on the cross, which the Eucharist reenacts (see Elbern, 1963, pp. 119–128).

Eisen's (1923, I) first-century date for the chalice has long been disproved, but a fifth- or sixth-century date is still debated (see Arnason, 1941; Arnason, 1942; Ostoia, 1969). The figural style of the chalice resembles most closely, however, that of the mid-sixth-century ivory Maximianus cathedra at Ravenna (figs. 60, 65), whose provenance is still disputed. Particularly in the Joseph scenes (fig. 60) the proportions and drapery of the figures and the modeling of the faces, which can best be judged on the protected side of the figures near the inner cup, are closely allied (Volbach, 1958, pls. 234, 235). Similarly, the vine scroll resembles more the scrolls on the cathedra than those of the fifth-century column drums in Istanbul, to which the chalice is also often compared. The chalice, therefore, was probably made in the first half or middle of the sixth century.

Reportedly found with other silver liturgical objects near Antioch-on-the-Orontes in 1910 (see nos. 554, 555), the chalice was acquired from Kouchakji Frères in 1950.

M. E. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisen, 1923, I; II; Jerphanion, 1926; Arnason, 1941; Arnason, 1942; Rorimer, 1954; Ostoia, 1969, no. 6.

No. 543



543 Chalice with christogram

Syria, about 500

Silver

18 × (with handles) 26.6, diam. bowl 16 cm.

(7 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 10 $\frac{1}{2}$, 6 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Edward J. and Mary

S. Holmes Fund, 1971. 633

The gilded chalice has the form of a Hellenistic skyphos, with a wide protruding rim and two small handles resting on vertical rings. The form is unique among Late Antique chalices. The front and the back of the kuppa depict an engraved and gilded christogram with an open Rho, Alpha, and Omega.

Between the handles is the engraved inscription around the bowl. It reads: +CΑΡΡΑ ΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΗ ΤΩ ΠΡΩΤΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΙ ΠΡΟΧΝΕΓΚΑ ("Sarah prayed and made offering to the first martyr, St. Stephen").

The chalice was found in Rusafa (?), in Syria, together with a paten dated by stamps in the reign of Anastasius (Dodd, 1973, p. 25, fig. 20), and may belong to the same period.

H. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dodd, 1973, pp. 15, 25, no. 9, fig. 7, n. 32.

544 Chalice with medallions of Christ, Virgin, and apostles

Syria, 6th century

Silver

17.5, diam. cup 13.5–13.8 cm. (6 $\frac{7}{8}$, 5 $\frac{5}{16}$ –5 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 50.378

The silver chalice has a flared base and a knop with a wreath of leaves. The cup is embossed with four roundels containing busts of the youthful, beardless Christ holding a codex; the Virgin; St. Peter; and St. Paul. The Virgin's maphorion can be compared with that on a reliquary from Chersonese, Crimea (no. 572). The dedicatory inscription runs around the rim of the cup: +ΠΡ (εσβύτερο)C ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟC ΒΙΟC ΔΟΜΝΟV



No. 544, medallion of Christ

ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ ΣΕΡΓΙΩ ΕΠΙΖΗΝΩΝΟC ΠΡΕC-
ΒΥΤΕΡΟV ("Kyriakas, the presbyter, son of
Domnos, presents this chalice to St. Sergios in
the time of the presbyter Zenon").

The Cleveland Museum has an almost identical
chalice from the same find (58.380). Here, instead
of the inscription, a stylized astragalus runs around
the rim of the cup (Bréhier, 1951, pls. xviii, 2;
xix, 2; xx, 1). The first chalice was presented
to a sanctuary of St. Sergios, but not necessarily
the well-known one in Rusafa.

H. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bréhier, 1951; Downey, 1953; Woodhead
et al., 1958, p. 208, no. 852.

545 Chalice with crosses between angels and orants

Syria-Palestine, 6th century

Glass

14, diam. 14.9 cm. (5½, 5⅞ in.)

Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection,
37.21

Blown, then wheel-cut and engraved, this pale
green chalice is now severely fragmented and only
partially preserved. Gone is its supporting foot,
which may have been much like that of the
Antioch chalice (no. 542); interruptions in the
upper ornamental strips suggest that the vessel
may originally have had handles.

On one face of the vessel is a large crux gemmata,
flanked on the right by an Omega and an orant
figure (Peter ?), for which counterparts (an Alpha
and St. Paul ?) undoubtedly existed on the left.
The height of the cross and the presence of foliage
suggest that the cross rose over the hill from which,
in some parallel representations, flow the four
rivers of paradise. On the opposite face a smaller
cross stands within a curtained, gabled ciborium
at the top of a flight of steps. Approaching it from
either side are angels with books (?) in their draped
arms.

No. 545, cross between angels



The shape and decoration of this vessel suggest that it was used to hold the eucharistic wine (cf., however, Engemann, 1972). We may, moreover, be fairly certain that it was the product of a Syro-Palestinian atelier, since it closely parallels in size, technique, and ornamentation a chalice now in Amman, which was discovered at Gerasa, Jordan (Elbern, 1962, pp. 34 ff.). It has been suggested by Elbern (1962) and Barag (1971, p. 62) that the cross beneath the ciborium ultimately reflects a monumental gemmed cross erected by Theodosius II on Golgotha. Pilgrims' accounts note that the cross was protected by a roof and that it stood at the top of a flight of steps (Geyer, 1898, pp. 140–141, 153–154). A simplified version of this composition appears on a metal ampulla in Monza (Grabar, 1958, pl. x), and on a pair of glass pilgrims' flasks (Barag, 1970, fig. A, III); these Palestinian objects are datable to about 600, and are thought to reflect the Golgotha locus sanctus. A cross beneath an arch and flanked by angels also appears on an ivory plaque in Paris (Volbach, 1976, no. 132), datable to the same period and likely of Syro-Palestinian origin.

The decoration of a eucharistic vessel with the cross of Golgotha is fully appropriate to its function, since early Syrian commentators, such as Theodore of Mopsuestia, consistently identified the Divine Liturgy with the Passion of Christ. That angels should be carrying books or pyxides is also appropriate, since the deacons who participated in the liturgy were identified as angels. Finally, the tree of life in paradise, on the opposite side of the Dumbarton Oaks chalice, also belongs in a eucharistic context, since Christian exegesis drew parallels between Christ's cross and the arbor vitae, and between Golgotha and paradise: from its four rivers, as from the side of Christ (and from the chalice), flowed life for men and for angels.

Said to have been found in Syria. Purchased from Joseph Brummer in 1937.

G. V.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Elbern, 1962, pp. 17–41, figs. 1–3; Ross, 1962, I, no. 96, pls. LIV, LV; Elbern (1), 1964, pp. 125, 126, fig. 84; Dölger, 1967, pp. 12–14, pl. 11b; Barag, 1970, p. 42; Barag (2), 1971, pp. 61–62, fig. 54; Engemann, 1972, pp. 163–164, pls. 10a–c; Harden, 1972, pp. 82, 113, pl. ve.



****546 Plate of Paternus**

Constantinople, about 518

Silver with gilding

Diam. 61, base 31.8 cm. (24, 12½ in.)

Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum, Ø 827

Parts of the plate's sloping sides and most of the left half of the decorative rim's inner border are missing. The rest has been reassembled and restored from fragments. The two cruciform decorations originally set on horizontal axis right and left on the rim are gone, and the pastes or garnets from the two remaining cruciform settings, plus the jewels from two of the oval settings, have been lost.

Fire gilding is preserved on the monogram, on the Greek letters in the center, and on the band of inscription, which reads: EX ANTIQVIS RENOVATVM EST PER PATERNVN REVERENTISS(imum) EPISC(opum) NOSTRVN. AMEN ("[This plate] was renovated from the old [i.e., 'out of old objects,' or 'from old materials'] by Paternus, our venerable bishop. Amen").

According to Matzulevich (1929), all the workmanship is contemporary with the inscription, and

the amounts of silver and gold specified by weight marks in Greek on the ring foot's inner surface closely approximate the amount actually used in the work. The particulars of the design were all carried out according to one scheme and in one workshop, with the exception that the four cruciform medallions were substituted at an advanced stage of the execution for four of the eight oval-set jewels projected for the rim decoration. Yet in neglect of the technical evidence, some scholars have preferred to think of these Ostrogothic(?) style medallions as later additions and have assumed they were applied at Tomi, in Scythia.

The Paternus mentioned in the inscription has been identified with a bishop at Tomi (Tomis), on the Black Sea. (For Paternus, see Zeiller, 1918, pp. 173, 383–384, 600.) Paternus was in Constantinople in 519 and again in 520, but he may have ordered the dish there near the end of the reign of Anastasius (d. 9 July 518), whose imperial stamp is one of three control stamps on the plate. On a successive trip to Constantinople the bishop could have ordered an alteration in its embellishment; perhaps he even brought the cruciform medallions from home.

The decoration of the rim revives a tradition of the third century, with a pictorial band that sets the dish apart from all known examples of early church plate. The decoration consists of meandering vine scrolls inhabited by a deer, a stag, a sheep, a lamb, peacocks, and other birds—all suggestive of paradise. This is an appropriate subject in combination with the christogram, which, with the likewise gilded symbols for Alpha and Omega, floats majestically within the silver field.

Stylistically, the christogram may be compared to crosses gracefully flared at the ends on a number of silver patens of the sixth and early seventh centuries found in Syria (cf. no. 533). However, Matzulevich (1929) has pointed to the sketchy quality in the modeling of the leaves and animals on the rim, and to the heavy employment of punchwork, features that place the piece securely in close stylistic proximity to those of Constantinopolitan monuments of the early sixth century.

The large Paternus dish must have been used as a paten and is the earliest preserved, precisely datable paten. It is also one of the greatest masterpieces of early Constantinopolitan silver pro-

duction, a unique example of the application of Late Antique design on a silver object with hieratic symbols and a Christian inscription. The inscription is noteworthy because it contains the only Early Christian reference to a Tomitan bishop, and rare because it is in Latin. While Latin inscriptions are uncommon among surviving Early Christian inscriptions in Scythia, some bilingual inscriptions prove the dual existence of Greek and Latin culture there.

The object was found in 1912 in Malaia Pereshchepina, part of a hoard that included five other Byzantine silver objects dating between 527–565 and 629–641.

J. L. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Matzulevich 1929, no. 6, pp. 101–109; Rice, 1959, nos. 28–29, p. 293, ill.; Dodd, 1961, no. 2, p. 54; Elbern (1), 1964, p. 134, ill. p. 129, fig. 115; Beckwith, 1970, p. 43, fig. 79.

547 The Riha paten

Color plate XVI

Constantinople (?), 565–578

Silver with gilding and niello

Diam. 35 cm. (13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 24.5

A generally fine state of preservation and the restoration, through careful cleaning, of the surface's rich luster to its original gleaming state make the Riha paten one of the most splendid early Byzantine objects yet to have been recovered archaeologically. Several breaks have occurred in the rim; cracks have developed along the edge of the bottom, in the architrave of the chancel barrier, and in the faces of both figures of Christ; some denting and crimping of the flat surfaces have taken place. Some of the niello is missing from the inscription, but most of the original gilding is preserved.

The nielloed dedicatory inscription on the rim corresponds to a formula commonly employed in Syria: + VIICP ANAΠAVCEΩC CEPTIAC IΩANNOV K(zi) ΘEOΔOCIOV K(zi) CΩTHPIAC MEΓAΛOV K(zi) NONNOV K(zi) TΩN AVTΩN TEKNΩN ("For the peace of the soul of Sergia, daughter of Johannes, and of Theo-

dosios, and for the salvation of Megalos and Non-nous and their children").

Represented is the Communion of the Apostles, the sacrament for which such a paten is used in the church. Behind the draped altar two cross-nimbed figures of Christ administer the wine on the left and the bread on the right. On the altar are represented the implements; below, in the exergue, are a patera and a ewer. A ciborium in the form of an arched epistyle on two twisted columns with capitals, with a conch shell in the arch, and two standing, urn-shaped lamps, is placed behind the altar.

The Riha paten is similar to another silver, partly gilded paten from Stuma (fig. 82). Both bear control stamps of the emperor Justin II, but the stamps differ; therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the patens were made some years apart. Related to both patens is the double-page miniature of the Communion of the Apostles in the sixth-century Rossano Gospels (no. 443), and all three representations must share the same ultimate prototype. Jerphanion (1942) recognized the common denominator among the three and advanced the hypothesis that the prototype almost certainly

ALTAR IMPLEMENTS AND LITURGICAL OBJECTS

was an apse decoration in the destroyed fourth-century Church of the Last Supper on Mt. Sion in Jerusalem, while Loerke (1975) assumed it to have been a cupola.

The representation of two Christ figures during the Communion of the Apostles occurs only in the Eastern Church but is thought to reflect the universal liturgical practice, originally of two deacons—and, later, of a priest and a deacon—administering the sacrament.

For some, the Riha paten has been the focus of discussions concerning style and place of origin. Formerly, the Riha and Stuma patens were localized to Syria, not only because they were found there, but because they seemed to follow the style known as "Syrian expressionism." Later, the stamps were introduced to show that the patens were made in Constantinople; and many scholars reevaluated them in the light of evidence that there coexisted in sixth-century Constantinople two different styles. Recently, Wessel (1969) has promoted the idea of a Syrian workshop in Constantinople.

Both the Riha and Stuma patens were discovered at or near sites of those names southeast of Antioch, in Syria. Together with the Riha paten were found a chalice and a rhipidion (no. 553), both of silver. A matching rhipidion from Stuma with control stamps identical to those on the Riha rhipidion has been adduced as evidence that the Riha and Stuma finds were originally one treasure.

J. L. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jerphanion, 1942, pp. 418, 446; Ross, 1962, I, no. 10, pp. 12–15, ill.; Elbern (1), 1964, p. 134, ill. p. 131, fig. 116; Wessel, 1964, pp. 9–18; Wessel, 1969, pp. 367–369.

548 Paten with monogram

Byzantine Empire, early 7th century
Silver with gilding and niello
Diam. 44 cm. (17 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
Nicosia, The Cyprus Museum, J 455

Aside from numerous surface scratches, the only damage to this piece is a sharp dent in the surface at the left next to the rim.





The paten rests on a large ring foot. The utter simplicity of the undecorated surface surrounding the central boss is characteristic of a second, slightly smaller and later paten found with this example (Dodd, 1961, no. 54 A, B, pp. 170–171). A nielloed monogram framed by a gilded band and a beautiful nielloed wreath of stylized leaves, then a double gilded band, distinguishes the Nicosia example. Though the monogram is similar in form to ones used as control stamps on the back, it is identical to none of them and has not been identified. However, on the basis of the stamps on the back, Dodd (1961) has been able to date the piece to the reign of Phocas.

The object was found together with the David plates (nos. 425–433), the paten mentioned above, and other objects (nos. 61, 285, 292) in Lapithos in 1902 and forms with them the Second Cyprus Treasure.

J. L. S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Edinburgh, 1958, no. 38; Dodd, 1961, no. 33, pp. 126–127; Athens, 1964, no. 498; Geneva, 1968, no. 207.

549 Pyxis with the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes

North Africa, 6th century

Ivory

9, diam. 11.4 cm. (3½, 4½ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.34

The pyxis has slightly worn surfaces, several vertical cracks partially fixed with clamps or cemented, and holes from former mounting. On the lid circles and dot pattern, painted red and green, surround a central wooden disc. Lid, clamps, and lock are later additions.

The youthful Christ is enthroned in the middle, his left hand holding the cross-staff, his right blessing the bread offered to him by a bearded disciple whose hands are covered. To the left of Christ another disciple approaches, holding fishes (?) with covered hands. At Christ's feet are two filled baskets. The bearded disciples are followed by the other ten, all youthful and beardless. In their covered hands they carry the miraculously multiplied food. Some of them face to the front;

No. 549, *Christ enthroned*



others hurry away or turn round; one crouches beneath the lock. In the background is a lightly engraved arcade.

The figures are somewhat stocky, and their exaggerated gestures tighten the heavy folds of the robes. They recall the figures in a group of pyxides probably made in Egypt (Volbach [3], 1962, pp. 81–83); stylistically, however, they should rather be connected with the pyxides in Livorno and Le Bardo, which Volbach attributes to North Africa (1976, nos. 165, 193a). The Livorno pyxis is also closely related iconographically to the New York pyxis. The representation of the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes relates to the use of the pyxis as a container for the consecrated bread. It was already a ritual practice in the Early Christian period to reserve bread from the mass either to present as viaticum to a dying person for his journey into the hereafter or to add as fermentum in the consecrated chalice. The body of the Lord was kept in precious containers like pyxides not only in church but in private houses. It is unusual that the narrative scenes on pyxides are closely connected with their function, as in the New York pyxis.

From S. Pedro de la Rua, Estella, Spain. In 1917, given by J. Pierpont Morgan to the Metropolitan Museum.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baltimore, 1947, no. 109, pl. XIX; Schlunk, 1949, pp. 211–212, figs. 1, 2; Volbach (3), 1962, p. 86; Volbach, 1976, no. 166.

550 Pyxis (?) with christogram

Byzantine Empire, 5th–early 6th century

Silver

10.8, diam. 12.7 cm. ($4\frac{1}{4}$, 5 in.)

Washington, D. C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection,
69.76

This simply decorated box is made of a thin silver sheet shaped on a wheel. Spin marks are clearly visible on the tightly fitting convex lid, which is decorated with the monogram of Christ, flanked by the apocalyptic letters Alpha and Omega, the latter crudely engraved. Double lines of turning

edge the lid, and similar turning decorates the hemispherical bowl just below the rim.

There are few parallels for the shape of the box, and the absence of a handle on the lid or ring foot is unusual. It has been compared to a hemispherical box from Syria now in Baltimore (Ross, 1950, p. 163; Ross, 1953, p. 38), which is dated to the sixth century, and a similarly shaped bowl with stamps of Justin II is in the Archaeological Museum, Kiev (Dodd, 1961, no. 23). The form and style of the monogram, however, suggest that the Dumbarton Oaks box is somewhat earlier.

The christogram appears as a major decorative motif during the fourth century (among the earliest examples are objects in the silver treasure recently discovered in England; see Painter, 1975, figs. 2, 7–10). While the motif was often used on sixth-century liturgical silver (cf. no. 546), the shape of the monogram here—the curving form of the Alpha, and the rather rough execution of the engraving—has its closest parallels on several boxes or reliquaries dated in the late fourth and early fifth centuries (note especially the wide engraved depression on the Chi Rho; cf. Buschhausen, 1971, nos. C2, C4, C5). Its provenance is not known, and the simplicity of its decoration offers few indications as to its place of manufacture.



The function of these pyxides is uncertain. While some of the small boxes decorated with the christogram have been identified as reliquaries, a box of this size is more likely to have had a liturgical function. Byzantine manuscript illuminations suggest it might have served as a container for incense, or it may have been used for the Eucharist.

Formerly in the Royall Tyler collection, Paris, and the Robert Woods Bliss collection, Washington, D.C.

S. A. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Paris, 1931, no. 411.



551 Bowl

Constantinople or Syria, 4th–early 5th century
Silver
6.4, diam. 14.6 cm. (2½, 5¾ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Fletcher Fund, 1947, 47.100.37

The deep silver bowl has a small round foot and concentric circles engraved on the inside bottom. The flat beaded rim also has engraved concentric rings. This type of bowl was a common type in the fourth and the early fifth centuries. Comparisons can be found in the Mildenhall treasure (Dohrn, 1949, p. 97, pl. 18, 1–2; Kendrick, 1955, pl. 4), the Carthage treasure (Dalton, 1927, p. 79; Strong, 1966, p. 203, pl. 66B), and the Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg (Dodd, 1973, pp. 31–32, no. 9, pl. xiv). The Abegg piece belongs to a treasure of six pieces, supposed to have been found in northern Syria. The stamped bowl is almost identical with others, one from Syria, formerly in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin Charlottenburg, lost

in the Second World War (Dodd, 1961, no. 81), one in the State Museum in Moscow, found in Sulin, Don River district, formerly in the P. S. Ivanova collection (Dodd, 1961, no. 82), and one in the Munich treasure, buried in 324 and manufactured two or three years earlier (London, 1977, fig. p. 21, no. 8). The control stamp on the base of the Metropolitan bowl—a single, oblong mark, struck twice—belongs to a group of stamps that date in the fourth and the early fifth centuries.

Formerly in the Joseph Brummer Gallery, New York.

H. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baltimore, 1947, no. 379; Dodd, 1961, no. 85; Dodd, 1973, p. 31, fig. 27.

552 Vase with medallions

Constantinople (?), 6th century
Silver
44, diam. 29 cm. (17⅝, 11⅞ in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités
Grecques et Romaines, Bj 1895

The body of the vase is damaged beneath the encircling frieze. The large rounded vase with straight neck is embossed around the middle with a wide frieze of portrait medallions alternating with foliage and cornucopia motifs. The frieze is framed by narrow bands of stylized laurel leaves repeated at the neck and foot of the vessel.

The medallions show Christ as he is usually depicted in East Roman art, as Pantocrator with book, his right hand raised in blessing. On his right is Paul with high forehead and pointed beard and on his left Peter with round, short beard. They are followed by John the Baptist and John the Evangelist (?). In the medallions opposite Christ, two archangels flank Mary. Though schematized, the facial features are individualized as portraits, revealing the same Hellenistic influence as the tendrils between the medallions. The reuse of antique forms in the time of Justinian I was current in all centers of the eastern Mediterranean, yet the carefully modeled reliefs point to a workshop in Constantinople rather than in a province. The vase has no trademark or stamp. It was found in church ruins in Homs, the antique Emesa, and



No. 552, Christ with SS. Paul and Peter

probably belonged to the liturgical utensils of this church. Such vessels served as receptacles for the eucharistic wine. Vases of similar shape and size are in the collections of the Hermitage, Leningrad, the Walters Art Gallery (Hamah treasure), Baltimore, and the Metropolitan Museum, (17.190.1704) as well as the Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg (Dodd, 1973, nos. 1, 2).

Gift from Durighello.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Coche de la Ferté, 1958, pp. 50–51, 107–108, no. 49; Edinburgh, 1958, no. 44; Volbach, 1958, no. 246; Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, 1973, pp. 130–131; Dodd, 1973, p. 7, fig. 1.

553 Rhipidion with tetramorph

Constantinople, about 577

Silver with gilding

30.9 × 25.5 cm. ($12\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

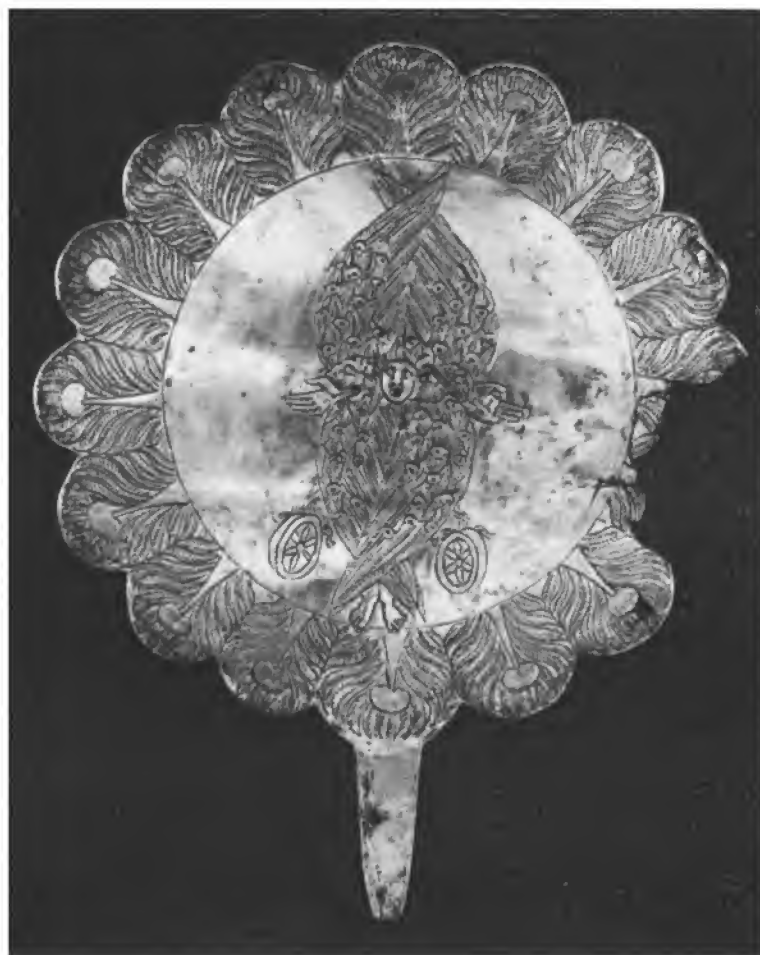
Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 36.23

This rhipidion, or liturgical fan, is in excellent condition save for the loss of a portion of its right border. Its decoration consists of a tetramorph (Ezek. 1:4–20) engraved on a central disc, surrounded by a scalloped border of sixteen peacock feathers; the same design has been summarily duplicated on the reverse. At its base is a tongue used to attach a wooden staff. On it are four imperial control stamps indicating that the rhipidion was produced in Constantinople during the reign of Justin II. Precisely the same series of stamps appears on a sumptuous silver paten (no. 547), which, like the fan, was said to have been discovered at Riha, Syria. It is likely that Megalos and Nonnous, a couple named in the inscription on the paten, purchased both objects in the Byzantine capital for presentation to a church in Syria soon after 577, dated by a name on one of the stamps (Dodd, 1961, no. 21).

Very closely related to the Dumbarton Oaks rhipidion, and very likely included in Megalos' presentation, is a liturgical fan in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Dodd, 1961, no. 22); it differs in design only as it displays the tetramorph's six-winged counterpart, the seraphim (Isa. 6:2). It is quite probable, moreover, that the

so-called Stuma treasure, with which the Istanbul fan was found, and the Riha pieces were part of a single larger silver hoard; both finds were made at approximately the same time (late 1910s) and in virtually the same place, near Aleppo (Haleb, Syria) (London, 1977, p. 83). The Riha and Stuma rhipidia were thus likely part of a single set of sumptuous altar utensils, which may have included several more fans; both Pseudo-Dionysios (*De ecclesiastica hierarchia* 4.2) and George, Bishop of the Arabs (Connolly and Codrington, 1913, p. 22), describe a liturgy with twelve deacons carrying twelve rhipidia.

Originally the role of the rhipidia in the Divine Liturgy was purely practical; according to the *Apostolic Constitutions* (8. 12. 3–4), they were made of parchment, peacock feathers, or cloth, and were waved by the deacons in order to keep flies out of the chalices. It was not long thereafter, however, that their role became primarily ceremonial, their structure and ornamentation symbolic. Typical decoration for rhipidia of all periods, the tetramorph and seraphim on the Riha and Stuma fans reflect liturgical commentaries, which equate the fan-waving deacons with seraphim and cherubim (e.g., Monk Job's *De verbo incarnato* [Migne, PG 103, col. 769]). Hovering over the



altar like the golden cherubim at the Ark of the Covenant (Exod. 25:18–22), these multiwinged celestial beings protected the eucharistic gifts from profanation, while leading the faithful in singing their seraphic hymn (Isa. 6:3).

The Dumbarton Oaks rhipidion at once bears witness to the high level of Byzantine silver craftsmanship in the sixth century, to the splendor of the Early Christian service, and to the ceremonial status of the altar fan.

Said to have been found at Riha, Syria.

G. V.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dodd, 1961, no. 21, ill.; Ross, 1962, I, no. 11, pls. xiv, xv; Dodd, 1968, p. 147; Wessel, 1971, cols. 550–551; Dodd, 1973, pp. 35–48, figs. 29, 30, 32, 33; London, 1977, pp. 83–84, ill.

No. 554: left, *St. Peter*; right, *St. Paul*



554 Pair of book covers with Peter and Paul

Syria, 2nd half 6th century

Silver with traces of gilding

27.3 × 21.6 cm.; 27 × 21.6 cm. (10 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.;
10 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Fletcher Fund, 1950, 50.5.1,2

The two covers are in quite good condition, although the surface has dulled with corrosion. Fragments of the frame and background are missing from both panels. A recent analysis of the silver revealed traces of mercury from gilding on the figures and the peacocks. The covers, thin sheets of silver repoussé, probably originally covered wooden cores. Holes on the sides may have served to secure the covers to the book by straps or chains.

On one cover, St. Peter holds a processional cross and raises his right hand in speech; on the other, St. Paul holds an open book. Each saint stands under an elaborate arch supported by spiral columns. Peacocks fill the spandrels. Each composition is framed by vine scrolls, which grow from a vase and meet on either side of a cross at center top.

Evangelists, apostles, and saints are often placed in architectural frames in Early Christian art, a



composition deriving ultimately from imperial sources (cf. no. 64). Paul is depicted in his role as teacher; Peter, with the cross-staff, symbol of Christ's Resurrection, as active preacher (cf. no. 509). The vine scroll, with its grape clusters, baskets of bread (?), birds, and birdcages (see Grabar [2], 1966; Hjort, 1968) clearly refers to the Eucharist and the revelation of divine truth.

The covers were probably made in Syria in the second half of the sixth century. The smooth, mannered folds of the saints' draperies resemble those of the silver plaque of St. Symeon Stylites in the Louvre (no. 529) and of figures in the Rabbula Gospels (no. 445, fols. 7a, 13b) and the Syriac Bible (no. 437, fol. 6b). The two panels are treated differently, reflecting the hands of two artists. Peter has more panache than Paul, if less anatomical integrity. The vine scroll on the Peter cover has fewer elements, and the vine scroll and the arch are higher and bolder in relief. Paul's panel is more linear, detailed, and subdued. Since Paul turns to the right he may have decorated the front cover (cf. Baltimore, 1957, no. 3).

These covers are the only surviving examples with Peter and Paul, and they probably enclosed a book of the Epistles. Although not as accomplished as the Riha paten (no. 547), they must have been impressive when gilded. They reportedly were found in an underground chamber in Antioch-on-the-Orontes in 1911 (Eisen, 1916; Eisen, 1923, I, p. 3; cf. nos. 555, 542).

M. E. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baltimore, 1957, nos. 3, 4; Kitzinger, 1958, pp. 33–34.

555 Book cover with cross and saints

Syria, 2nd half 6th century
Silver, originally partially gilt
28.2 × 23.2 cm. (11 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Fletcher Fund, 1947, 47.100.36

The book cover is slightly more damaged than the covers of no. 554, especially around the frame. Like them, it is made of thin silver sheets, worked in repoussé and probably once mounted on a



wooden backing; the figures were originally gilt.

Two youthful saints, one with a short beard, hold books and support between them a large cross with flaring terminals. The frame is decorated with vine scrolls that grow from four amphorae at the corners of the plaque and harbor birds and a basket in their branches. A fragmentary relief in the Louvre (Coche de la Ferté, 1958, no. 42), with a bearded saint holding part of a cross, is probably part of the companion cover.

The figures on the Metropolitan Museum and Louvre panels cannot be surely identified as either apostles or evangelists, although evangelists do occur on covers of Gospel books, such as the sixth-century ivory covers in Milan (fig. 64) and the seventh- and eighth-century wooden covers in Washington (Morey, 1914, pp. 63–81). Similarly posed evangelists hold a monumental cross on the alabaster throne-reliquary in Venice (Grabar, 1954). Although the composition is simpler on the Metropolitan book cover than on any of these, the symbolism is much the same. The figures hold forth the cross of salvation, the tree of life in

paradise; the grapevine border with basket of bread (?) evokes the Eucharist—representing the Crucifixion, which opened paradise again to man. The subject is closely allied to the theme of the apostles guarding the cross (Ihm, 1960, pp. 88–89), found on the Prince's sarcophagus in Istanbul, a glass chalice in Washington (no. 545), and a gem in Vienna (no. 525; cf. also fig. 77). Angels hold a monumental cross on gems in Paris and Moscow (Ostoia, 1969) and adorn a jeweled cross in paradise on a paten in Leningrad (no. 482). The cover surely enclosed a Gospel book, which rested on the altar table not only during the Eucharist but permanently.

The figure style is allied to that of the covers with Peter and Paul (no. 554), but it is more abstract, characterized by rigidly repeated folds encasing the body, simplification and enlargement of the facial features, and a linear treatment of the hair, while the vine scroll is less organic. Although these stylistic differences show that a less adept artist executed this plaque, the treatment of the decorative bands on the tunic and especially the similar format of the covers indicate common working practices.

This cover was part of a group of liturgical objects reportedly found in Antioch (see nos. 542, 554).

M. E. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kitzinger, 1958, pp. 33–34; Ostoia, 1969, no. 9.

556 Lamp with stand

Syria or Constantinople, 5th–6th century

Bronze

42.6 cm. (16½ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Fletcher Fund, 1961, 61.114.1a, b

The especially fine lampstand is unusual, not only because it retains its original lamp, but also because the design on the handle (antlers ?) is echoed on the base. Both lamp and stand are covered with a handsome brown patina. The handle—cast separately from the body—is formed of two curving parts supporting an orb with a cross on top. The lamp has a high foot, a double nozzle, and a hinged,



domed lid with a finial. A depression in its base accommodates the pricket at the top of the stand. The broad pan to catch dripping oil has turned decoration. The baluster stand is supported by three cabriole legs resting on claw feet.

Baluster stands for lamps were popular in Coptic Egypt and in other parts of the Byzantine Empire. Other examples are in New York (61.114.2a), in

Berlin (Wulff, 1909, no. 996, pl. 1), in the British Museum (Dalton, 1901, no. 495), and in Kansas (Taggart and McKenna, 1973, p. 58).

The double nozzle is quite rare. A lamp with similar handle and double nozzle in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Ross, 1962, I, no. 38) was found at Dura Europos; the Metropolitan Museum lamp and stand are said to have also been found in Syria. While both pieces are purely Byzantine in style, they could have come from either Syria or Constantinople.

K. R. B.

Unpublished.

557 Chandelier and hand holding cross

Palestine, 6th–7th century

Brass and bronze

34.7 × 39.8 cm. (13 $\frac{11}{16}$ × 15 $\frac{11}{16}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
The Cloisters Collection, 1974, 1974.150

The chandelier is composed of two parts that do not belong together: a bronze hand, broken by a hole in the palm, holding an orb surmounted by a cross, and a brass globe with six branches for



lights; one branch is modern. The cross is incised with figures of the enthroned Virgin and Child. The Virgin's face was destroyed when the cross was drilled at the top for suspension. On the cross-arm is St. Stephen holding a book and censer, flanked by Paul on the left and Peter on the right, who raise their right hands in acclamation. Between them is the inscription: *XPICTE BOHΘI* ("Christ help [me]"). SS. Cosmas and Damian, carrying medical boxes and inscribed *ΑΓΙΟΙ ΚΟCΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΜΙΑΝΕ ΕΥΛΟΓΕCΑΤΑΙ* ("SS. Cosmas and Damian be praised!"), decorate the bottom of the cross. The branches of the globe are linked by chains. They terminate in lotus-shaped cups with finger-shaped hooks that may have held polished reflectors (cf. Paulus Silentiarius *Descriptio S. Sophiae* 806).

Both parts of the chandelier are Early Christian but were joined together much later. The globe and arms resemble a lamp hanging from a niche in the mosaics of St. George in Thessalonike (no. 491), but they may also be part of a many-tiered chandelier. Finger hooks are often found on Early Christian objects, including the torches held by the wise and foolish virgins in the Rossano Gospels (no. 443; cf. no. 255, and Underwood, 1960, fig. 13).

The hand holding the cross resembles several other examples dated by Ross, on the basis of the small size of the orb, to the sixth to seventh century. The cross is the most elaborately decorated of the group; only a fragmentary cross with hand in Lucerne appears to have had a similar program of figural decoration (Ross [3], 1964). The style of the figures is closely allied to that of the ampullae from Jerusalem (nos. 524, 526, 527).

It is difficult to identify the function of these hands, although they clearly derive in form and meaning from apotropaic hands of Jupiter Helio-politanus and of Sabazios (no. 163; see Zalesskaja, 1967). One of the latter in the museum at Amiens is hung with phalli around its base (Cumont, 1929, pl. xv, fig. 2) and may have decorated a staff. It is unlikely that the Christian hands crowned processional crosses, but they may have been mounted on staffs (the hole in the Metropolitan's hand corresponds to the placement of a rod inside the hand in Leningrad) as votive offerings, perhaps to be paraded before the faithful when the hands' healing powers were needed.

M. E. F.

Unpublished.



558 Polycandelon

Egypt, 6th century

Bronze and glass

Diam. about 24 cm. (9 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, 19/62

The chains and hook of the chandelier are probably later additions; the outer edge has been damaged in several places. The glass bowls were broken and restored.

The perforated bronze disc is divided into six parts: six circles, to hold the round bowls of the lamp, and six hearts, of which three are furnished with loops for the chains. The six circular rings are connected with the hexagonal center ring by six crosses. These few simple motifs are artfully arranged in alternating and regular sequence. The six glass bowls did not belong originally to this chandelier; their buttonlike ends indicate a post-antique origin (Fremersdorf, 1975, V). They differ very little from Late Antique glass bowls, however,

and give a good impression of the appearance of such chandeliers. Most of these had three, four, six, twelve, or more glass containers of oil, and one large polycandelon in the British Museum has sixteen holding rings (Dalton, 1901, no. 519). Such polycandela were used in secular as well as sacred rooms. In churches, they were hung between columns, sometimes above altars, though usually over tombs of saints. From the tomb polycandela oil was taken to fill small flasks and ampullae, the most coveted of devotional articles (nos. 524, 526, 527).

The polycandelon in Berlin belongs to a perforated bronze disc type widely used in the eastern Mediterranean. The loose and open arrangement, as well as its motifs, closely resembles two polycandela from Egypt in Leningrad (Bank, 1966, pp. 279, 335, no. 17, pl. 17) and in the Coptic Museum in Cairo (Strzygowski, 1904, no. 9156, fig. 334). These polycandela differ distinctly from a group, supposedly from Constantinople, that show greater abundance in motifs and greater density in composition. Some examples of the Constantinopolitan group are now in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Ross, 1962, I, nos. 42–44).

Acquired in 1962.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Elbern, 1970, pp. 10–11, figs. 6–7; Fremersdorf, 1975, V, p. 95, pl. 60.

****559 Polycandelon in form of a church**

North Africa, 5th century

Bronze

26 × 34 × 17 cm. (10 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{11}{16}$ in.)

Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum, Ø 71

This polycandelon, in the form of a church, is the most celebrated of its type. It was discovered among the ruins of a sepulchral chamber near Orléansville, Algeria, in the mid-nineteenth century. (For the general type, see Leclercq, 1907, p. 559.) Representing a basilica with a semicircular apse and a clerestory, the polycandelon is fitted with ten dolphin-shaped branches, terminating in rings to support the glass cups. Over the entrance to the basilica is a cross. Inside, in the center of the

apse, is the cathedra, originally also surmounted by a cross. At each end of the roof is a small ring for the attachment of a chain for suspension. (The cross on the cathedra disappeared and a copy was made, as is indicated by this photograph. The copy of the cross has now also disappeared.)

When this piece was unearthed, only six of the ten original branches were intact; but fragments of the others, as well as of the glass cups to hold the oil, were found (Peigné-Delacourt, 1866). Today, the cross on the chair, part of the cross over the entrance, and two rings from the branches are missing. There are small losses of metal (Bank, 1966).

The polycandelon has been dated in the fifth century on the basis of two inscriptions in the mosaic pavement of the chamber where it was found. Although suggestions have been made concerning the specific identification of this basilica, it seems probable that it represents a general type rather than an actual monument (Darcel and Basilewsky, 1874, p. 29).

The *Liber Pontificalis* mentions many lamps and chandeliers with dolphin-shaped branches, which were given to various fourth- and fifth-century churches (Silvester I, 10. 15; 13. 20; 23. 15; 26. 16; Hilarius, 3. 17; 5. 73; 9. 13).

Formerly in the A. Basilewsky collection.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: de Rossi, 1866; Peigné-Delacourt, 1866; Darcel and Basilewsky, 1874, p. 29, pl. iv; Leclercq, 1907, pp. 557–563 and n. 3; Bank, 1966, no. 16.



560 Lamp with griffin head

Italy, 4th century

Bronze

19.1 × 27.3 cm. ($7\frac{1}{2}$ × $10\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Hartford, The Wadsworth Atheneum, Gift of J. P.

Morgan, 1917.873

The curved handle of this lamp represents the head and neck of a griffin. This monster, half-lion and half-eagle, is a familiar motif in Greek and Roman art. In the beginning of the Christian Era, lamps with griffin-shaped handles were among the most popular.

Characteristics this lamp shares with many others of the type are the Christian monogram on each side of the body, acanthus leaves in high relief bound by ropes, the hinged, domed cover, octagonal nozzle, the Christian monogram over the griffin's head, and the chains for suspension. However, on this particular lamp most of the chains have been restored. When the piece was in the J. Pierpont Morgan collection only the first and last links were preserved (Smith, 1913, p. 36, no. 87). On some lamps, a dove is perched atop this monogram and the griffin holds an apple (?) in its mouth. On others, as here, a small dolphin is portrayed as well.



ALTAR IMPLEMENTS AND LITURGICAL OBJECTS

The lamp is in the form of a boat, symbolizing the church; the prow represents the dragon, or serpent of temptation, holding the apple in its mouth. The cross, surmounted by the dove—emblem of the Holy Spirit—triumphs in this allegory of virtue and evil. The dolphin symbolizes the Resurrection, the final triumph (de Rossi, 1868).

Most of these lamps have been found in the West and are thought to have originated in Rome. The few that have been found in the East may have originated there. For similar types, cf. Ross, 1962, I, no. 30. It is not known where this example was found.

Formerly in the J. Pierpont Morgan collection.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Smith, 1913, no. 87, pl. LVII; Baltimore 1947, no. 239; Hartford, 1964, no. 6.

561 Lamp with griffin head

Probably Italy, 4th century

Bronze

17 × 25.5 cm. ($6\frac{1}{16}$ × $10\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Belgium, Private Collection

Whereas the Hartford lamp (no. 560) is iconographically one of the most complete and interesting griffin lamps, this example is one of the finest artistically. The most meticulous attention has been paid to small details in casting. This is evident in spite of the earth deposits and the fact that most of the christogram over the griffin's head and the ball of fur originally at the nape of his neck have been broken off. There is also a hole in the nozzle, and, with the exception of part of one link at the top over his head, the chains are missing.

The griffin holds an apple (?) in his mouth, and the christogram appears over his head (now partly missing) and on each side of the body of the lamp. Those on the body include the Alpha and Omega incised on either side of the cross. The acanthus leaves in high relief bound by twisted bands are found on many other lamps of this type, but the detailed leaves at the base of the griffin's neck are rare.

Peculiar to this piece are the ball of hair that projects in front of the griffin's erect ears and the



concave, flowerlike cover of the hole for filling the lamp. The cover shows exceptionally fine detail; its decoration is related to the leaf border around the hole for filling on a contemporary lamp of a different form in Berlin (Wulff, 1909, no. 764). The lamp has a hexagonal nozzle, rather than the octagonal nozzle found on most griffin lamps.

K. R. B.

Unpublished.

562 Censer with portrait medallions

Constantinople, 602–610

Silver

6.7, diam. 10.9 cm. (2 $\frac{3}{8}$, 4 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

London, The Trustees of the British Museum, 99, 4–25, 3

Repoussé and chased reliefs are partly crushed; smaller fractures occur in the body of the censer. Chains for suspension are lost. Five control stamps are on the bottom, among them one of the emperor Phocas.

On each side of this hexagonal vessel is a medallion bust: Christ is flanked by Peter and Paul, and, on the opposite sides, the Virgin by John and James. Each bust is encircled by palm leaves, which are linked by discs with crosses. Christ is bearded and cross-nimbed. Peter has short hair and a rounded beard, and Paul a pointed beard and high forehead. Peter, in addition, is distinguished

by a long cross-staff. The youthful John, the older, bearded James, and Paul all hold books. The figure of the Virgin is of the type widespread in Eastern art, with veil and palla and a small cross over the forehead.

The arrangement of medallions and the type of heads are comparable to those on a small reliquary in the Hermitage (no. 572); on the oval reliquary in the Vatican (Buschhausen, 1971, no. B16); and only the type of heads on the Riha paten (no. 547). In style, the censer is also similar to a hexagonal one in Munich (Rückert, 1966, p. 241). According to Dodd (1973, p. 50), the pieces show the same kind of stamps; although belonging to different periods, they are iconographically and stylistically similar and were probably produced in Constantinople.

The use of incense was introduced into the Christian service only after Constantine. It played a more important role in the Eastern liturgies than in the Roman rite. The earliest form of censer is an open vessel suspended by three chains, like the one carried by the deacon in the mosaic of S. Vitale in Ravenna.

The censer in London is one of the few from the Early Christian period executed in precious metal.

No. 562, *Christ*



Together with a large silver plate, a silver dish, and twelve silver spoons it belongs to the so-called First Cyprus Treasure, found at the end of the nineteenth century west of Kyrenia, in the Byzantine Lambousa.

Acquired in 1899.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dalton, 1900, pp. 168–169, pl. xvii; Dalton, 1901, pp. 87–89, no. 399; Dalton, 1911, p. 573, figs. 351–352, 361; Dodd, 1961, pp. 130–131, no. 35; Athens, 1964, no. 491; A. and J. Stylianou, 1969, p. 61, figs. 2–8; Dodd, 1973, pp. 48, 50, 53–54, figs. 40, 43; London, 1977, p. 103, no. 176.

563 Censer with New Testament scenes

Syria-Palestine, about 600

Bronze

8.3, diam. 11 cm. ($3\frac{1}{4}$, $4\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, 15/69

Projecting from the rim at the top are two rings for suspension from chains. A third ring has been

No. 563, Annunciation and Visitation



ALTAR IMPLEMENTS AND LITURGICAL OBJECTS

broken off. There are small holes in the bases of the rings and around the rim at the top.

Encircling the censer at top and bottom are two stylized palmette borders. Six scenes from the life of Christ are depicted, beginning with the Annunciation. Mary is seated with one hand raised to her chin. The angel approaches from the left. Next is the Visitation, with Mary and Elizabeth embracing. A tree separates this scene from the Nativity. The Christ child lies in a tall masonry crib, which has an oval opening in its base. A similar crib appears on ampullae (nos. 526, 527) and on ivories of this period (nos. 449, 457, 521). On the censer, Mary reclines on a mattress to the right and Joseph is seated on the left, his chin resting in his hand. The ox and the ass stand behind the crib. A tree closes the scene on the right. Next is the Baptism: Christ stands in the water flanked by John the Baptist on the left and an angel holding a cloth on the right. The annunciation to the shepherds, which should have preceded the Baptism, follows. One shepherd holds a staff in his left hand and raises his right to indicate the star above the scene, while the other stands with crossed legs and leans on a staff. A dog stands on its hind legs before him. Three sheep complete the scene. The last scene is the Crucifixion. Christ is depicted wearing a colobium, the long sleeveless garment associated with Palestinian tradition. Above the cross are Sol and Luna. Longinus stands at the foot of the cross on the left holding a lance, Stephaton stands on the right with the sponge. The two thieves have their arms pulled over the crossbars and bound behind their backs, a position also found on ampullae (Grabar, 1958, pp. 28, 29, pls. xxii, xxiv). On the bottom of the censer within the circle of the base is a cock.

The emphasis on scenes associated with holy sites in Palestine, and the iconographical relationship of many of the scenes to those on ampullae, suggest a Syro-Palestinian provenance in the late sixth or early seventh century. Like the ampullae, the censers were most likely souvenirs for pilgrims visiting the Holy Land.

A. S. T. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Elbern, 1970, pp. 11–14, figs. 8–11; Elbern, 1972–1974, pp. 451, 546, fig. 6.

No. 564, *Crucifixion*

564 Censer with New Testament scenes

Syria-Palestine, 7th century

Bronze

11.4; with chain, 50.8; diam. 12.1 cm. ($4\frac{1}{2}$; 20; $4\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 67–27

Like no. 563, this censer is decorated with scenes from the life of Christ, cast in high relief. The flaring base is engraved with a pattern of circles and on the bottom is a rosette. The neck is engraved with a pattern of stylized rosettes, and a frieze of acanthuslike leaves in low relief encircles the bowl above the scenes. Projecting from the rim are three rings for the chains, which are attached to a trefoil topped by a ring. Five scenes are depicted, beginning with the Annunciation, where Mary is seated in a highbacked throne. In her lap is the distaff, her usual attribute in this scene. The angel, gazing outward, approaches from the left, holding a staff and greeting Mary. Next, flanked by trees, is the Nativity. As on the Berlin censer (no. 563), Joseph is seated to the left of the crib and Mary reclines on the right. But the oval opening in the crib beneath the Christ child is much larger and more

closely resembles the opening as it appears on ampullae (nos. 526, 527). The Baptism follows, with Christ standing in the water, flanked by John the Baptist on the left and an angel on the right. Above Christ's head is a dove. In the Crucifixion, Christ wears a colobium, as on the Berlin censer and the ampullae. Above the crossbar are Sol and Luna and below are two kneeling figures, probably Mary and John. The thieves have their arms bound behind their backs. Last is the Women at the Tomb, with only one Mary; she stands on the right. Seated on the left is an angel who holds a staff and points at the tomb. The tomb is a free-standing structure, with its entrance flanked by columns and a roof that curves upward at the sides and is topped by a trefoil finial and palmette acroteria on either side. A similar structure represents the tomb in the Syrian Rabbula Gospels (no. 445, fol. 13r).

Although the surface is in better condition, the casting is cruder and the figures less clearly articulated than on the Berlin censer, and Elbern (1972–1974) assigns it a slightly later date in the seventh century. Like the Berlin censer, it is probably of Syro-Palestinian provenance.

A. S. T. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ross, 1970, p. 40; Elbern, 1972–1974, p. 447, fig. 2.

565 Four bread stamps

Eastern Mediterranean, 5th–6th century

Bronze

Round stamp: diam. 7 cm. ($2\frac{3}{4}$ in.); cruciform stamp:

8.5 × 8.3 cm. ($3\frac{3}{8}$ × $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.); S-shaped stamp:

10 cm. ($3\frac{15}{16}$ in.); shoe-sole-shaped stamp: 9.8 cm.

($3\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,

Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, 18/72,

8/72, 19/72, 9/72

Ring handles are soldered to the backs. The outer rims were bent slightly inward in later times. The four bronze stamps of widely different shapes show on their insides mirror-reversed inscriptions: the round stamp, ΕΙC ΘΕΟC ("One God"); the cruciform stamp, ΑΘΑΝΑCΙΑ ("Immortal-

ty"); the S-shaped stamp, ZOH ΠACI (not mirror-reversed: "Life to all"); and the shoe-sole-shaped stamp, VΓIA ZOH ("Health, life").

The custom of pressing such stamps into bread dough was widespread in antiquity for religious as well as for secular purposes. Smaller bronze stamps of similar shapes were also used for sealing vessels containing wine, oil, and medical ointments (see Dölger, 1974). The inscriptions on the four stamps—invocations and benedictions—suggest connections with cultic rites rather than with eucharistic bread.

Two similar bronze stamps were found in Egypt at excavations in Akhmîm (ancient Panopolis) and in Abu Mena. A counterpart to the stamp shaped like a shoe sole, comparable in form and inscription, is in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and a similar cruciform stamp is in the collection of D. and J. de Menil, Houston, Texas (Galavaris, 1970, pp. 49–53, 163–166).

Acquired in 1972.

L. K.

Unpublished.



566 Bread stamp with cross and apostles

Palestine, 6th century

Terracotta

Diam. 9–9.2 cm. ($3\frac{9}{16}$ – $3\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum,
Antikensammlung, V 2014

The relief was probably produced in a mold; a handle is attached to the back.

The apostles Peter and Paul stand to either side of a large cross, their names inscribed, in mirror reversal, Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ and Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ beside them, and repeated on the outer rim of the stamp. The cross rises above the mount of Golgotha, from which flow the four rivers of paradise, indicated by wavy lines. Small trees stand on either side between the apostles and the cross. The surrounding border inscription, also in mirror reversal, reads: ΑΡΧΗ ΖΩΗΣ ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΕΦ ΗΜΑΣ ("The origin of life is the cross. The blessing of the Lord be upon us").

This form of bread stamp, a disc with a handle, was common. Judging from the inscription, the Vienna bread stamp was probably used to mark the eulogia bread, which, beginning in the fourth century, was given to the believers after the service. The stamped bread, connected with the

cult of a saint, or with certain holidays, was very popular as a souvenir. Both Paulinus of Nola (*Epistolae* 3.6, 4.5, 5.12, 7.3) and St. Augustine (*Epistola* 31.9) distributed "eulogia panis."

The pictorial type of the worship of the cross (cf. no. 525) and the emphasis on the cross in the inscription are characteristic of Palestinian iconography (see Weitzmann, 1974), which refers to Jerusalem, the specific locus of the worship of the cross. Eulogia breads were among the devotional items brought back by pilgrims from the Holy Land.

Acquired in Smyrna in 1906.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Noll, 1969, I, pp. 661–664; II, pl. 337; Galavaris, 1970, pp. 145–148, fig. 79; Noll (1), 1974, p. 45, no. 69.



****567 Comb with scenes of miracles of Christ**

Egypt, 6th century

Ivory

9 × 11 cm. (3 $\frac{9}{16}$ × 4 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

Cairo, Coptic Museum, 3655

Several small teeth are broken; the larger ones are worn. In the middle of one side is depicted an equestrian figure within a laurel wreath held by two standing angels. The horse turns its head toward the rider, who is dressed in a tunic and chlamys and raises his arms in the gesture of an orant. The scene probably represents one of the equestrian saints widely venerated in Egypt who displaced the Thracian rider-gods of the Roman period. The orant posture excludes the possibility that Christ is depicted. On an iconographically similar Coptic limestone relief of the ninth century depicting the Entry into Jerusalem, Christ is shown with only his right hand raised in the gesture of blessing (Habib, 1967, pp. 107–108, no. 255, fig. 39).

On the other side of the comb are depicted the Raising of Lazarus and the healing of the blind man in the presence of a witness. Both scenes are taken from a miracle cycle of Christ frequently represented on ivories in the eastern Mediter-

No. 567, Raising of Lazarus and healing of the blind man

anean. In these scenes the tomb aedicula of Lazarus with sloping roof and the short cross-staff of Christ are common (no. 405).

The scenes suggest a liturgical use for the comb. It is known from documents of the seventh and eighth centuries that deacons combed the hair of bishops to ward off demons before Mass. From the earliest times it was believed that divine and demonic forces affected people through the hair of the head (Samson, Habakkuk).

Other ivory combs with Christian scenes are in the Louvre, the Vatican, and the Museo Civico in Brescia. The comb was almost certainly made in Egypt. It was found at Antinoë (Abu Hennes).

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Strzygowski, 1904, pp. 194–195, no. 7117, pl. xvii; Essen, 1963, no. 138; Habib, 1967, p. 69, no. 152, fig. 39 A–B; Volbach, 1976, no. 204.



No. 568: above, pyxis with Christ and apostles;
below, casket



568 Pyxis with Christ and apostles and casket with crosses and palmettes

Pyxis: North Italy, 4th century

Silver

12.3 cm. ($4\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Casket: Constantinople, 6th century

Gold

1.6 × 2.3 × 1.9 cm. ($\frac{3}{8}$ × $\frac{7}{8}$ × $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum,

Antikensammlung, VII 760, 761

The hexagonal pyxis and its vaulted lid are each decorated with six figures in embossed work, one figure to a panel. On the pyxis the beardless, youthful Christ stands between Peter and Paul, accompanied by three other apostles. Each wears the tunica and the pallium. Christ is teaching and Paul is listening, his right hand hanging downward and holding a small object, perhaps a misunderstood roll. The embossed busts of Christ and the five apostles occur again on the six panels of the lid. Christ, Peter, and Paul repeat the types standard on pyxides, while the other apostles on the lid follow other iconographic models. The decoration of the pyxis occurs once again on a somewhat later octagonal pyxis found in the altar of the Early Christian cathedral of Novalja in Dalmatia, Yugoslavia (Šonje, 1969, pp. 704–705), with the exception of the center, which shows the traditio legis, and of the lid, which is decorated with tendril ornaments (Ilakovać, 1975, p. 21).

The present pyxis is divided into several cells, one of which contained the small gold casket with the relics. The oblong front and back of this casket are filled with two facing rows of acanthus leaves or palmettes, and the end panels with crosses, which are flanked by two twisted bands. On the lid, a circular plaited band encloses a cloisonné cross in indigo blue enamel. The reliquary casket contained two pieces of bone wrapped in yellow silk.

Two very similar fourth-century gold caskets with relics have been found along the Adriatic. The first one, discovered in 1871 in Grado, had been preserved in a silver pyxis placed in a stone container (Buschhausen, 1971, no. B18); the second was discovered in 1968 in the Early Christian

basilica of Cim and had been preserved in an altar sepulchrum of the sixth century (Andjelić, 1974, pp. 179–244, pl. XIII, fig. 3a–c).

The ornament of the three caskets can be compared with similar ones on a pendant reliquary of St. Zacharias in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Ross, 1965, II, no. 31). That pyxis is said to have been found in Constantinople and the three caskets from the Adriatic can also be presumed to have been produced there. They were probably sent with relics to the West.

During excavation in 1860, the pyxis and casket were found near the vestry of the ancient cathedral of Pola (Pula), Istria. They had been kept together with other reliquaries in a small marble sarcophagus, which had been preserved in a stone container under a marble slab.

H. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Buschhausen, 1971, pp. 249–252, no. B20, pl. B58; Cuscito, 1972–1973; Noll (1), 1974, nos. B13, B14.



569 Three reliquaries

Southeastern Europe, late 4th–early 5th century
Gold with precious stones and enameling
 $3.8 \times 4.7 \times 6.5$ cm. ($1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{9}{16}$ in.)

Bulgaria, 6th century
Silver

$9.3 \times 6 \times 11$ cm. ($3\frac{11}{16} \times 2\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

Bulgaria, 6th century
Marble

$15.6 \times 15.5 \times 22.4$ cm. ($6\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{13}{16}$ in.)

Varna, Narodni Musej, III, 768, 767, 766



The heavy flat golden innermost casket is decorated with two bands with a meander pattern inlaid in red, round garnets at the corners, and blue precious stones in the middle of each side. The lid bears five precious stones and an enameled ornament along the sliding side. The casket's original use may not have been as a Christian reliquary, since it predates the other two caskets by over a century. The casket in silver has the form of a small sarcophagus with a high vaulted gabled lid, decorated on its long sides with two Latin crosses. The four sides of the casket are subdivided by double lines into several sections.

Two similar caskets were found in Niš, Yugoslavia (Buschhausen, 1971, no. C13, pl. C13) and Chersonese, Crimea (no. 572). The latter can be dated by silver stamps in the late period of Justinian I, in the mid-sixth century. The outermost, marble

reliquary also has the form of a small sarcophagus with several profiles. The ridge of the flat gabled lid has a small depression in its center. On other reliquaries in the form of sarcophagi this dent contains the opening for the libation. Two very similar caskets in alabaster were found, one in Bulgaria (now in Sofia) and the other in Turkey (now in Iznik [Buschhausen, 1971, nos. C22, pl. C15, C40, pl. C21]; cf. also no. 570).

The set of reliquaries was discovered under the altar of the ruins of a sixth-century church in Zanavartepe near Varna, Bulgaria. The marble reliquary contained a sheet of yellow silk wound around the silver reliquary and the golden casket. The gold reliquary contained pieces of bone and splinters of wood, and the excavators believed that the relics were from the true cross.

H. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Buschhausen, 1971, no. C1, pls. C1–3.

570 Reliquary with crosses on the lid

Southeastern Europe or Asia Minor, 6th century
Marble

14.3 × 9.6 × 18.4 cm. ($5\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1949, 49.69.2 a, b

The reliquary has the form of a small sarcophagus with two horizontal bands around the sides and a hole for lead to seal the reliquary at either end of the body. The roof-shaped lid with a hole for



ALTAR IMPLEMENTS AND LITURGICAL OBJECTS

oil in the top center is decorated with Greek crosses on either side. A large corner piece is missing, and minor chips can be found at all corners of the top and body. Most sarcophagus-shaped reliquaries were found in southeastern Europe or Asia Minor. Similar caskets with crosses on roof-shaped lids were found in Bulgaria (Buschhausen, 1971, no. C19), Chersonese, Crimea (now in Kiev [Buschhausen, 1971, no. C30]), Iznik (Buschhausen, 1971, no. C42), and Konya (now in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond [Buschhausen, 1971, no. C56]). Most of them can be dated in the sixth century.

H. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Buschhausen, 1971, no. C59, pl. C23.



Lid of no. 571

571 Reliquary with biblical scenes

North Italy, early 5th century

Silver with gilding

5.7 × 12 × 5.5 cm. ($2\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{16}$ in.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités
Grecques et Romaines, Bj 1951

The silver gilded reliquary is an oval casket with an almost flat lid. On the casket front is a simple latch and on the back a hinge; a second hinge is missing. The foot and rim of the casket, as well as the rim of the lid, depict embossed double-braided bands. On the lid is the scene of the Raising of Lazarus, with the nimbed Christ, wearing a tunic and pallium, standing beside a palm tree. With a wand he touches the small aedicula, which consists of three steps, two twisted columns, and a

dome. Inside Lazarus stands wrapped in a shroud; before Christ kneels Martha. On the casket front the Adoration of the Magi is depicted. The three kings, in Phrygian dress, offer their gifts to the Virgin; she sits on a throne with a high rounded back and presents the Christ child. On the back are the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace. From the right comes a servant, who stokes the fire in a large furnace that has two stokeholes. At each end stands a building with two towers and a gateway in the middle, flanked by palm trees. This type of building is often shown in late Roman coins as an abbreviation for the castrum and was copied in reliefs (see Ivanov and Bobčev, 1964, p. 50, fig. 53; Levi, 1967, pl. 38).

The relief is flat, the style simple, the contours sharply defined, and the composition reduced to a few elements. The source of the composition type can be traced to embossed plaques affixed to late Roman wooden caskets; most of them were found in graves, but they may not originally have been destined for graves. From the second half of the fourth century pagan and Christian motifs appear together on the caskets (Buschhausen, 1971, nos. A50–52, 54, 57–66, 69, 76).

Found in the Castello Brivio in Brianza, probably in the Church of S. Giovanni. Formerly in the collection of Adolphe Gilbert, Paris.

H. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Buschhausen, 1971, pp. 240–242, no. B14, pls. B46–47; London, 1977, no. 157.

****572 Reliquary with Christ, the Virgin, angels, and SS. Peter and Paul**

Constantinople, about 550–565

Silver

With lid $11 \times 13.4 \times 8.5$ cm. ($4\frac{5}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum, X 249

The reliquary has the form of a small sarcophagus with a high vaulted, gabled lid, decorated front and back with two Latin crosses. The front panel of the casket depicts three medallions with the busts of Christ, St. Peter, and St. Paul, and the back shows three medallions with busts of the Virgin and two adoring angels (cf. no. 552). On each end are busts of youthful saints in medallions, perhaps

Demetrios and George, or Cosmas and Damian.

The two identical sets of four control stamps on the bottom of the reliquary and on the inside of the lid date the casket to the later period of the reign of Justinian I and more than likely after 550, since they resemble stamps on various silver objects published by Dodd (1961, nos. 16, 20, 21, 22). The shape of the casket appears in the silver reliquaries from Varna (no. 569), from Niš, Yugoslavia (Buschhausen, 1971, no. C13, pl. C13), from Tassullo (Noll, 1972, pp. 320–337, pl. iv, figs. 1, 2), and from southern Turkey (Buschhausen, 1971, no. B5).

The Leningrad reliquary is one of the most important works in silver of the Justinianic renaissance. The technique of embossed silver, the classical garments, and the naturalistic features of the faces compare with those of the great silver vase from Homs in the Louvre (no. 552). The angels of the vase closely resemble those of the reliquary. The type of busts in medallions continue in Byzantine art into the seventh century (no. 562).

The casket was found under the altar of the Early Christian basilica of Chersonese, Crimea (Koscjuško–Valjužiniča, 1900, p. 209).

H. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Buschhausen, 1971, pp. 252–254, no. B21, pls. B59–60.

No. 572, St. Mary with angels





573 Reliquary with inscription

Syria, 6th century

Silver

8.7, diam. 10.8 cm. ($3\frac{7}{16}$, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

St. Louis, The St. Louis Art Museum, 44: 1924

The round silver pyxis is decorated with small, embossed flutes. A double band surrounds the lower and upper rims. On the lid is a rosette in the center surrounded by a double band.

A dotted dedicatory inscription running around the rosette reads: ΠΡΟΦΟΡΑ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΝΗC ΔΙΑΚΟ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ CΤΕΦΑΝΩ ("Oblation of the Tiberine Diaconate to St. Stephen"). ΔΙΑΚΟ is interpreted by Ross (Baltimore, 1947, no. 376) as *διακονίσσης*, whereas Hunger (in Buschhausen, 1971, p. 267) suggests *διακονίας*.

Not only in the life of St. Martha but also in the life of Symeon Stylites the Younger there is mentioned a village named *Τιβερινον Χωρίον* which was situated on the way from Seleucia Pieria to the monastery of Symeon Stylites the Younger, in Syria. The inscription must be interpreted in the following way: The *διακονία Τιβερινῆς*, that is, the monastery of St. Symeon the Younger dedicated the casket, probably containing relics of that saint, to St. Stephen. A church or a monastery bearing the name of St. Stephen would no doubt have wished to obtain relics of St. Symeon Stylites, who

ALTAR IMPLEMENTS AND LITURGICAL OBJECTS

was especially worshiped during this period.

The first line of graffito on the underside of the reliquary repeats the first word of the dedicatory inscription on the lid: *προσφορά*. In the second line the weight is given: *λί(τραί) β οὐ(γγίαι) β, γρ(άμματα) δ*. The true weight of the silver casket is only 371.5 grams. Zahn (1921, II, p. 43, no. 99, pl. 3), therefore, believes that the weight given in the inscription refers to the original complete set of reliquaries.

Formerly in the Gans collection, Berlin.

H. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Buschhausen, 1971, pp. 267–270, no. C3, pl. C5.

574 Reliquary of the true cross

Syria-Palestine (Jerusalem ?), early 8th century

Silver gilt, enamel, and niello

10.2 × 7.35 cm. ($4 \times 2\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.715

In the early fifth century, a noble lady and pilgrim from Spain named Egeria wrote a vivid account of the homage paid to the true cross, which was kept in a gilded silver reliquary on Golgotha. The reliquary has not survived, but one of its most important early descendants has: this small silver-gilt box decorated with cloisonné enamels and niello, called the Fieschi-Morgan staurothek after two of its former owners. The inside of the reliquary is divided by thin silver partitions into a cross-shaped compartment that once held the relic, a small particle of the true cross. An incised cross with L-shaped corner brackets decorates the bottom. The reliquary is in excellent condition, except that the gilding has almost disappeared and the lock probably replaces an enamel plaque with saint.

The reliquary's top and sides are decorated with enamels of the Crucifixion and busts of twenty-seven saints; scenes of the Annunciation, Nativity, Crucifixion, and Anastasis are worked in niello on the underside of the lid. On the lid the saints are, reading clockwise: Demetrios, Eustathios, Lawrence; Luke, Mark, Thomas, James; Damian,



No. 574, lid

Cosmas, Gregory Thaumaturgos; Bartholomew, Matthew, Luke, Simon. On the sides are: Anastasios, Nicholas; George, Procopios, Theodore, Plato; Mercurios, Eustratios, Panteleimon; Andrew, John, Paul, and Peter. The scenes and the saints are identified by Greek inscriptions. The Crucifixion includes the words spoken by Christ on the cross: ΙΑΙ Ω VΘC COV/ΙΔΟV Η MITIP C(ov) in enamel; ΙΔΕ Ο V(ιo)C COV/ΙΔΟV Η MH(τη)P C(o)P[sic] in niello ("Behold thy son; behold thy mother" [John 19:26]).

The iconography and the style of the decoration are typical of sixth- to eighth-century work from the Holy Land. The Crucifixion, with Christ alive, dressed in a long tunic (colobium), and mourned by his mother and John, resembles the Crucifixion on the cross reliquary at Monza (Merati, 1969,



No. 574, underside of lid

pp. 22–23), in the Rabbula Gospels (no. 445), and on a silver niello cross at Vicopisano, Italy (Lucchesi-Palli, 1962). As Lucchesi-Palli has shown, the Anastasis on this reliquary may be the earliest Syro-Palestinian example known.

The extensive program of enameling finds no parallel in surviving Early Christian work. The reliquary stands, rather, like the beautiful bracelets in Thessalonike (Athens, 1964, no. 463), at the beginning of the rich history of Byzantine and Western enameling, which flourished after the seventh century.

Lucchesi-Palli dates the reliquary in the second half of the seventh century, but, judging from its primitive style, it may be somewhat later, perhaps even after the destruction of Christian art in Jerusalem in 721 (Vasiliev, 1956). Although similar

cross-reliquaries were probably produced much later in the Holy Land, Frolov's ([1], 1961; Frolov [2], 1961, no. 162) arguments for a tenth- or eleventh-century date for the Fieschi-Morgan staurothek are not convincing.

Although the reliquary is usually ascribed to Syro-Palestine generally, it is tempting to specify its provenance as Jerusalem. Except for the martyr Lawrence, the saints it commemorates are Eastern, and even he is listed with the other saints in a Georgian calendar written in the tenth century at the monastery of St. Sabas near Jerusalem and based to a large extent on an earlier Greek Jerusalem lectionary (Garitte, 1958). Furthermore, the bishop Anastasios (next to the lock on the side of the reliquary), identified by Rosenberg (1924, pp. 66–67) as one of two sixth- to seventh-century patriarchs of Antioch, may have been the Anastasios who was custodian of the sacred relics at the Holy Sepulcher and then patriarch of Jerusalem in 458.

Pope Innocent IV (Sinibaldo Fieschi, 1243–1254) is said to have given this reliquary to the church of S. Salvatore-di-Lavagna, Italy, where the relic remains (Williamson, 1913). Since he was involved in the Crusades, the reliquary may have been brought back to him from the Holy Land or it may have reached Italy centuries earlier.

Formerly in the Oppenheim collection.

M. E. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frolov (1), 1961; Lucchesi-Palli, 1962; Wessel, 1967, no. 5.

575 Pillar with compartment for relics (?)

Egypt, around 500

Wood

31.5 × 9 cm. (12 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{9}{16}$ in.)

Heidelberg, Sammlung des Ägyptologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg, 808

Carved from one piece, the pillar was damaged at the edges; one column and two feet are missing. Traces of paint are at the back. A hole has been drilled at the upper edge for hanging.

The pillar is formed in the shape of an aedicula



richly adorned with carved zigzags, palmettes, and other geometric motifs. It rises above nine short, compact colonnettes, supported by a platform with nine feet. The front is a carved rectangular compartment sealed by a sliding lid now missing. The opposite side is rounded, with two bulging hollow columns. The pillar is surmounted by a semicircular pediment bearing a Greek cross within a laurel wreath.

Closely related is a similar but simpler wooden pillar, whose lid is likewise lost, from the Fayyum, in the Coptic Museum, Cairo (Strzygowski, 1904, no. 8814, fig. 210). Other related pieces are three

wooden pillars—one in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; two formerly in the collection of Duke Johann Georg of Saxony, now in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität, Mainz (Johann Georg, 1914, figs. 235, 236; Johann Georg, 1930, p. 56, pl. 75)—all acquired in Egypt, which have no compartment but have the relief of a female figure in front. One of the Duke of Saxony pillars is closely related to the one in the Walters Gallery; the other with two male heads in the round placed at the top of the bulging columns at the back is of modern origin.

It has been suggested that the Heidelberg pillar probably did not belong to any church furnishings, but it could have been used for home worship. It is thus analogous to the Roman cult of ancestor worship, which was quite popular in Egypt.

It has been thought that the Heidelberg pillar was a stand for candles and that its compartment held an icon. However, since it is small and was sealed by a lid, it might have been a repository, perhaps for relics or objects from holy places, such as the Sancta Sanctorum box in the Vatican Library (fig. 76). A relief or painted figure could have been represented on the missing lid. The purpose of the nine columns is uncertain.

Found in 1914 on the east bank of the Nile between Gebel Temerkiêh and El Hîbe in a tomb of the Coptic cemetery of Karâra.

L. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ranke, 1926, pp. 25–26, pl. 18, 2–4; Essen, 1963, no. 149; Otto, 1964, pp. 98–99, no. 34, pl. 34.

576 Table top with lobed border

Rome or Italy (?), 5th–6th century

Marble

83.8 × 88.9 cm. (33 × 35 in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Fletcher Fund, 1947, 47.100.50

This table top is in the lunate form of the Greek letter Sigma and has a border of ten lobes. Its lower frame is decorated with four lambs flanking a Chi Rho. The marble is cracked in several pieces and has been assembled with plaster of Paris and glue.

The back of the piece is left rough except around the border.

This object belongs to a well-known, frequently studied class of marble slabs. Many have a broad raised border decorated with figure reliefs and rimmed with beads; many are table tops. There is no uniformity in shape. The subject of the reliefs is often secular (no. 207); biblical scenes are also numerous (no. 380). Some slabs are Sigma-shaped; others are circular. The Sigma shape is known in many pictorial representations of the late Roman period to have been one of the most common shapes of dining tables.

The original settings and purposes of the Christian examples are controversial. They may have been embedded in the pavements of churches, or used as secondary altars, offering tables, or table tops in baptisteries, or as sepulchral objects—tomb stelae and tables associated with the cult of relics and martyrs and for liturgical and funeral banquets. Kitzinger (1960, p. 29) maintains that in no case is it certain that any Sigma-shaped slab of the Early Christian period was used as the main altar, and Nussbaum's (1961, p. 30) recognition of a few such slabs as the tops of the main altar is



highly unlikely. The border scallops, which range from six to seventeen and are found on both secular and Christian examples, remain enigmatic in purpose and meaning.

These table tops date from the third into the sixth century, but no precise chronology has been established. The exact provenance of almost all examples is unknown, but most of them come from the general area of the eastern Mediterranean. The Metropolitan Museum's slab was acquired in Rome in 1935; it was perhaps made in Rome or elsewhere in Italy in the fifth or sixth century. The lambs on the lower border of the slab are naturally proportioned and are carved in a planar fashion, with slight incisions to indicate eyes, ears, and hindquarters. This plain style is known in the eastern Mediterranean as well as the Latin West.

W. E. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kitzinger, 1960, p. 31, no. 58; Nussbaum, 1961, p. 38, no. 6; Roux, 1973, p. 195, no. 161.

577, 578 Two fragments of a transenna with harts

Syria-Palestine, 1st half 6th century
Marble

Left: 40.9 × 42.5 cm. (16 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
Baltimore, The Baltimore Museum of Art, 54.108

Right: 27.5 × 40.8 cm. (10 $\frac{13}{16}$ × 16 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)
Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection,
36.44



ALTAR IMPLEMENTS AND LITURGICAL OBJECTS

This marble panel has been broken into two nearly equal parts. The left half, in the Baltimore Museum of Art, is substantially intact, save for several large chips, while the right half, in Dumbarton Oaks, has been extensively trimmed on all four sides. The surface of the Washington fragment has been reworked, and its portion of the central cross planed off. The reverse sides are rough picked.

When reassembled, the fragments form a centralized composition in which two harts lower their heads to drink from small streams issuing from a hill bearing a cross. Combined here are two spiritual images: that of the hart who, according to Ps. 42:1, seeks for water as the soul seeks for God (cf. the inscribed baptistery mosaic in Salona [Dyggve, 1951, fig. 11, 30]), and that of the cross of Golgotha as the "tree of life" from which flow the four rivers of paradise (cf. the inscribed pilgrim ampullae, e.g., no. 524).

Although executed in low relief, the harts are subtly modeled. Their tiptoe stance conveys a sense of grace and animation. Closely related in both iconography and style is a transenna fragment in the Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo (Hals, 1957); also similar are two mid-sixth-century chancel panels in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai (Forsyth and Weitzmann [1973], pls. LXXXIV, LXXXV) and a hart relief in Varna (Archaeological Museum [Ulbert, 1969–1970, pl. 66, 2]). Since, in addition to the Sinai panels, the Baltimore and Oslo fragments may be traced to Syro-Palestine, it is likely that the entire group reflects the craftsmanship of that region.

Baltimore fragment: Beirut dealer; collection E. de Lorey, Paris; Brummer Gallery, New York.

Washington fragment: Purchased in 1936 from M. and R. Stora, Paris.

G. V.



BIBLIOGRAPHY: Peirce and Tyler, 1934, II, p. 118, pl. 153 (Baltimore); Mouterde, 1934, p. 475, fig. 19 (Baltimore); Baltimore, 1947, no. 55 (Baltimore); Hals, 1957, pp. 114 ff., pls. pp. 115, 117; *Handbook of the Byzantine Collection*, 1967, no. 24; Ulbert, 1969, pp. 39 ff., 66, pl. 26; Ulbert, 1969–1970, pp. 342, 355.

579 Faucet and conduit

Constantinople (?), 6th–7th century
Bronze
12.8 × 31.7 cm. (5 × 12½ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Fletcher Fund, 47.100.41a, b

Not only is this conduit exceptionally elaborate in its decoration, but the faucet reflects a high level of technical achievement. The faucet is composed of two vertical cylinders, one inside the other. The flow of water is controlled by lining up a hole in the side of the inner cylinder with the hole in the outer cylinder that leads to the conduit.

The conduit is open at the far end. The sides of the conduit are decorated along the top with an open-work design, and its ends are surmounted by prominent crosses.

This piece is reported to have come from Constantinople. The decoration of crosses suggests that it was used in connection with a sacred spring. We know that such sacred springs existed in the sixth century from an anonymous tenth-century source. It tells that Justinian I was allegedly cured of a kidney disease after drinking the water of the fountain known as Pêgê outside the walls of Constantinople (*Acta sanctorum: Novembris III* 878–879 and Procop. *Aed.* 1. 3. 6). We also know from Procopius that there were many Constantinopolitan sanctuaries (*Aed.* 1. 6. 4–9; 1. 7. 1; 1. 9. 11–14). Although this faucet and conduit were probably used in such a sanctuary, the possibility that they were used in a private building cannot be excluded.

K. R. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baltimore, 1947, no. 319.



Architecture

When Christianity began, Roman architects were already exceptionally gifted in coining building types to serve the specialized needs of different social institutions. More than three centuries later, the Christian church became the Roman architects' last great typological achievement. But in the intervening years, between the Crucifixion and the Edict of Milan, conditions were even less favorable to the development of a specifically Christian religious architecture than to its counterpart in the figural arts.

Although the actual persecution of the Christians was sporadic, it often included the seizure of church possessions. This bred a climate unfavorable to the heavy capital investment represented by new, purposely designed cult centers. It may be pure chance that the only pre-Constantinian church thus far discovered, that at Dura Europos on the Euphrates River (nos. 360, 580), is an unobtrusively remodeled private building like the nearby synagogue (nos. 341, 358). But literary tradition, supported by scraps of archaeological evidence, places the earliest Christian cult halls in Rome in no less inconspicuous flats within larger apartment houses. Although at least one source mentions, but does not describe, a pre-Constantinian church that was externally recognizable as a Christian building, nothing has yet been found to rival in size, decoration, and ostentation the great synagogue at Sardis (no. 359).

With the conversion of Constantine and the legitimization of Christianity, the course of relations between the state and the Church were reversed from one of conflict toward one of ultimate coalescence. As the state became Christian, the Church became imperial. Constantine's role was crucial. Nowhere was this more evident than in Christian building. He endowed many churches, first in Rome and then elsewhere in the empire. Nothing Constantine touched could be humble, contingent, or

inconspicuous (fig. 89). With imperial funds at their disposal, Church leaders could, for the first time, consult with the best architects and plan an appropriate physical vessel for a liturgy that was already well developed. At the same time they were constrained to see that the buildings erected were representative of the religion's newly acquired position in Roman society.

The fourth century was a time of experimentation, and Christian buildings of the period, as known from the sparsely preserved few or from secondary sources, present a variegated picture. Diverse elements, all drawn from the common Roman heritage, were arranged in different ways. By the end of the century, the important city of Milan, for example, contained monumental churches that in plan were rectangular, T-shaped, cruciform (no. 585), and quatrefoil (no. 584).

Early Christian buildings initially fell into four types, three of which were churches: normal halls of worship intended primarily for the Sunday Mass; funerary churches, in which the Eucharist was performed on certain occasions, situated in cemeteries and catering directly to Christian concern with death and immortality; churches of commemoration and witness erected on sites sanctified by events in the life of Christ and other biblical episodes, all naturally in the Holy Land, or at places of martyrs' executions or tombs, which were widely dispersed. Martyr is Greek for "witness," and these monuments to Christian witness are therefore called *martyria*. The fourth type was a small structure for the sacrament of baptism.

The first and last types were the most numerous and widespread, churches for the Sunday Mass being the essential architectural element in everyday Christian life and baptisteries being inextricably linked by function to the normal church. For the latter, the basilican plan, a simple apsed hall or, more

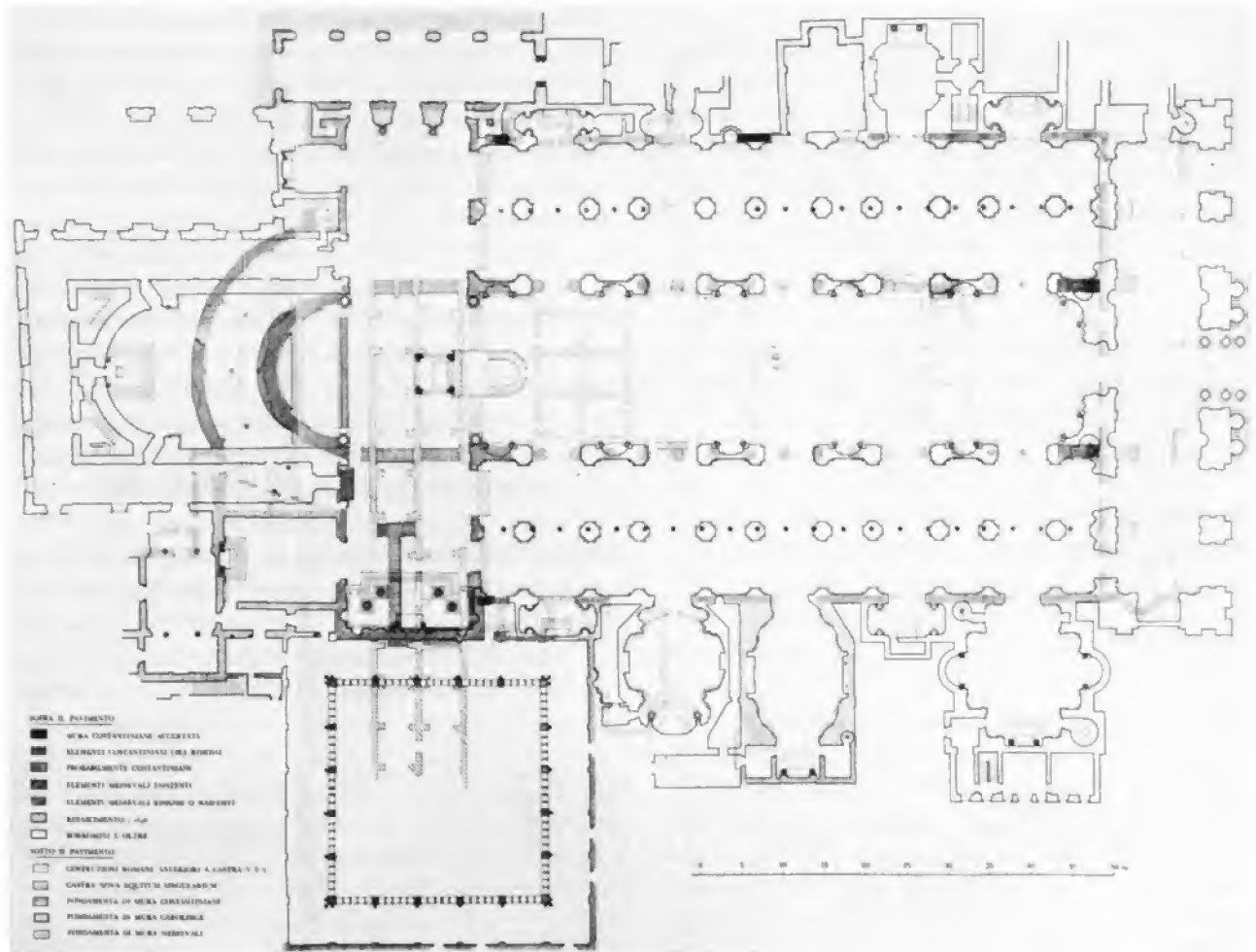


FIG. 89 *Plan of basilica of S. Giovanni in Laterano, Rome*

commonly, one with three or five aisles, was the predominant form. It had long served a variety of public functions in the Roman world, where it was necessary to bring a number of people together under a single roof for important purposes. The essential neutrality of its large open space, encumbered only by slim, regularly spaced columns, gave Christians of the fourth century and later considerable freedom in the placement of their liturgical furnishings—the altar, the bishop's throne, the priests' bench, the pulpit and lectern, and the chancel screen—and the disposition of different categories of the congregation—clergy and laity, men and women, communicants, catechumens, and penitents. Since the form had long been linked with

the authority of the state and its statesmen, it appropriately expressed the position of the newly powerful Church and its hierarchy.

The Christian basilica, in its early stages, appears in a number of variations. To the basic form there might be added, at the apsed end, a transept of one of several forms (no. 581). It might be changed into a cruciform structure (no. 585). A number of double or twin basilicas were erected (no. 583). In North Africa, basilicas with apses at either end of the nave are found (fig. 90). Some of the variations were tested and, found wanting, passed out of currency; others were modified in order better to accommodate changing demands of liturgy and devotions, and shifting artistic preferences. Yet the choice was

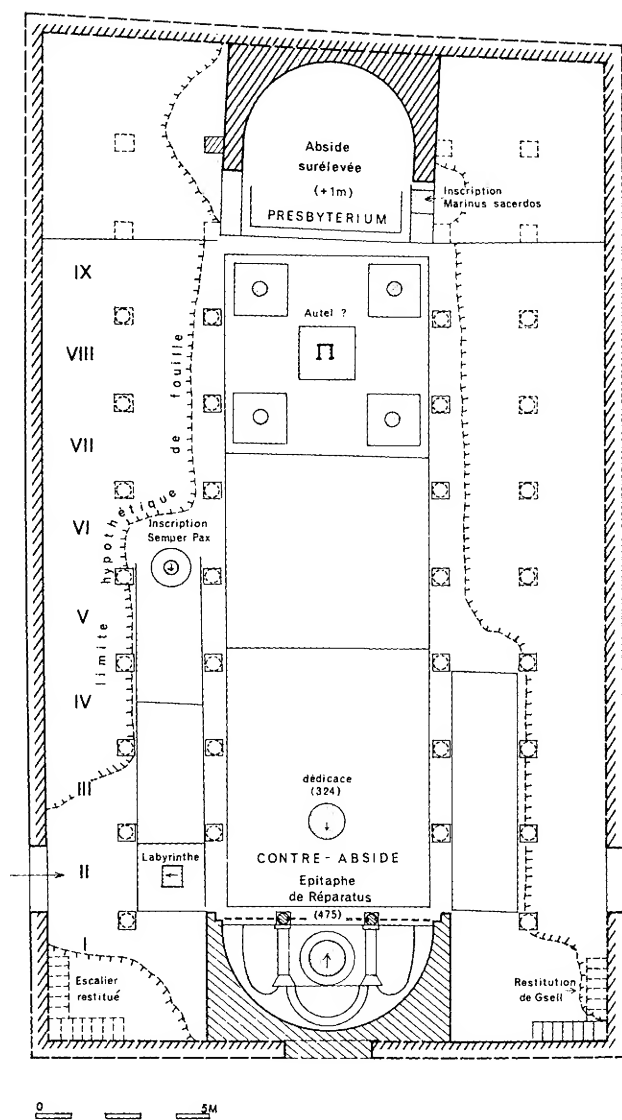


FIG. 90 Plan of basilica at El Asnam (Orléansville), Algeria.

extremely successful, as the history of subsequent Christian architecture demonstrates.

The basilica, however, was not the only form for the urban hall of worship. In the East, octagonal structures and even circular halls are occasionally encountered. Moreover, the quatrefoil, or tetraconch, one of the most attractive Early Christian spatial forms, was at times selected for a bishop's church.

Variations on the basilican plan were adopted for funerary churches. Fewer of these suburban struc-

tures are preserved and less is known about them. Few, if any, seemed to have been constructed after the fourth century.

Baptisteries served a single sacrament, but one that was perhaps psychologically the most moving in the spiritual life of the Early Christian. Since, in Early Christianity, only the bishop could administer the sacrament, and since the neophyte was lead from the baptistery into the cathedral for the celebration of his first Eucharist, the link between the two was close. Often the baptistery was a simple room or suite of rooms off the main body of the church, even in large churches, like the cathedral of Trier (no. 583). Attention was given to the functional movement of the initiate through the changing room, to the place of examination and exorcism, to the baptistery proper, back to the first or on to another changing room, and thence into the church. The baptistery at Qal'at Sim'an (no. 590) is a late but excellent example of this analytical planning; it is also an example of the freestanding, centralized baptistery. This numerous category—square, circular, or, most frequently, octagonal halls—continues into the late Roman period the earlier achievements in this genre of spatial design, as most splendidly documented in the Baptistry of the Orthodox at Ravenna (no. 588). The centralized form, with its focus on its midpoint, served to heighten the importance of the sacrament when the baptismal piscina was set at the center of the space. The rotunda form, moreover, had recently acquired a new significance by its use in imperial mausolea (nos. 107–109). Since baptism was interpreted as the death of the sinner and the resurrection of the redeemed, a personal paradigm of Christ's entombment and triumph over death, the choice of a sepulchral form of the highest rank was appropriate.

The churches erected over holy sites or over martyrs' tombs presented Early Christian architects with two special problems: how best to focus attention on the sacred spot or object of veneration and how to make it available to the crowds of pilgrims they rightly presumed would be attracted. By historical chance, Old St. Peter's at Rome (no. 581) was the first such analysis essayed. As is even now apparent its solution was tentative: the monument was placed over St. Peter's tomb in an apse abutting a disproportionately long and narrow hall, in turn attached to a large, five-aisled basilica. The plan was

repeated only once, at St. Paul's at Rome (about 400; fig. 91), but there the transverse hall was made more spacious and the Pauline Shrine was shifted from the apse to the arch between the transept and the nave. This improvement made the shrine at least visually more accessible to the general public.

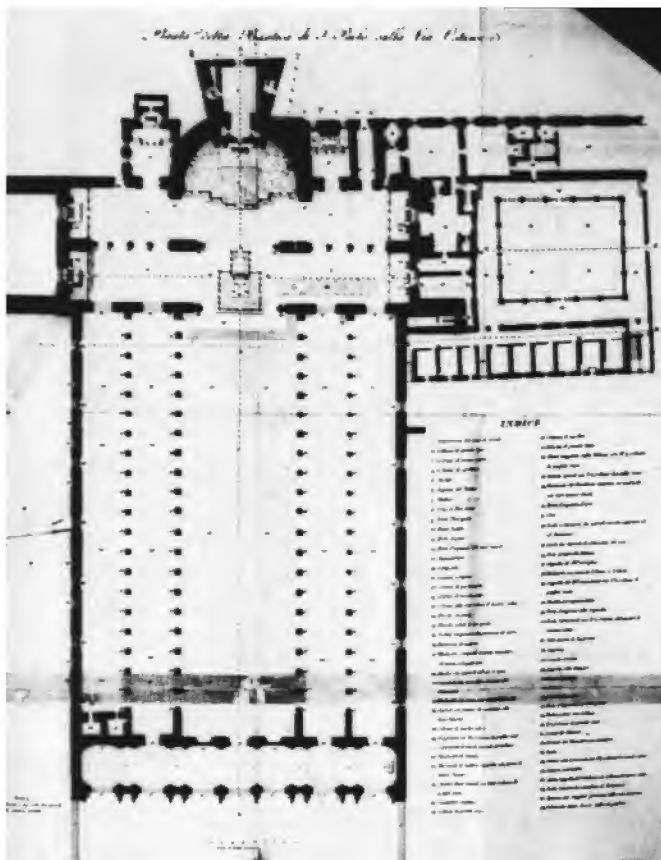
More significant for Early Christian architecture was the solution produced at the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, which was the site of the most important event in the life of Christ and, thus, the center of the Christian world (no. 582). It comprised a succession of structures: from a main thoroughfare in Roman Jerusalem, a propylon led into a forecourt before a five-aisled basilica; behind the basilica, an additional court offered space to the pilgrims drawn to the final, and last to be completed, element—a domical, circular rotunda at whose center stood the rock-cut tomb of the Savior enclosed within a small, handsome

stone aedicula. The sequence of open and closed spaces disposed along an axis, as at Old St. Peter's (no. 581), was a thoroughly Roman conception, although at Jerusalem the exigencies of the site prevented a complete adherence to the axis. The reason for the selection of a centralized form to shelter the physical witness to the Resurrection (the Anastasis) was the same as that which later prompted the form's adoption for some of the more monumental baptisteries—the emphasis on its midpoint and its association with imperial entombment and triumph. Other holy sites—such as that of the Nativity at Bethlehem, the Ascension on the Mt. of Olives, and, later, at the House of St. Peter (?) at Capernaum—were likewise enshrined beneath centralized rotundas. Other forms were used for martyria and baptisteries, such as the unprepossessing rectangular structure erected by Constantine at Mamre, and the centralized formulas also used for churches, such as Constantine's Octagonal Church at Antioch. Outside the Holy Land, the loci of many martyrs' veneration were ennobled by square, octagonal, or cruciform structures.

One aspect of the original appearance of Christian buildings that cannot be experienced today is the elaborate furnishings. Great expense and fine craftsmanship went into the production of chancel fittings in stone, precious metals, and bronze. Churches were presented with valuable sets of hangings, often of Eastern manufacture, which were hung around the chancel, between the columns of the nave of the church and at its portals. These colorful, fragile textiles must have done much to soften the severe effect of Early Christian interiors.

In the fifth century, the center of architectural gravity shifted more forcefully to the Greek East, as large parts of the Latin West were increasingly ravaged by barbaric incursions and settlements and as stable government steadily eroded. Regional modes seem, on the basis of available evidence, to have come more strongly to the fore. Experimentation continued, as evidenced by such interesting works as Hagios Demetrios at Thessalonike (fig. 92) and S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome (no. 589), but the fifth century was characterized by variations on established norms and by accomplishments in decoration. Sta. Sabina (no. 586) and Sta. Maria Maggiore (figs. 93, 94) in Rome were almost con-

FIG. 91 *Plan of basilica of S. Paolo fuori le mura.*



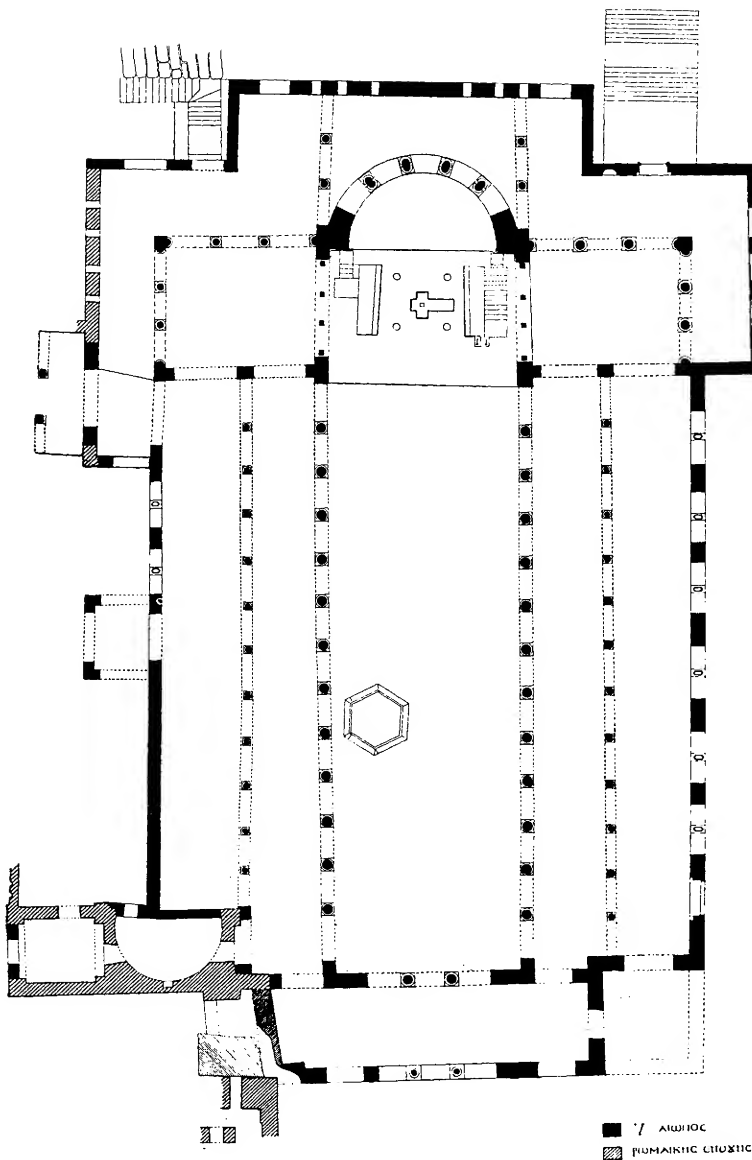


FIG. 92 *Plan of basilica of Hagios Demetrios, Thessalonike.*

temporary churches built on nearly identical plans, but, by adopting either arcades or colonnades, Corinthian or Ionic capitals, or mosaic or intarsia decoration, subtly different effects were achieved. Architectural sculpture proliferated in such new capital forms as the impost capital and in plaques for chancel screens. Mosaic pavements, which had appeared in churches as early as the second decade of the fourth century, became popular. Regional

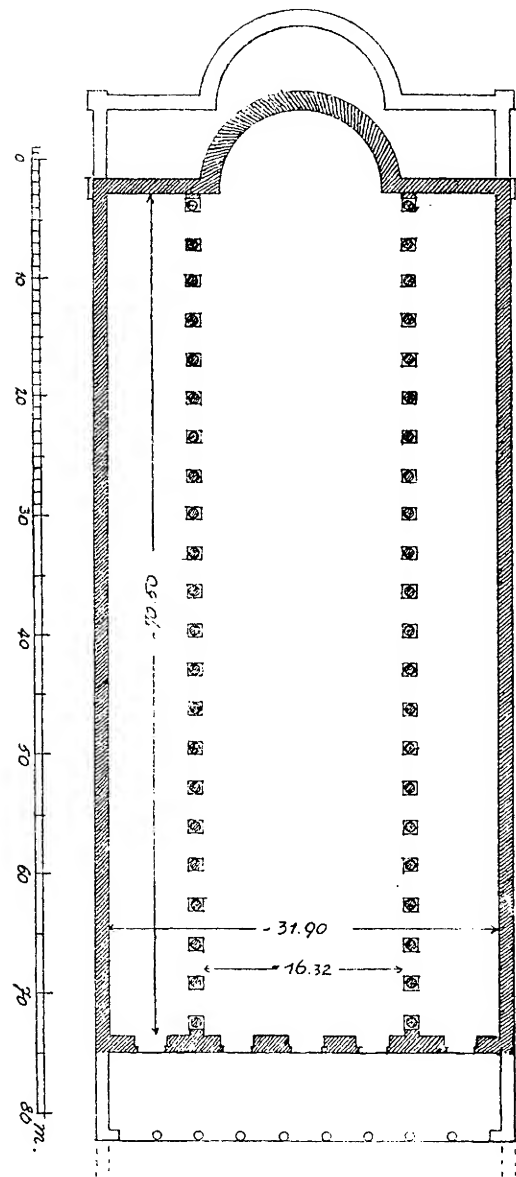


FIG. 93 *Plan of basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome.*

schools, such as those in North Africa, Greece, and Palestine, produced pavements for both secular and religious buildings. Wall and vault mosaics, which had appeared in the fourth century, flourished in the fifth century at such buildings as Sta. Maria Maggiore, the Baptistery of the Orthodox (no. 588), and in the Galerian Rotunda (no. 107)—transformed into a church. Programmatic cycles of wall paintings also appear, as in the clerestories of the naves of Old

St. Peter's (no. 581) and S. Paolo in Rome (nos. 439, 440).

To the four basic types of Early Christian architecture was added in the late fourth and fifth centuries a fifth category: the monastery. Monasticism as a Christian institution dates from the second half of the third century. In its earliest form monasticism was anchorite: the monks were hermits and they lived in caves or hovels. Anchorite monasticism began in Egypt, as did the somewhat later and more successful cenobitical, or communal, monasticism. For communal monasticism, a church, cells for the monks, guest quarters, kitchens, and service buildings were required. Plans to contain these facilities varied by regions, as the ascetic movement spread from Egypt to Syria, Asia Minor, and to the West. Understandably, the earliest preserved monasteries, such as those in the Syrian highlands, drew upon folk or rural architecture, and not upon the cultivated

styles of the cities. But with the growth of support by the emperor and other powerful figures, monasteries, and particularly monastic churches, incorporated the more elevated modes of design. The superbly decorated basilica of St. John Studios, a monastic foundation in Constantinople (fdn. 463), could hold its head up among the finest churches of the capital. The monastery of Qal'at Sim'an (no. 590) in northern Syria combined the functions of a pilgrimage center and a monastic community, foreshadowing a later Western, medieval phenomenon. Although erected in local stone, in scale and quality of decoration it shone in urbane splendor. A comparable ascent on the ladder of architectural status is found a century earlier at Tebéssa (in modern Algeria), where church, conventual buildings, and public areas were organized with almost Roman imperial precision (fig. 95).

A wealth of churches is preserved, at least partially,

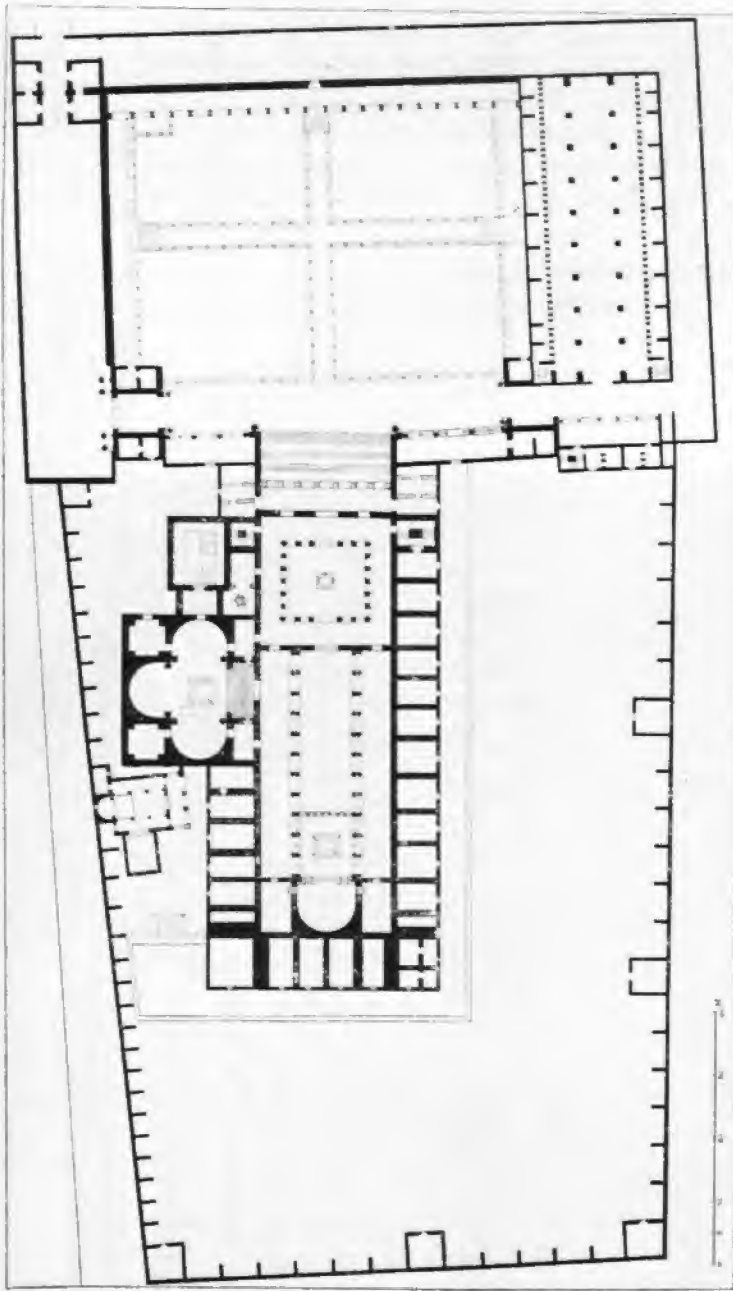
FIG. 94 *Nave of Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome.*



from the sixth century, the last full century of Early Christian building in which a number of works of considerable novelty and daring were produced. Among these, Hagia Sophia (no. 592) stands as one of the finest achievements of antique architecture.

Technically and aesthetically, Hagia Sophia's most

FIG. 95 *Plan of basilica and complex, Tebéssa Algeria.*



conspicuous feature is its vaulting. In the sixth century, application of vaulting to church forms that previously had been wooden-roofed became increasingly widespread, although the first steps in this direction had been taken in the later fifth century. The metamorphosis was sometimes successful, as, for example, when the cruciform scheme, as represented in its wooden-roofed version by Basilica Apostolorum at Milan (no. 585) or Qal'at Sim'an (no. 590), was revised to accommodate domes and barrel vaults, as at St. John the Evangelist at Ephesus and St. David at Thessalonike (late fifth century). Sometimes the adaptation was unsuccessful, as when the wooden-roofed transept-basilica type, represented by Basilica A at Philippi, was covered in Basilica B by barrel vaults, a groin vault, and a crossing dome, which soon collapsed (cf. no. 333). These occasional failures, even as dramatic a collapse as that of the cupola of Hagia Sophia, did not deflect the trend which was to lay the groundwork for later Byzantine vaulted churches.

The patronage of the emperor Justinian was a crucial, though not the only, influence on sixth-century religious building; so vast was his undertaking that it required an entire book—by Procopius, a contemporary historian—to record it. Works distant from the capital, such as the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai (fig. 73) and at Sabratha in Tripolitania, reflect imperial largess less in their architecture than in their imposing decoration. Others closer to the capital, as the church of St. John at Ephesus and of S. Vitale at Ravenna (no. 593), clearly reflect works in the metropolis. It was in Constantinople that Justinian achieved his most distinctive monuments. Despite the relative paucity of churches known from the capital in the fifth century, the city's artistic importance, linked to its political position, was steadily increasing. The structural and decorative skills necessary to an architectural flowering we know already to have existed there, for example in the brick-vaulted technology of fifth-century underground cisterns and in the vocabulary of architectural sculpture in the recently discovered church of St. Polyeuktos (524–527), built by Princess Juliana Anicia (fig. 96). It was the intensity of Justinian's patronage and the genius of his architects that lifted the aims of technology from its subterranean setting to enclose the soaring space of

Hagia Sophia. It was Justinian, too, who covered its walls with ornament previously found in the exquisitely refined church of a sophisticated imperial princess.

Hagia Sophia, indeed, stands even today as the unique capstone of the evolution of an architecture that was both Christian and imperial. One of the most compelling interior spaces ever created, it is Roman and imperial; as a space created to shelter a vast throng assembled for the sharing of the Eucharist, it is emphatically Christian. The disguise of its complex and flawed structural skeleton by a veil of decorative articulation is authentically Roman imperial, but the resulting effect of a luminous, mystic exhilaration is totally appropriate for the setting of the miraculous real presence of the Logos. The Capitoline Temple in Rome, according to ancient historians, was begun by the last Etruscan kings of Rome and completed by the early Republican government. Many times destroyed or damaged, it was always restored as long as Rome remained the capital. Hagia Sophia, the "Great Church," rising in the heart of the New Rome and always rebuilt or restored following destruction or damage, was truly the Christian Roman successor to the pagan Roman Capitoline Temple. It had no successors or offspring, for its position was unique.

Church building, both traditional and innovative, underwent a severe check in the seventh and early eighth centuries. In the Eastern lands subdued by Islam Christian construction ceased. The Aegean and Balkan lands were disrupted externally by Slavic



FIG. 96 *Sculptural niche from St. Polyuktos, Istanbul.*

migrations and depressed internally by a reduced economy—partly the result of Justinian's military and architectural extravagances and partly the effect of the religious dispute over image making. Although the halt of construction was only temporary in these areas, when church building revived in the ninth century it was no longer antique but medieval.

ALFRED FRAZER

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Krautheimer, 1975.

*580 Christian house church

Dura Europos, Syria, about 240–256

Externally indistinguishable from its neighbors, the house was entered from an alley. Its courtyard was enclosed on three sides by rooms of varying sizes and on the fourth by a portico. The remodeling of the house involved little structural change. A partition wall between two rooms on the south side of the courtyard was demolished to create an assembly hall (16 feet 5 inches \times 42 feet 8 inches) for as many as sixty-five to seventy-five persons, and a low platform was set against its short eastern wall. This dais evidently marked the spot where the presiding official of the congregation either sat or stood, but its precise use is otherwise unknown. In the northwest corner room a large brick and rubble basin, set into the floor for a font and surmounted by a heavy vaulted baldachin, was installed against its west wall. As in other religious structures in Dura Europos, including the synagogue (nos. 341, 358), the walls of this room were completely covered with paintings (now in bad condition; no. 360); but it was the only room so adorned. As in those other structures, the most important part of the religious edifice was provided with murals, with one wall as the

focal area. The room is thought by most scholars to be a baptistery. The room to the south (13 \times 23 feet) may have served not only for the instruction of candidates for baptism, but also for the catechumens, who could hear, but not see, the Mass of the Faithful in the hall of assembly in the south wing of the house.

The house may not have been built until about 232/233; its conversion to a house church, including the installation of the font and canopy, has been attributed to the 240s. Since Dura Europos was destroyed by the Sassanian Persians in about 256, the converted house served the Christians for no more than ten to fifteen years.

This provides important information about the origins of early church architecture. It represents one of several types of the Early Christian house churches and must be typical of the Mesopotamian but not of the Mediterranean form of the house church. This building is the earliest, the best-preserved, and the most securely dated house church so far found; and it is the only surviving church antedating the fifth century with a cycle of pictorial biblical wall decoration.

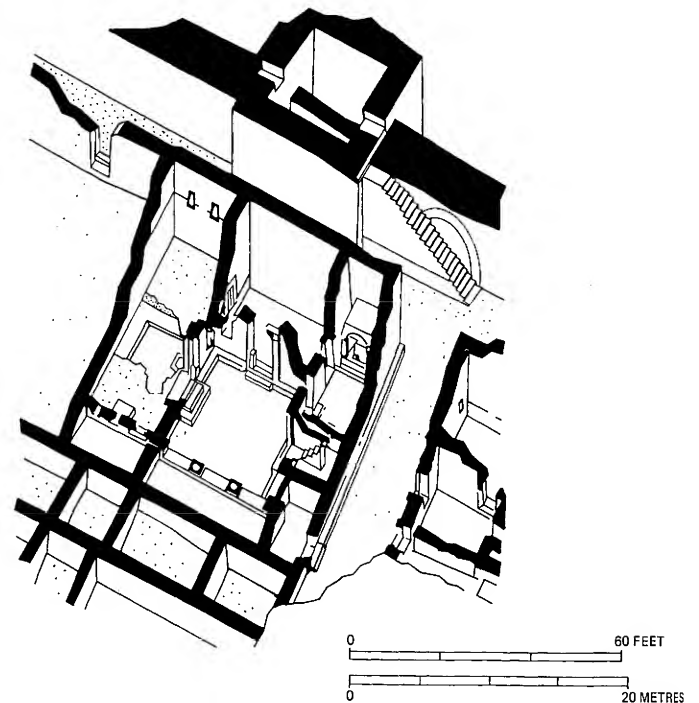
W. E. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Von Gerkan, 1964; Wessel, 1966; Kraeling, 1967.

No. 580, reconstruction of baptistery showing font



Plan of no. 580



*581 The Vatican Basilica (Old St. Peter's)

Rome, about 320–327

Total length, about 199 m. (653 ft.); church,
interior plan, about 63 × 108 m. (208 × 355 ft.);
nave height, about 32 m. (105 ft. 6 in.)

The Vatican Basilica, the largest of the six churches in Rome endowed by Constantine, was intended as the locus of veneration of the apostle Peter, the Roman Church's founder. It was meant also to serve as a funerary basilica for the burial of the faithful and the celebration of their rites of remembrance.

The two distinct functions are expressed in the plan. The focus of the first was on the apse and the long, narrow transverse hall onto which it opened. The center of the apse was directly over the tomb or cenotaph of St. Peter. Standing in a middle-class cemetery on the Vatican Hill, the tomb had been an object of respect by Christians at least since about 170. The second function was accommodated in the large five-aisled basilica and in the forecourt or atrium to the east. Equal in size to the nave, the atrium served as a marshaling area for pilgrims and for festival overflows. It contained a fountain for ablutions.

The old cemetery, on sloping ground, was buried

to provide a level surface for the church. Only the upper part of the Petrine Shrine, newly sheathed in marble and porphyry, was left visible (cf. the Holy Sepulcher, no. 582). It stood beneath a baldachin of four twisted marble columns, the gift of Constantine, a horizontal entablature, and diagonal, arched ribs. It was joined to the corners of the apse by extensions of the entablature and two additional twisted columns, as represented on the Pola casket (fig. 83). The conch of the apse was covered with a gold-ground mosaic, with an inscription glorifying the Father and the Son.

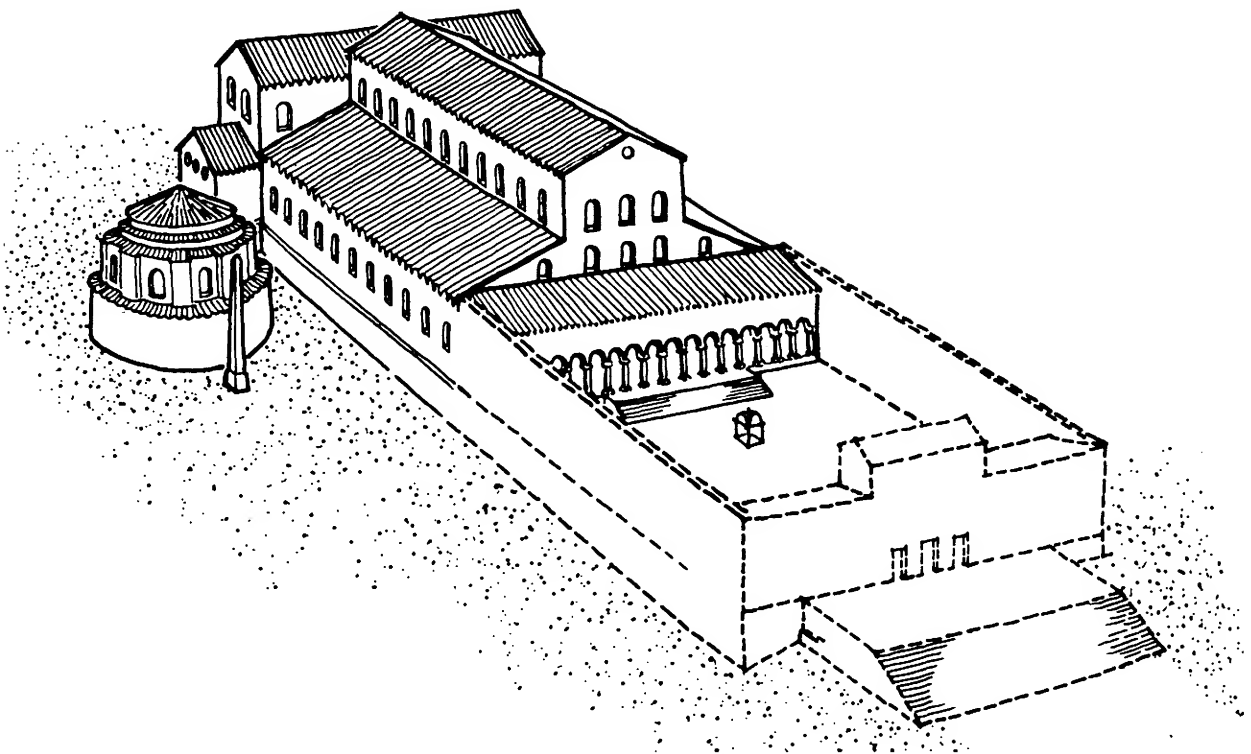
All of the building's columns—their capitals and the entablature of the main nave colonnades—were spolia. Arcades divided the aisles. The roof was timber-framed. Over the triumphal arch, between the nave and the transept hall, there was a mosaic with the inscription:

QUOD DUCE TE MUNDUS SURREXIT AD ASTRA
TRIUMPHANS
HANC CONSTANTINUS VICTOR TIBI CONDIDIT
AULAM

(Because under thy leadership the world arose
triumphant to the skies,
Constantine, likewise victor, has founded this hall
in thy honor).

The church was not begun before 319/320, but was probably complete by 329. The atrium's construction dragged on long thereafter. Although in

Reconstruction drawing of no. 581



use by the century's end, it was only completely enclosed as a quadriporticus during Symmachus' pontificate (498–514).

Under Leo the Great (440–461), the facade of the church was decorated with a mosaic of the Agnus Dei, the apocalyptic beasts, and the four and twenty elders. To our knowledge, the exterior was otherwise undecorated, depending for its effect on its size and its simple masses.

The overall compositional sequence of stairway, gatehouse, open atrium, the nave with its noble files of columns, the arch of triumph, and the enframed shrine of the apostle was a direct extension of the earlier aesthetic of Roman imperial architecture.

Although five-aisled basilicas are documented elsewhere, the Vatican basilica exerted little direct influence on subsequent Early Christian architecture. But in the ninth century, during the Carolingian renaissance, the basilica had a strong effect on churches erected in the new Holy Roman Empire. It stood remarkably unaltered until its destruction was begun in 1506 to make way for its Renaissance and baroque successor. The last remnants of its facade and atrium were razed in 1613.

A. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Krautheimer, Corbett, and Frazer, 1976, V, pp. 165–279.

*582 Church of the Holy Sepulcher

Jerusalem, 325/326 and later
122 m. (400 ft.) from propylaeum to rotunda

The church compound of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, enclosing both Golgotha and the tomb of Christ, known as the Anastasis (Resurrection), is the most holy site in Christendom. Commissioned by Constantine in 325/326, it was designed by the architect Zenobius (a Syrian or Palestinian) and the presbyter Eustathius from Constantinople, possibly a member of the imperial treasury. The complex was situated in a densely developed sector of Roman Jerusalem and was composed of an alternating sequence of open and closed spaces: an atrium, a covered basilica, a porticoed courtyard,

Golgotha, a baptistery, and the grave of Christ. Though probably part of the original plan, the Anastasis rotunda over the tomb had not yet been erected when the basilica was solemnly consecrated in 336; it was erected later, probably about 340–350, and surely before the end of the fourth century.

In 614 the Persians burned the church. In 1009 the sultan al-Hakim ordered the razing of the basilica, and it was never rebuilt. Some thirty-three years later the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX Monomachus launched a major rebuilding of the Anastasis rotunda that was completed in 1048. In 1099 the Crusaders arrived in Jerusalem and obliterated the eleventh-century facade of the rotunda to make room for a Gothic chevet extending toward the east; their building survives to this day. A fire in 1808 destroyed about two-thirds of the rotunda and led to extensive remodeling and the construction of the present dome.

Aside from the rotunda, only scattered vestiges remain of the Constantinian project. The atrium, entered from a propylaeum, was a shallow, colonnaded, irregular quadrilateral. Excavations in 1968 established that the west end of the basilica terminated in a semicircular apse flanked by rectangular chambers, and these remains disclose that the basilica was not on axis with the rotunda. Pending further excavations, we can reconstruct the basilica's plan only from the testimony of Eusebius of Caesarea, a church historian who visited the site in 336. According to him (*Vita Constantini* 3. 26 ff.), the basilica was entered through three doorways and comprised a nave flanked by double aisles and probably galleries, with many columns, variegated marble wall revetments, and a gilded coffered ceiling.

Excavations since 1959 have revealed that a porticoed courtyard lay behind the apse of the basilica and that a second, much smaller courtyard took up its southern flank, in front of the Rock of Calvary, which may have been housed in a separate church. They have also disclosed that extensive parts of the fourth-century rotunda survive. Originally, the edifice was a monumental rotunda 110 feet in diameter and consisted of a center space enclosing the rock-cut tomb of Christ in its exact center and an ambulatory of irregular shape, off which projected three semicircular niches on the main axes. (In Constantinian times, the sepulcher, a rock-cut tomb of traditional Jewish type, had been liberated from a rocky cliff, encased in an

aedicula, and surrounded with a columnar, pedimented porch and a pyramidal roof.) To the east the main facade of the rotunda was a rectilinear wall pierced by many entrances for easy access. Hence, the rotunda exterior was shaped like the letter D. While the exact plan and elevation of the interior supports dividing the center space from the ambulatory cannot be ascertained, it has been suggested that there were twenty square pillars on the main axes forming a cross and four sets of three columns each in the diagonals. The clumsily proportioned columns of pinkish stone rested on high plinths. Whether the original rotunda contained galleries is debatable. Presumably it was covered by a dome, probably a timber

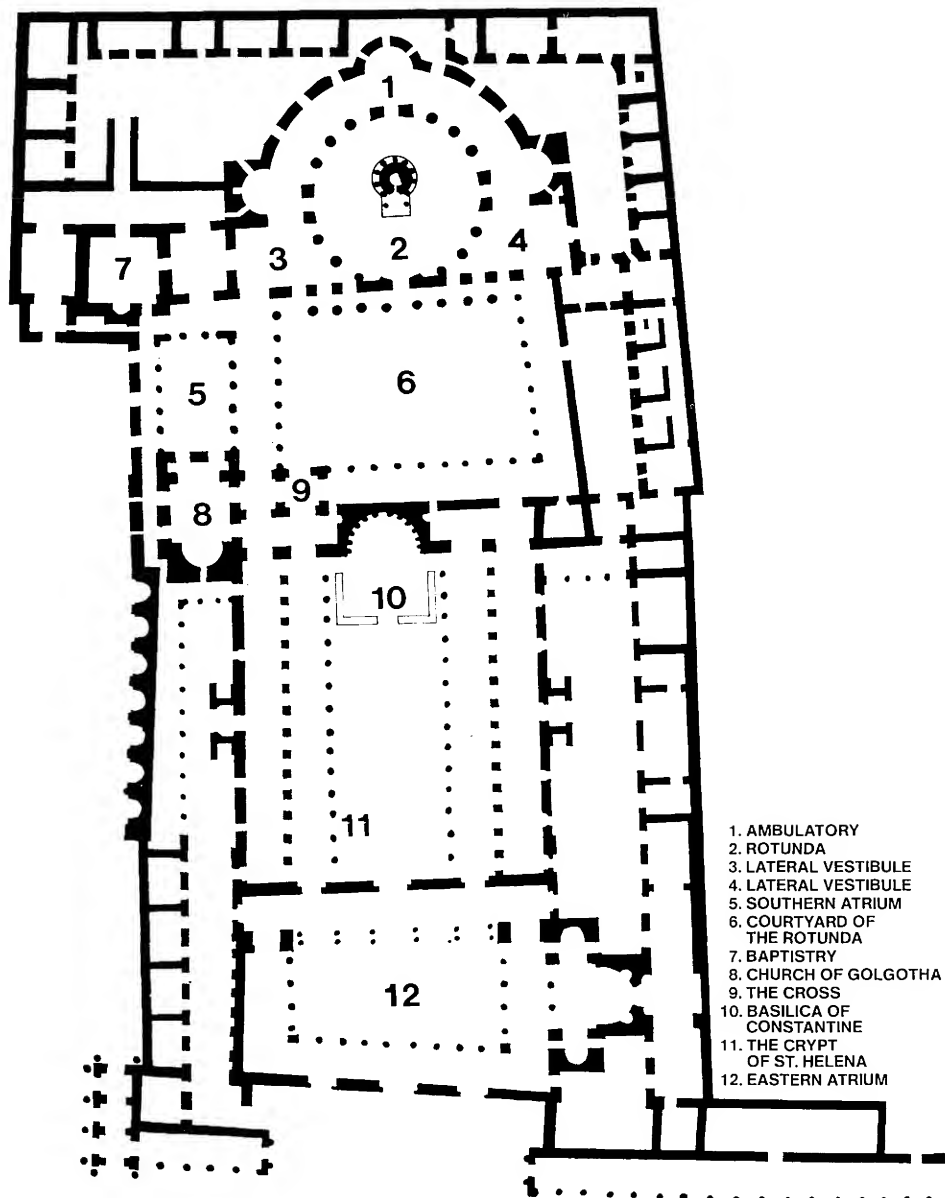
construction. A local tradition of domed centralized buildings extended from the early second-century Marneion in Gaza to the late seventh-century Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.

That the aisled basilica was modeled on a Roman secular basilica is possible but unconfirmed. The rotunda descends from a tradition of Roman imperial mausolea-heroa, such as that of Diocletian in his palace at Split (no. 104). The rotunda became the most frequently copied building in the Middle Ages.

W. E. K.

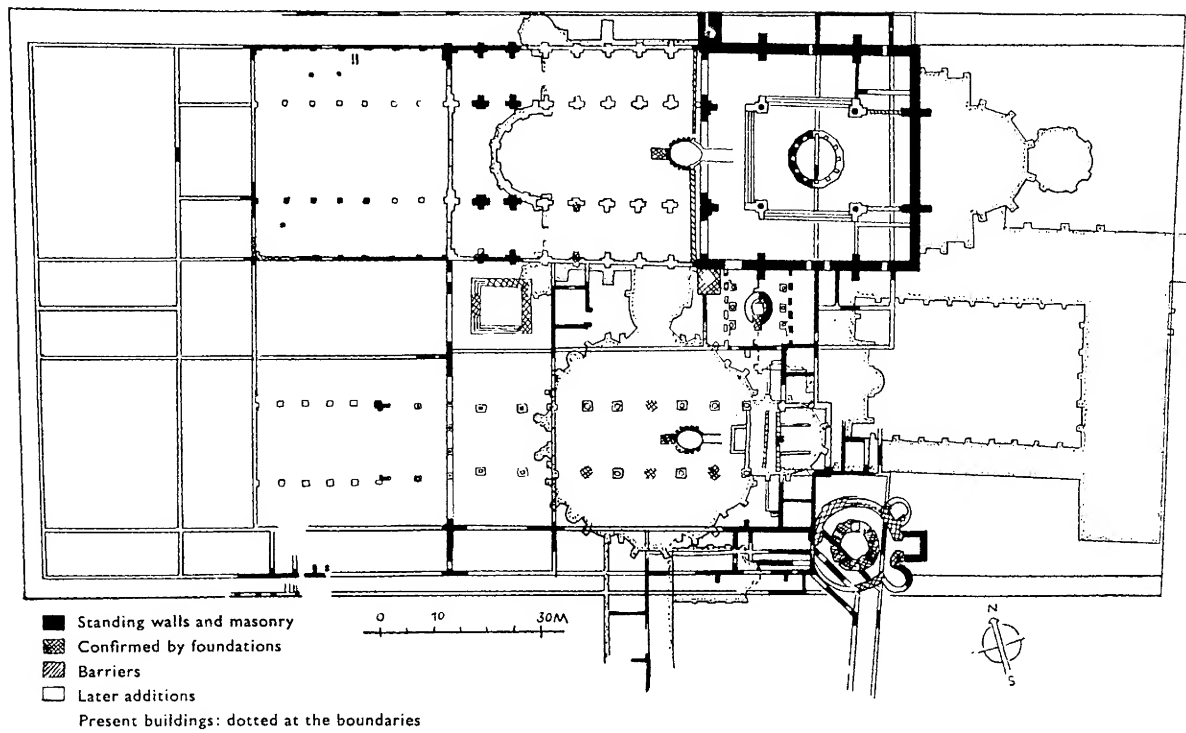
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vincent and Abel, 1926, II, 1, pp. 89–300; Harvey, 1935; Wistrand, 1952; Corbo, 1969; Coüasnon, 1974; Krautheimer, 1975, pp. 62–65, 77–78.

Plan of no. 582





No. 583: above, model; below, plan



*583 Double church

Trier, 326–383

Phase one: about 15,500 sq. m. (167,000 sq. ft.);
north church: 38 × 73 m. (125 × 240 ft.); south
church: 30 × 73 m. (100 × 240 ft.)

The Early Christian cathedral of Trier, destroyed nearly a millennium ago, has been dramatically revealed in excavations conducted since 1945 by T. K. Kempf under the present Romanesque cathedral and the adjacent thirteenth-century “Liebfrauenkirche.” The wooden model illustrated presents the results of this investigation: a plausible, but at many points only hypothetical, reconstruction of the original cathedral group.

In 326 a lavish, possibly imperial residence and many surrounding buildings occupying a total area of one and one-half city blocks were demolished, and the huge cathedral was erected on the site. The original design included two parallel three-aisled basilicas with rectangular presbyteries at their eastern ends. They had atria at the west and were joined by an aisled room at the east and by a square baptistery, added after 335.

Immediately after its completion, the north church was radically changed. Perhaps about 340, a niched dodecagonal shrine, about 33 feet in diameter, was constructed in the eastern part of the nave; the outer walls of that end of the basilica were then thickened and raised to enclose a great hall approximately 140 feet square. The square hall collapsed around mid-century; it was rebuilt on the original foundations, and apparently with the same elevation, between 367 and 383. The wooden model represents the second hall, masonry of which still survives, embedded to a height of 82 feet in the Romanesque cathedral.

The square hall communicated with the basilica through a single enormous arch toward the nave, and two pairs of superposed archways into the aisles and galleries. Inside, four tall granite columns, 40 feet high, marked the corners of a smaller square and may have carried a high clerestory, a kind of colossal canopy over the dodecagon directly below. There were apparently four towers at the corners of the hall, and the outer walls each contained ten large windows in two rows. The floor was paved in white marble, and glass mosaics covered the walls from the windowsills to the

ceiling. The hall may also have had geometrically painted ceilings, like those that have been found in fragments in the south church and in the baptistery. The total effect of the hall—with four great arches soaring between the columns, abundant light, and brilliant decoration—must have been breathtaking.

The cathedral is related to contemporary buildings elsewhere, especially imperial foundations. The combination of centralized martyrion (the square hall over the shrine) and basilica recalls the Holy Sepulcher (no. 582) and even more Constantine’s church at Bethlehem, where a basilica and octagon were fused. The square hall may also be compared to the towered S. Lorenzo in Milan (no. 584), which has a strikingly similar silhouette. The ensemble is counted among the numerous “double” (or “twin”) cathedrals found throughout the empire in the fourth century. The functioning of these cathedral groups is still poorly understood and probably differed from place to place. At Trier, the south church, with its chancel barriers and altar, its heated tribune for the clergy, and its direct access to the baptistery, must have been the bishop’s seat—the cathedral proper—while the north church was a martyrion, at least after 340. Its relic, though apparently very precious, has yet firmly to be identified.

D. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Parlasca, 1959, pp. 63–64; Kempf, 1968; Wightman, 1971, pp. 110–117; Thomas, 1972, pp. 335–357.

*584 S. Lorenzo

Milan, about 355–374, or about 390

Church diameter, along central north-south axis
47.9 m. (157 ft.); atrium, internal dimensions
25 × 28.4 m. (82 × 93 ft.)

One of the largest, best-preserved, and most impressive churches of the Early Christian period, S. Lorenzo can still be experienced under something close to the conditions prevailing when it was erected. Although the church was extensively remodeled in the twelfth and sixteenth centuries,

the original structure is preserved in its main lines and in many of its details.

Situated over 650 feet to the south of the city walls along a major Roman highway, the church compound originally consisted of a center space 78 feet square that opened into ambulatories and galleries through double-storied curved columnar exedrae, perimeter walls that repeated the plan of inner quatrefoil, four tall corner towers and apsed narthex, a huge colonnaded (?) atrium, a monumental propylaeum consisting of sixteen reused Corinthian columns, and two projecting chapels. The octagonal chapels laid out to the east (S. Ippolito) and to the south (S. Aquilino) are original, while the Chapel of S. Sisto to the north was added under Bishop Lawrence (489–510/512).

From the outset, the straight walls of a drum rose above the roofs over the curved perimeter walls and enclosed a central covering; the exact form of this drum has not been firmly established. Although pyramidal and domical wooden roofs have been proposed, it is more likely that a groined vault covered the center space. Like the walls of the church, it would have been constructed of brick. The elaborately buttressed corner towers would have absorbed the directional thrusts of such a vault; a vault in the eleventh century is documented. The original silhouette of the church probably bore close resemblance to the north basilica of the double church at Trier, as it was remodeled about 380 by the emperor Gratian (no. 583).

The church was sumptuously decorated with a pavement, probably in opus sectile, marble wall plaques, stucco wall friezes, stucco ornaments in the window soffits, and, according to an eleventh-century source, a mosaic on the central vault. The interior walls of S. Aquilino carried porphyry slabs,



No. 584, *propylaeum*

and its semidomes contained figural mosaics, the earliest preserved in Milan.

The church was certainly erected in the second half of the fourth century. Since it goes unmentioned in documents of that time, its exact dating varies according to modern interpretations of the style of its masonry, structural techniques, decorative features, and ecclesiastical function or functions.

The specific functions of the church compound remain unresolved. Grabar (1943, I, p. 408) identifies the church as a martyrium, but no relic has been discovered at the site. The patrocinium of St. Lawrence dates from the sixth century. Other identifications of S. Lorenzo include an imperial palace church, a memorial church, a cathedral, and a church serving army units stationed in Milan. The size and opulence of the complex strongly suggest that an emperor subsidized the high cost of its construction and possibly provided the land for it, but this would not establish that the church was intended specifically or exclusively for use by that donor and his retinue. From the outset, S.



Aquilino was probably planned as an imperial mausoleum, which would explain why the Laurentian complex was situated to the south of the city walls: Roman law required all burials to take place outside city walls. The function of S. Ippolito remains unknown.

The church is not unique. It is the earliest dated example of some twenty aisled tetraconchs that are known from the Early Christian and medieval periods. The others are located in Italy, North Africa, Greece and the Balkans, Asia Minor, Syria and northern Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Soviet Azerbaijan. Whether this type of building existed before the second half of the fourth century and whether it existed in pagan architecture (e.g., imperial palaces) and was subsequently assimilated into Christian architecture remain unsettled issues.

W. E. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Calderini, Chierici, and Cecchelli, 1951; Kinney, 1970–1971; Kinney, 1972; Lewis (2), 1973; Kleinbauer (2), 1976.

*585 Basilica Apostolorum (S. Nazaro)

Milan, about 382–386

Nave with apse: min. L. 58 × 14.2 m. (190 ft. × 46 ft. 7 in.); crossarms each 18.5 × 14.2 m. (60 ft. 8 in. × 46 ft. 7 in.)

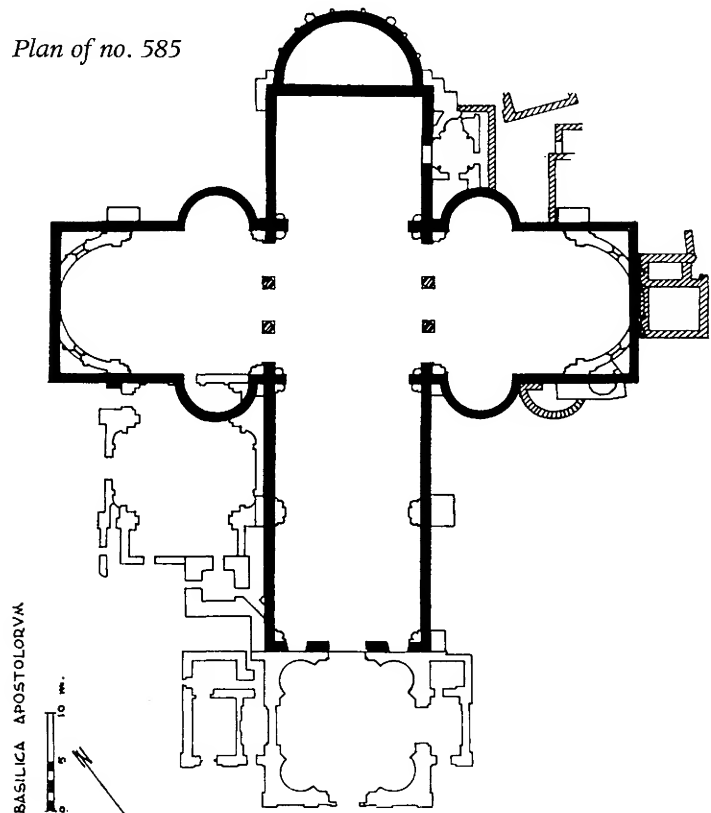
The Basilica Apostolorum was one of three churches built by St. Ambrose (bishop, 374–397) in the extramural cemeteries ringing Milan. He dedicated it in 386 with relics of the apostles John, Andrew, and Thomas. Presumably brandea, cloths touched to the saints' remains, these relics were kept in a small silver box. Ten years later, when Ambrose discovered a local saint, Nazarius, buried unmarked in a garden, he transferred the body to the Basilica Apostolorum, which since then has been called S. Nazaro.

The rising walls of Ambrose's basilica were almost entirely lost to fires in 1071 and 1075, after which the church was rebuilt in its present vaulted, abbreviated form. Excavations have made it possible to reconstruct the primitive building. The nave was intersected by two crossarms, each with two

semicircular exedrae near the nave and a rectangular projection at the opposite end. The projections were probably vestibules, though their doorways have not been found. The crossarms were screened from the nave by arcades standing under larger arches that sprang from stone piers embedded in the nave walls. The nave was presumably entered from the south, but the southern wall has not been uncovered. The north end opened in a wide apse, which may have been an addition associated with the translation of St. Nazarius; if so, the north wall was originally rectilinear. Nave, crossarms, and exedrae were covered with pitched roofs and flat wooden ceilings.

The Basilica Apostolorum may have been patterned on a like-named church in Constantinople, sponsored by Constantine, which also seems to have been cruciform. Like the Constantinopolitan church, the Milanese basilica was centralized in plan, with the nave and the crossarms being equal in width and approximately equal in total length. In elevation, to be sure, the centralization was much less apparent, for the lower, screened-off

Plan of no. 585



crossarms were clearly subordinate to the high, continuous nave. Nevertheless, the building was understood as a cross, rather than as a hall with annexes; witness the inscription made to accompany the relics of St. Nazarius:

CONDIDIT AMBROSIUS TEMPLUM DOMINOQUE
SACRAVIT
NOMINE APOSTOLICO MUNERA, RELIQUIIS.
FORMA CRUCIS TEMPLUM EST, TEMPLUM VICTORIA
CHRISTI,
SACRA TRIUMPHALIS SIGNAT IMAGO LOCUM

(Ambrose founded and dedicated a temple to the Lord
in the apostles' name, with a gift of relics.
Cruciform is the temple, the temple is the victory
of Christ;
the sacred triumphal image marks this place).

The role of the Basilica Apostolorum was primarily symbolic; it was a victory monument, probably to the conquest of heresy and possibly also of paganism. Its commemorative nature may explain why no trace of an Early Christian altar has been found; in function, it was perhaps more like Old St. Peter's (no. 581) than an ordinary parish church. In execution, the Basilica Apostolorum is in poignant contrast to its neighbor S. Lorenzo (no. 584). There were no mosaic-covered vaults, few if any marble columns and capitals, and the masonry was a rough mixture of broken bricks, roof tiles, and other debris. Ambrose had no state purse, and he even contemplated melting down church plate to finance his buildings. His basilica was therefore somewhat austere; but it was also a forceful and unusual design, characteristic of its remarkable sponsor.

D. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Villa, 1963; Lewis (1), 1969; Lewis (2), 1969; Bovini (1), 1970, pp. 179–217; Tolotti, 1973, pp. 741–754.

*586 Sta. Sabina

Rome, about 422–432

L. including apse 63 m. (206 ft. 8 in.); total

W. 24.8 m. (81 ft. 3 in.); H. nave walls 18.9 m.
(62 ft.)

Sta. Sabina is a classic example of the early Roman parish basilica; it represents a standard form and is elegant and precise in execution. After a rigorous twentieth-century restoration, it also appears fairly pristine; the only obvious remaining anachronisms are the painting of the apse and its surrounding arch (sixteenth century and later) and the medieval disposition of the schola cantorum and the altar.

The plan reduces elaborate Constantinian prototypes to the quintessential elements of nave, apse, two aisles, and porch; it is a plan that often recurs in Roman churches of the later fourth and fifth centuries. As is usual in this building type, the colonnades carry arcades instead of trabeation; the upper nave walls contain rows of windows aligned with the intercolumniations; and the nave and aisles are timber-roofed. Typical too were the mosaic, now lost, that once decorated the apse vault, the marble veneer of the apse and nave walls (restored), and the ornamental painting in the aisles. Another characteristic feature is the use of spolia: not only columns and capitals (no. 247), but even bricks. Extraordinary, however, is the meticulous uniformity of the spoils, normally adopted in ill-assorted lots (cf. no. 581). The twenty-four fluted Corinthian columns and their capitals, apparently of the later second century, form an almost perfect set, and establish a tone of opulence and harmony which is echoed throughout the building. The wooden doors opening into the nave, over 17 feet high and carved with twenty-four scenes from the Old and New Testaments, are unique in Rome (no. 438).

The purity of the colonnade may seem classicistic, but, on the whole, Sta. Sabina is fully Late Antique, an elaboration of the same trends previously seen at Trier (no. 102). As in the Aula Palatina, a bland and functional exterior is contrasted with a brilliant inner space; the interior is dominated by close-set arched windows, which are very large in proportion to the height of the wall. The windows were filled with mica set into gypsum grills, and the light that filtered through them played upon the flat polished surfaces of walls covered with opus sectile and mosaic. A major difference from the Aula Palatina is the colonnade that perforates the lower part of the wall. Since the potential ceiling span at Sta. Sabina is slightly smaller than that at Trier (about 81 feet compared to about 88 feet 6 inches), the subdivision of the space by columns cannot be explained as a merely



structural necessity. The aisles did function liturgically, providing separate standing places for different classes of worshipers when the nave was cleared for clerical processions. And they make a great aesthetic difference: having no windows, they are a foil for the luminous nave. Light, a common metaphor for God, enters the building from above, is brightest over the altar and clergy, and only indirectly reaches the aisles.

A mosaic inscription on the west wall, over the entrance, announces that "HAEC QUAE MIRARIS" ("these things at which you marvel") were erected by Peter of Illyrium, a priest of the Roman Church,

in the time of Pope Celestine I (422–432). Like most parish churches of the time, Peter's basilica was dedicated to Christ, but the memory lingered of Sabina, possibly the donor of a house church (cf. no. 580) that the basilica replaced. Canonized by popular sentiment, she later became its titular saint.

D. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Günter, 1968, pp. 37–65, 73–74; Krautheimer, Corbett, and Frankl, 1970, IV, pp. 72–98; Naumann, 1974; Saxer, 1975, pp. 367–368.

*587 Church of the Virgin Acheiropoietos

Thessalonike, about 450–460, and later
Narthex, nave, and aisles, excluding the apse,
43.9 × 28.4 m. (144 × 93 ft.)

In general lines, but not in details, the Church of the Virgin Acheiropoietos (the name refers to a miraculous icon of the Virgin “not made by human hands”) represents a standard type of galleried basilica constructed in the northern Aegean coastlands in the fifth century. Its plan comprises a narthex, a nave, two aisles, galleries, and a semi-circular apse.

The walls are of alternating bands of brick and mortared rubblework; the roof is timber-framed. The nave is separated on either side from the aisles and the galleries by arcades of twelve uniform Proconnesian marble columns each. A wide triple arch (tribelon) leads from the nave to the narthex, which was flanked by corner bays. The west wall of the narthex lacks a central doorway but contains two lateral doorways; this unusual feature may be an adaptation for some feature of the local liturgy. An atrium was perhaps laid out to the west, as in Basilica A at nearby Amphipolis.

Additional entrances were in the north and south walls, a characteristic feature of preiconoclastic churches in Constantinople, which is also found in Hagios Demetrios in Thessalonike (fig. 92). Access to the galleries was by an exterior ramp to the north of the narthex, an element also occurring in Constantinople (cf. Hagia Sophia, no. 592). The walls in both stories were pierced by many tripartite, sexpartite, and octopartite windows subdivided by piers with half columns. It is uncertain whether the nave had a clerestory; even without one the church is well lit.

The chancel extended from the apse to the third pair of columns. A low platform filled the apse, in front of which stood an altar under a ciborium flanked by two rectangular benches for the clergy. Parapets were once inserted between the columns of the ground-floor colonnades, segregating the nave from the aisles, an arrangement found in churches in Greece and the Balkans; the purpose of such a design is unknown.

The interior decoration is rich and varied. The nave was paved with large plaques of white-veined marble; whether the aisle walls were marble incrustated is uncertain. The ground-floor columns carry composite capitals of the Theodosian type, with fine-toothed acanthus leaves, and their impost blocks are carved with foliate decoration on the



side toward the nave. The shafts in the tribelon are of verde antico and also carry composite capitals. The gallery columns are Ionic, with impost capitals. The soffits of the arcades preserve their original mosaic decoration.

The masonry, brick stamps, and decorative details point to a date of about 450–460. An inscription in one of the soffit mosaics of the tribelon identifies the donor as a certain Andrew. The apse was rebuilt at least once (sixth century), and the frescoes in the south aisle are late Byzantine.

W. E. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Diehl, *Le Tourneau*, and Saladin, 1918, I, pp. 35–58; Pelekanides, 1949, pp. 11–14; Xyngopoulos (1), 1952; Xyngopoulos (2), 1952; Bernardi Ferrero, 1975.

588 Baptistery of the Orthodox

Ravenna, late 4th century (?), remodeled about 450–460

12.11 m. (39 ft. 9 in.) interior diam. between corners,
11.24–11.47 m. (36 ft. 10 in.–37 ft. 7 in.)

The Baptistery of the Orthodox—so-called to distinguish it from the later Baptistery of the Arians, also in Ravenna—provides a rare example of a nearly complete Early Christian interior decor. The building was probably erected under Bishop Ursus (d. 396 or about 429), who also sponsored the adjoining cathedral. The baptistery is octagonal, with four projecting niches in alternate sides. There is a clerestory with eight windows, and a pendentive dome, concealed on the exterior by vertical extensions of the octagonal walls (with late medieval arcading) and a tiled roof. Inside, the zone of niches is articulated by eight blind arches; the windows above are framed by triple arcades resting on Ionic columns and impost blocks. Modillions inserted over the corner imposts support the dome pendentives, which curve over the windows to echo the arcading of the zone below.

Because of subsidence in the marshy terrain, the lowest parts of the baptistery walls are now underground. In compensation, the pavement was raised nearly ten feet, perhaps in the Middle Ages,



No. 588

and the columns that first framed the niches were replaced by shorter ones with different capitals. The much reworked opus sectile has been transferred from the lower parts of the straight walls to the lunettes. The mosaics in the adjoining niches are gone, except for inscriptions on the framing arches, and the stucco scrolls in the lunettes over the windows are also lost, though now simulated in paint. All of the baptistery's other ornamentation is intact, albeit restored in many places.

The decoration was commissioned by Bishop Neon (about 451–after 458). He ordered only one structural alteration: the replacement of the original wooden ceiling with the present dome. Thanks to its construction in *tubi fittili* (cf. no. 593), the

dome is so astonishingly thin (about 10 inches) that it could be dropped like an eggshell over the preexisting eight walls, themselves only about 3 feet thick, without the need for reinforcements. The remodeled interior was completely enveloped with a brilliant mantle of mosaics and polychromed stucco. Standing figures with books and scrolls, depicted in stucco in the clerestory and in mosaic in the ground-floor spandrels, are presumably Old Testament predecessors of the crown-bearing apostles who appear in the dome. In the apex of the dome is an image of the Baptism of Christ, at once a celestial vision and the historical prototype for every neophyte who stood in the font below.

After the Eucharist, Baptism was the most important sacrament in the early Church, and a highly symbolic rite. As explained by St. Paul (Rom. 6:4), the catechumen with his burden of sin died in the font, and was resurrected as an immaculate neophyte, garbed in white. The baptistery mirrored this ritual: for example, the neophytes' procession to the altar was echoed by the apostles,

solemnly moving around the dome. The eight enclosing walls, found also in tombs (cf. no. 104), represent the spiritual rebirth, for eight, the number of the octave and of the first day of the new week, was a number of new beginnings and therefore of resurrection.

D. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kostof, 1965; Bovini, 1974; Deichmann, 1974, II, 1, pp. 15–47.

*589 S. Stefano Rotondo

Rome, 468–483

Outer diam. 65.8 m. (216 ft.); central cylinder:
diam. 22.5 m. (74 ft.); original H. probably
22.5 m. (74 ft.)

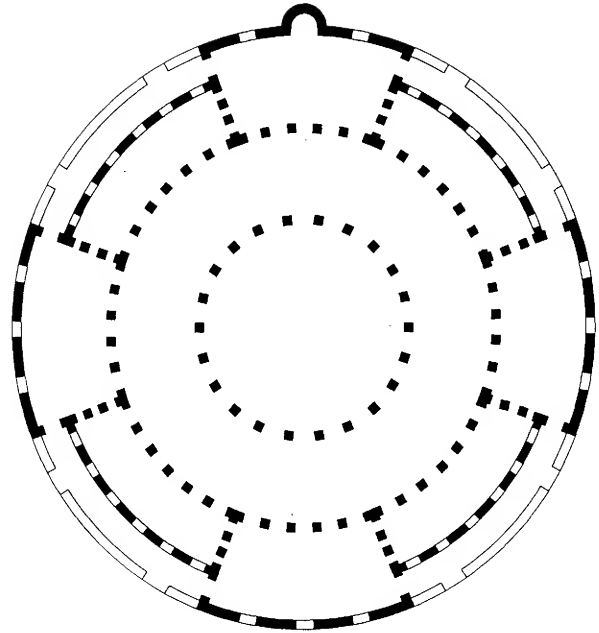
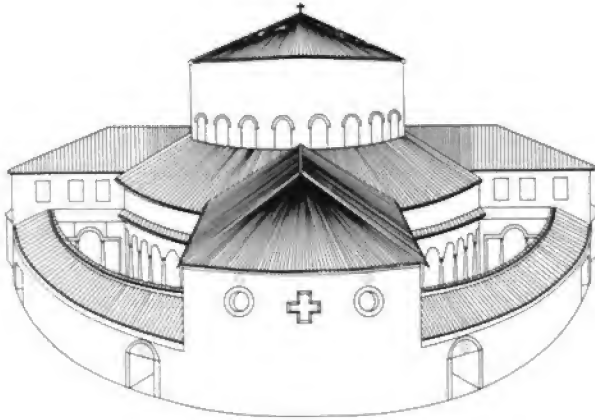
S. Stefano Rotondo was built by Pope Simplicius (468–483) on the Caelian Hill, in southwestern Rome, on a site previously occupied by a third-century barracks of the imperial secret police and by a Mithraeum (fig. 21), one of three in the capital subsequently covered by churches (S. Clemente and Sta. Prisca). S. Stefano, dedicated to the first martyr (d. about A.D. 37), was not originally a parish church. Although no relics of St. Stephen are known to have been in it, the church must have been intended as a surrogate martyrium.

S. Stefano is a remarkable fusion of the central and the cruciform church types. The plan comprises three concentric rings; the outermost intercepted by eight radial walls to form four halls on the cardinal axes, making the cruciform element, and four open courts on the diagonals. The presence of both forms is peculiarly advertised in the windows of the outer wall of the eastern hall—a cross-shaped window set between two oculi. If symbolism were intended, the cross would represent an instrument of sacrifice and triumph, the circle and its spatial extension general cosmic timelessness. The Anastasis in Jerusalem (no. 582), the archetypal martyr shrine, has been suggested as a model for S. Stefano. If this is so, the model was given an exceptionally sophisticated Roman interpretation.

The superstructure resembles the cross section of a three-aisled basilica revolved through 360

No. 588





No. 589: above, drawing; right, plan

degrees. The "nave" or rotunda is a tall cylinder. Twenty-two reused gray granite shafts with new Ionic capitals and a horizontal entablature support a clerestory containing twenty-two round arched windows. Innocent III (1130–1143) built the diaphragm wall on colossal columns, which divide the space in half in order to support a ceiling and to stiffen the walls. The cylinder was timber-roofed; initially, a lath and plaster dome may have been intended to hang from it. The "side aisle," or ambulatory, opened to the axial halls through five columnar arcades. Those on the east-west axis, Corinthian and taller than the Ionic arcades on the counteraxis, give the structure a subtle orientation comparable to that at Sta. Costanza (no. 108). The ambulatory opened into the diagonal courts through six, even lower Ionic arcades. The church was entered through the diagonal courts—miniatria—by pairs of doors in the perimeter wall. Most of the interior walls were sheathed in now vanished marble revetment either by Simplicius or by John I (523–526); Felix IV (526–530) added mosaics.

S. Stefano, although coarse in some details, was a brilliant achievement in spatial design and illumination. It represents a survival, or perhaps a revival, of an interest in a fanciful, but controlled, geometric play of line and form from the high

imperial period (cf. the entrance wing of the peristyle of the Domus Flavia of Domitian's Palace, the Teatro Marittimo, and the Piccolo Palazzo at Hadrian's villa near Tivoli).

A. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Krautheimer, Corbett, and Frankl, 1970, IV, pp. 199–240.

*590 Church of St. Symeon Stylites and monastery

Qal'at Sim'an, Syria, about 475–500, and later
L. of church including narthex: east to west
89.9 m. (295 ft.); north to south, 79.3 m. (260 ft.);
W. each basilican arm 24.9 m. (82 ft.)

Perhaps the most monumental and important church built in the east Mediterranean before Justinian's Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (no. 592) was the cruciform church and adjoining monastic complex at Qal'at Sim'an in the uplands east of Antioch-on-the-Orontes, northern Syria. It commemorated the place where St. Symeon Stylites (about 390–459) had lived atop three

successively taller pillars. As the ascetic's fame and influence spread from Arabia to Spain and Gaul, pilgrims came to the site to hear his sermons and to receive his blessings.

This church occupies the width of the crest of a rocky hill. An octagon, centered on the saint's ultimate column (cf. the Holy Sepulcher, no. 582; the Vatican Basilica, no. 581), opens on alternate sides into four basilican arms. The eastern arm contains triple apses. Access for throngs of pilgrims was through a narthex at the southern arm and through twenty-seven doors in the perimeter walls. The exterior walls were constructed of regularly cut limestone and were richly articulated with columns, brackets, and moldings; the abundant carved architectural sculpture was classical, of high quality, and, in some cases, painted.

A domical or pyramidal covering in timber for the octagon must have been projected, but whether it was ever executed is unconfirmed. When Evagrius wrote about the church in A.D. 560 (*Ecclesiastical History* 1. 14), the octagon was an open courtyard.

The first example of the cruciform plan was the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, built by Constantine or his son Constantius II. Similar to it was the cruciform church, probably the martyrium of St. Babylas, in Kaoussié, on the outskirts of Antioch, and the fifth-century cruci-

form martyrium of St. John the Evangelist in Ephesus. The closest parallel to Qal'at Sim'an was probably the martyrium in Nyssa in Asia Minor, built in about 370, now destroyed.

The church stands in a vast compound. To the south and east of it was situated a monastic complex, including a small, aisled basilican church and a three-story dormitory. Farther to the south lay a baptistery and church, and nearby were quarters for monks or pilgrims. At the foot of the holy hill was located Deir Sim'an, whose monasteries and hostels served the huge tourist trade.

The church and baptistery were started first, probably after the death of St. Symeon and perhaps only in the last quarter of the fifth century under the initiative of the emperor Zeno, but, curiously, construction of the site is unrecorded. The erection of the remaining buildings dragged on for about a century. The workmen were Syrian. The church was restored and a fortress was erected under the Byzantine emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII in 979, following their reconquest of the region from the Moslems.

W. E. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vogüé, 1865, I, pp. 141–154; 1877, II, pls. 139–151; Butler, 1920, pp. 261–284; Krencker and Naumann, 1939; Lassus, 1947, pp. 129–132, passim; Tchalenko, 1953, I, pp. 223–276.



*591 Church of St. Menas

Abu Mena, Egypt, 5th–6th century
Pilgrimage church L. 66.46 m. (218 ft.);
transept L. 51.52 m. (169 ft.)

The remains of the pilgrimage church of St. Menas stand in the Maryut, some forty miles southwest of Alexandria. Menas was the local saint who, after his death before the middle of the fourth century, acquired a reputation for miraculous healing powers which soon spread beyond Egypt. Since he was believed buried here, the site became the national shrine of Christian Egypt. Like the pilgrimage churches of St. Peter's in Rome (no. 581) and St. Symeon Stylites at Qal'at Sim'an in Syria (no. 590), it attracted pilgrims from the far reaches of the Early Christian world.

In its most developed form the church consisted of a complex of three principal elements laid out along an east-west axis: the pilgrimage church, the so-called Grave Church, and the so-called baptistery. The huge pilgrimage church was a basilica with a wide nave flanked by narrow aisles and galleries, a projecting transept rimmed by aisles and probably galleries, and a semicircular apse to the east. Its walls were constructed of small ashlar. The perimeter walls of the aisles contained a number of doorways.

To the west there was a narthex with opposed columnar apses that also formed the eastern terminus of the Grave Church, a structure with an unusual plan that may have been without a roof. Its straight perimeter walls enclosed a quatrefoil nucleus defined by columns. Below its pavement lay the catacomb (later transformed into a stone-built crypt) in which the body of St. Menas had been placed. The western exedra of the quatrefoil led into a multichambered edifice, which included a niched octagonal space covered by a dome. This building served as either a baptistery or a place where the sick were cured.

The complex was sumptuously decorated with pavements of large square slabs of gray and white marble, colored marble wall revetments, figured gold mosaics, stuccoes, marble columns, and carved pedestals and capitals. As a rule, the archi-

tectural sculpture is classical in style and high in quality. The workmanship was probably local.

In the pilgrimage church, the altar stood in the center of the crossing of the nave and transept and was surmounted by a canopy on four supports. It was surrounded by a rectangular chancel screen almost filling the crossing square. A clergy bench, slightly curved and stepped on its western face, was situated at the rear of the chancel, well in front of the apse, a peculiar feature in the liturgical planning of Early Christian architecture.

The most developed phase of the complex is now attributed to benefactors of the beginning of the sixth century, rather than to the emperor Zeno, a patron of the Christian church of Egypt, as thought earlier. It was preceded by an earlier church group now attributed to the second half of the fifth century.

The church served as the focal point of a city that was well populated in late antiquity. Still dotted by many sand-covered mounds rising up to a height of 30 feet, Abu Mena was laid out with a marketplace, houses, hospices, wells and cisterns, wine vats, potteries, a bath, and churches, including an aisled tetraconch reminiscent of S. Lorenzo in Milan (no. 584).

The design of the cross-transept pilgrimage church bears resemblance to the late fifth-century (?) church of Hagios Demetrios in Thessalonike



(fig. 92) and may echo a model in the Aegean coastlands or, possibly, in Constantinople itself.

W. E. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ward-Perkins, 1949; Schläger, 1963; Schläger, 1965; Grossmann, 1973.

*592 Hagia Sophia

Istanbul (Constantinople), 532–537, and later
Principal rectangle, excluding narthexes 69.7 ×
74.6 m. (228 ft. 7 in. × 244 ft. 8 in.); H. dome
56.1 m. (184 ft.)

The first Hagia Sophia, known originally as the Great Church, was begun by either Constantine the Great or, more probably, by his son Constantius II. It was dedicated in 360. Destroyed by fire in 404, it was reconstructed, perhaps along new lines, and dedicated under Theodosius II in 415. In the Nika riot of 532, the Theodosian church was burned to the ground. Justinian immediately ordered construction of a new church, which was completed in five years and ten months, in 537. The architects, Anthemius of Tralles and Isidoros of Miletus, were theoreticians (mechanikoi) and university professors, rather than practicing architects.

The church's dome collapsed in 558 and was replaced by a ribbed dome some 20 feet higher, the work of Isidoros' synonymous nephew. Partial collapses in 989 and 1346 were promptly restored. The Ottoman Turks added the four minarets after the church's conversion to a mosque. Structurally renovated in 1847–1849, the building became a museum in 1934.

Hagia Sophia is a basilica with a wide nave flanked by broad side aisles and galleries. The galleries extend over the aisles and narthex. There are many entrances in the perimeter wall and the galleries were accessible by exterior stairs or ramps at the four corners, outside the body of the church. Hagia Sophia differs from earlier churches in Constantinople in its immense scale, its daring structural concepts, its soaring and fluid interior volumes, its doubling of the narthex, and its lavishness of decoration in various materials. For some 800 years, Hagia Sophia was the largest vaulted structure in the world.

The building unfolds from a central dome carried on four arches, which rise from piers laid out in a square measuring 101 feet 7½ inches on a side. The dome has an almost uniform thickness of about 26 inches and is perforated around its base by forty windows. The transition from the central square to the dome of the church is formed by pendentives; this building provides the earliest example of the use of pendentives on a large scale. Supported on secondary piers, large half domes open eastward to a narrow bema and a single, slightly projecting apse and westward to the inner narthex; and their extensions toward the east and west establish a pronounced longitudinal axis in the building which contrasts to the sweeping vertical axis created by the dome. The fenestrated tympana beneath the north and south arches of the central square rest on colonnades, four shafts at ground floor and six above. Columnar exedrae billow out from the spaces below the two half domes.

The lateral thrusts of the dome and the half domes, including their dead loads, are concentrated at only twelve points—the main and secondary piers and the buttresses. This ingenious deployment of piers and buttresses, which occupy only six to eight percent of the floor area, creates the vast open space of the interior.

The central supports are connected to the outer walls of the church by arches and barrel vaults. The aisles are covered by domical groin vaults, the galleries by pendentive domes. To the west are two vaulted narthexes, and, farther west (and now destroyed), a large colonnaded atrium with a marble fountain in its middle (cf. no. 581).

The structural system of Hagia Sophia is perhaps the finest example of the transposition of the Roman technique of heavy, large-scale vaulting in concrete into less massive brick-and-mortar construction. The use of brick masonry with thick mortar joints for all vaults and associated arches in Hagia Sophia followed a tradition of the Eastern Roman Empire that is exemplified by buildings like the Rotunda of Galerius in Thessalonike (no. 107).

The interior articulation contains both classical and nonclassical elements. The central bay at the west end of the nave discloses an essentially classical treatment in the triple openings at ground level and at gallery level, and this arrangement is echoed in the great west window. Such a classical disposition is also found in the apse's fenestration. But the arrangement of the colonnades between the



main piers and of the open columnar exedrae below the half domes is unclassical. Between the principal piers, the colonnades consist of four shafts at ground level and six shafts at gallery level, while in the exedrae there are two shafts below and four above. Other Constantinopolitan churches (e.g., St. John Studios, SS. Sergios and Bacchos [cf. no. 249]) exhibit classically congruent nave and gallery colonnades of similar scale and detail. A classical system of column arrangement may have been planned for Hagia Sophia, then altered during construction.

The structural parts of the interior were sheathed in marble revetment, stucco, mosaics, and bronze fittings. Light streamed in through the many windows and, originally subdued, deemphasized the mass of the structural parts by fusing with the color of their sheathings. At once interdependent, color and light thus combined with the fluidity of spatial movement to create a weightlessness of effect, which is the antithesis of a clearly expressed structural articulation of the forms, as occurs in classical buildings.

Originally extending from the apse toward the center of the church were resplendent liturgical furnishings, including a triple-tiered clergy bench in the apse, an altar, a long solea or raised pathway, and a raised pulpit on which were lavished 40,000 pounds of silver, gold, and precious stones.

W. E. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Swift, 1940; Emerson and Van Nice, 1943; Emerson and Van Nice (1), 1951; Emerson and Van Nice (2), 1951; Mainstone, 1965–1966; Van Nice, 1966, I; Mainstone, 1969; Mainstone, 1969–1970; Mathews, 1971, pp. 11–19, 88–89.

*593 S. Vitale

Ravenna, about 540–547

Diam. excluding apse about 34 m. (111 ft. 6 in.);

L. each side about 12.8 m. (42 ft.)

The martyrium of Vitalis, Ravenna's patron saint, is a "double shell" octagon with eight inner piers, joined at the top by arches to support a dome on squinches. The outer wall has seven straight segments and an apse at the southeast, flanked by

pairs of small apsed rooms and round chapels. Inside, the apse is preceded by a bema that opens into the central space; the other intervals between the piers contain two stories of curved arcades that screen an ambulatory and gallery from the area under the dome. A long, double-apsed narthex is tangent to the northwest corner of the octagon, from which it is separated by pairs of triangular rooms and round stair towers leading to the gallery.

Most of the sixth-century building survives, except for the wooden ceilings over the ambulatory and gallery, which were replaced by medieval vaults, and the narthex, stair towers, and south circular chapel, all extensively reconstructed in modern times. The walls are brick, and the dome is composed of *tubi fittili*, laid horizontally end to end and joined by fitting the conical "bottom" of one into the wide-mouthed "top" of the next. The tubes were laid in gesso in circles that steadily diminished in diameter from the bottom to the apex of the dome. Vaults so built are very thin and require remarkably little support; thus the architect of S. Vitale could make its piers elegantly slender and the outer walls a mere 3 feet thick. With a base diameter of about 52 feet, the dome is an outstanding, unusually large example of *tubi fittili* construction.

The lavish decoration included veined marble plaques even on the ambulatory walls, as well as on the piers and the apse; mosaic and marble pavements; variegated columns with exquisitely undercut impost capitals; stucco decoration under the arches and possibly all over the dome; painted glass windows; and the justly renowned figural mosaics in the bema and apse (nos. 65, 66; fig. 88). Unfortunately, the windows, the dome decoration, most of the paving, and the wall revetment have disappeared; the revetment has been replaced by a modern simulation.

Although S. Vitale is distantly related to earlier "double shell" buildings in Rome (Sta. Costanza, no. 108) and Milan (S. Lorenzo, no. 584), it represents a sophisticated elaboration of the type that has its closest parallel in contemporary Constantinople, in the palace church of SS. Sergios and Bacchos (527–536; cf. no. 249). Also Eastern are the marbles—columns, capitals, and chancel furnishings such as the perforated parapets (no. 594)—all of which were quarried and carved near Constantinople; and the mosaic of the emperor Justinian, which depicts him in a Byzantine

liturgical procession (no. 65). The long thin bricks also resemble Constantinopolitan rather than earlier Ravennate types. On the other hand, vaulting with *tubi fittili* was a Western technique, used in North Africa and Italy. Thus it is thought that the architect may have been Italian, adapting an Eastern prototype. Though commissioned while Ravenna was still under Ostrogothic rule, S. Vitale was probably not constructed until after 540, when the Byzantines captured the city. It was financed by a Greek banker, Julianos, and dedicated in 547 by Bishop Maximian, a protégé of the empress Theodora. S. Vitale inaugurates and celebrates a new era of Byzantine hegemony, and it does so through the marriage of local and imported architectural ideas. The result is probably the finest Christian building of its type: buoyant and graceful, complex and harmonious, S. Vitale is continually intriguing, like a faceted gem.

D. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rizzardi [1968]; Olivieri Farioli, 1969, pp. 1–91, *passim*; Bovini (2), 1970, pp. 213–262; Bracci Pinza, 1970; Deichmann, 1976, II, 2, pp. 45–230.



594 Parapet revetment

Daphne-Harbie (near Antioch), 2nd half 5th century
Marble

65.4 × 69.8 × 8.9 cm. (25½ × 27½ × 3½ in.)

Baltimore, The Baltimore Museum of Art, Antioch

Project Fund, 44.170A

This segment of a parapet, recomposed from several large pieces, is worked smooth and flat on the back. The top is rough hewn and has one small drill hole near the left end; the front has a distinct, undulating surface. The piece is divided into three registers: the topmost is decorated with a spare tendril between ridges and volutes; next, a continuous leafy vine scroll between plain wide bands; and the lower, major section is organized as an overall pattern of twisted stems emerging from calyxes, staggered on two levels, from which symmetrical acanthus leaves grow. The lower row of leaves, rendered on a larger scale, has bosslike, projecting overturns, recalling the cutting of capitals.

The leaves are rendered by shallow grooves and outlined by drillwork. Only in some places have the struts been removed to provide a continuous dark outline along the stems. The effect is of a dense, sharply contrasted surface design, which dominates the vegetal motifs.

The repeated linear units make up a fine network overlaying a speckled, swelling, and restless sur-

face; this recalls the wind-blown acanthus capital, created early in the Late Antique period (Kautzsch, 1936, pp. 140–145, pl. 28, figs. 453, 456), which reached its fullest development during the later fifth century. Examples of this type (Kautzsch, 1936, pl. 28, fig. 458; pl. 29, figs. 464–466), as well as the somewhat stiffer, but deeply overturned, projecting acanthus leaves of capitals in Hagios Demetrios, Thessalonike (Volbach [1], 1962, pl. 214; Kautzsch, 1936, pp. 169 f., pl. 35, fig. 548), suggest a date in the second half of the fifth or early sixth century for this work.

The fragment comes from a large suburban villalike complex in Daphne, near ancient Antioch (Stillwell, 1941, III, pp. 25–26; plan VII, p. 259). It has been suggested that it served as a parapet to a private fountain within this building.

S. R. Z.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stillwell, 1941, III, pp. 169–170, no. 231, pl. 42, no. 231; Baltimore, 1947, no. 61.

595 Two columns from Notre Dame de la Daurade

Toulouse, 5th century (?)

Marble

185 cm.; 189 cm. (6 ft. $\frac{3}{4}$ in.; 6 ft. $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1921, 21.172. 1–2

These vine scroll columns with unorthodox Corinthian capitals are two of the approximately twenty that, with a few mosaic tesserae, are the only remains of the famous "Golden Church" of Toulouse. At the time of its demolition in 1761, La Daurade comprised an ancient seven-sided sanctuary and a nave of later date. The original building—of which the sanctuary was a part—is thought to have been an attenuated decagon. Three sides would have been eliminated during the Middle Ages in order to add the nave. The original church was of brick construction and domed, with an opening (opaion) in the apex some 5 feet in diameter.

The once numerous columns framed niches that ran, in three registers, along all of the original

walls. The niches, the intervening wall surfaces, and possibly also the dome were covered with figured mosaics on gold backgrounds, the source of the popular appellation "La Daurade." The lowest row of niches contained images of Old Testament patriarchs and prophets; the middle row presented prophets, apostles, evangelists, archangels, Christ, and the Virgin. The upper niches had scenes from Christ's infancy, emphasizing the role of the Virgin Mary, to whom, apparently, the church was dedicated.

The columns were made in or around Toulouse, of marble quarried in the nearby Pyrenees. They are closely related in style to the numerous sarcophagi produced in the fifth century and possibly later by ateliers of marble carvers located in Aquitaine and Languedoc. These skillful craftsmen were trained in an ultimately classical tradition, as evidenced by the strongly Gallo-Roman character of these columns. Yet many liberties have been taken, as in the form of the capitals; and the vine



scroll "grows" according to rules of decorative symmetry rather than verisimilitude. Once installed in La Daurade, the columns' decorative character was enhanced by painting and gilding that brought them in harmony with the colors of the mosaics.

The earliest history of La Daurade is unknown. Whether it originated as a pagan mausoleum or as a church and whether the decoration was made with the building or added to it later are issues in dispute. The decoration seems datable to the fifth or sixth century, a time when Toulouse was a barbarian seat; first of the Visigoths, who made it their capital in 419, and then of the Franks, who expelled the Visigoths in 508. Yet there was nothing "barbarian" about La Daurade. Its remains, though provincial, clearly represent the continuance of the artistic traditions of pre-Gothic Roman Gaul, mingled—especially in the mosaics—with more recent influences from Rome and Italy.

D. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Breck, 1922; Woodruff, 1931; Ward-Perkins, 1938; Lamotte, 1962; Jalabert, 1965, pp. 17–33.

596 Fragment of paneling with busts

Egypt (?), 5th century (?)

Encaustic on wood

28.3 × 47.6 cm. (11 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Rogers Fund, 1939, 39.158.1

This fragment of painting on wood shows two busts of winged and nimbed figures, looking toward one another, in rectangular frames. The left-hand figure wears a diadem with a circular, dotted ornament at the center. The right-hand figure wears two segmenta on its tunic (the right one is fragmentary). Their frames are decorated with foliate (laurel ?) ornament and with dotted circles at the four corners. Part of the left vertical frame of the figure on the left and all of the right vertical frame and part of its accompanying figure are missing. The panel has been sawn off at the sides. There are two open cracks, one at the lower

left, one at the upper right, and the panel is deeply pitted at the lower right, but, overall, the panel is in fairly good condition.

The technique is encaustic, used on many Egyptian icons (cf. nos. 483, 497, 498). The palette was limited to white, black, pink, rose, and brown (once yellow?). The paint was applied, without underdrawing or priming, directly to the wood. The use of reed brushes is suggested by the quickness, roughness, and irregularity of the strokes. This quick brushwork, the momentary turn of the heads, and the painting's sketchy character derive from Greek Hellenistic style and its survival in painting of the Roman imperial period. The style of this panel is identical to that of a companion panel in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection attributed to the fifth century by Ross (1962, I, no. 126), who accepts the identification of the winged, nimbed figures as winged genii and not angels, in the absence of any Christian symbols. However, the figures cannot be firmly identified.

The fragment formed part of a larger wooden panel and belonged either to a box or casket, or, more probably, to a wall frieze or ceiling. Comparable painted fragments from Coptic Egypt are said to come from caskets (Wulff, 1909, nos. 1608–1611). Unpublished fragments in the Coptic Museum in Cairo may have belonged to ceiling paintings, either in churches or houses. An Egyptian provenance is also suggested by the placement of busts in frames, a common motif in Egyptian textiles.

W. E. K.

Unpublished.



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APPENDIX: CHRONOLOGY

EVENTS

- 252 European provinces invaded by Goths and other peoples
- 257 New persecution of Christians launched by Valerian
- 260 Valerian becomes a captive of Shapur
- About 263–340 Eusebius of Caesarea
- 270 Death of Plotinus
- 273 Destruction of Palmyra
- 274 Aurelian's temple to the sun god
- 276–277 Probus delivers Gaul from invaders
- 292 Tetrarchy established
- 303 Diocletian celebrates his vicennalia in Rome (20 November) Persecution of the Christians begins at Nicomedia
- 312 Constantine's victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge
- 313 Edict of Milan
- 325 Council of Nicaea
- 328–373 St. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria
- 346–420 St. Jerome
- 354–430 St. Augustine of Hippo

EMPERORS

- Trebonianus Gallus 251–253
- Volusianus 251–253
- Aemilianus 253
- Valerianus 253–260
- Gallienus 253–268
- Postumus 259–268
- Claudius Gothicus 268–270
- Aurelian 270–275
- Tacitus 275–276
- Florianus 276
- Probus 276–282
- Carus 282–283
- Carinus 283–285
- Numerianus 283–284
- Diocletian 284–305
- Maximianus Herculeus 286–305, 306–308
- Constantius I 305–306
- Galerius Maximianus 305–311
- Severus 306–307
- Maxentius 306–312
- Constantine I 306–337
- Licinius 307–324
- Maximin Daia 308–313
- Constantine II 337–340
- Constantius II 337–361
- Constans 337–350
- Magnentius 350–353

EVENTS

- About 360 St. Basil establishes coenobitic monasticism in Asia Minor
- 374–397 St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan
- 378 Victory of the Goths at Adrianople
- 381 Council of Constantinople (Second Ecumenical)
- 395 Partition of empire
- 410 Sack of Rome by Alaric the Visigoth
- 431 Council of Ephesus; condemnation of Nestorius
- 451 Council of Chalcedon
- 455 Sack of Rome by Gaiseric the Vandal

EMPERORS

Julian the Apostate 360–363

Jovian 363–364

Valentinian I (in the West) 364–375

Valens (in the East) 364–378

Gratian (in the West) 375–383

Valentinian II (in the West) 375–392

Theodosius I the Great (in the East; in the West from 392) 378–395

Maximus 383–388

Eugenius 392–394

In the West

Honorius 395–423

Constantine III
407–411

Constantius III 421

John 423–425

Valentinian III
425–455Petronius Maximus
455

Avitus 455–456

Majorian 457–461

Severus III
461–465Anthemius
467–472

Olybrius 472

Glycerius 473

Julius Nepos
473–480Romulus Augustu-
lus 475–476**In the East**

Arcadius 395–408

Theodosius II
408–450

Marcian 450–457

Leo I 457–474

Leo II 474

Zeno 474–491

Basiliscus 475–476

EVENTS

493 Theodoric the Ostrogoth con-
quers Italy

About late 400s–after 562 Procopius

About 520 St. Benedict composes his Rule

532 Building of Hagia Sophia begun

About 540 Cassiodorus forms the monastic
library of Vivarium (Squillace,
southern Italy)546 Capture of Rome by Totila the
Ostrogoth568 The Lombards under Alboin
invade Italy603–628 The Persian War against the
empire622 Flight of Muhammad from
Mecca to Medina. Era of the
hegira

636 Capture of Antioch

638 Capture of Jerusalem

647 Capture of Alexandria

678 Saracens defeated outside walls
of Constantinople

692 The Trullan (Quinisext) Council

711 Muslims invade Spain and win
Battle of Lake Janda

EMPERORS

Byzantine

Anastasius I 491–518

Justin I 518–527

Justinian I 527–565

Justin II 565–578

Tiberius 578–582

Maurice 582–602

Phocas 602–610

Heraclius I 610–641

Constantine III 641

Heraclonas 641

Constans II 641–668

Constantine IV Pogana-
tus 668–685

Justinian II 685–695

Leontius 695–698

Tiberius III Apsimar
698–705Justinian II (restored)
705–711

GLOSSARY

Acroterium (pl. acroteria). Sculptural addition to the three angles of a pediment.

Actuarius. Civil servant or military officer, usually a scribe or accountant.

Adlocutio. Formal address; in later Roman times, almost exclusively an emperor's address to his army.

Adventus. Arrival and ceremonious reception of the emperor.

Aedicula. Architecturally articulated niche.

Agape. "Love"; meal shared before the Eucharist or at cemeteries in honor of the dead, during the early centuries of Christianity.

Aggadah. Compilation of religious and ethical interpretations and commentaries of the Old Testament.

Agone. Contest; combat.

Agora. Public marketplace in a Greek city, and usually the economic center of the city.

Ama (dim. amula). Bucket.

Ama argentea. Silver bucket.

Ambo. Freestanding pulpit.

Ampulla. Vessel or flask with two handles, for holding liquids, especially holy oil or water.

Anastasis. Christ's descent into hell.

Anaxyrides. Trousers worn by Eastern peoples in the ancient world.

Ancilla. Maidservant.

Ansate tablet. Tray with handles; most commonly, a representation of a tablet to carry an inscription.

Ankh. Egyptian symbol for life, adapted as a form of the Christian cross in Egypt.

Anta (pl. antae). Pilaster at the projecting end of the cella wall of a Roman temple.

Antependium. Decorative panel or cloth on the front of an altar.

Apodyterium. Dressing room in the **Thermae**.

Apotropaic. Warding off evil.

Arbor vitae. "Tree of life."

Arcosolium. Arched recess for burial in catacombs.

Aryballos. Small, usually round, flask.

Asaroton. "Unswept"; refers to floor mosaic representations of debris after a meal.

Ashlar. Masonry of smoothed, evenly cut stones.

Astragalus. Narrow, convex molding in the form of beading.

Aulic flute. Double reed pipe.

Aureus (pl. aurei). Standard unit of Roman gold coinage (5.45 gm.), first established in Rome by Julius Caesar. *See also* **Solidus**.

Baldachin. Domed or pedimental cover, supported on slender columns, marking or protecting a particular place.

Balneum. Roman baths; smaller complex than **Thermae**.

Bema. Sanctuary of a church or synagogue, where the liturgy is performed.

Biga. Chariot drawn by two animals.

Boucranium. Bull's cranium used as architectural decoration.

Brandea. Strips of cloth touched to a holy relic to absorb its powers.

Bulla. Amulet, usually shaped like a locket, containing an **Apotropaic** charm, worn by Roman youths.

Caduceus. Winged staff with two serpents twined around it; attribute of Hermes as messenger of the gods.

Caldarium. Hot water bathing room in the **Thermae**.

Canon tables. Concordance of events in the four Gospels arranged in tabular form, first drawn up by Eusebius of Caesarea (fourth century A.D.).

Capsa (dim. capsella). Lidded container for toiletries, jewelry, scrolls, or writing implements.

Carceres. Stalls at the head of the hippodrome, where chariots stood at the beginning of a race.

- Cardo.** Main axial north-south street in a **Castrum**.
Compare Decumanus.
- Castrum** (pl. *castra*). Fortified place (esp. military camp).
- Catechumen.** Person receiving instruction in the Christian religion before baptism.
- Chairete.** "Hail"; Christ's word of greeting to the two Marys after his Resurrection; word used descriptively of this scene.
- Chalice.** Cup for eucharistic wine.
- Chatelaine.** Ornamental clasp or pin from which hung a variety of objects, such as keys, etc.
- Cherub** (pl. *cherubim*). Highest ranking angel.
- Chevet.** Apsidal ending of a church.
- Chi Rho.** First two Greek letters (XP) in the name of Christ, combined into a monogram. *See Christogram.*
- Chiton.** Greek garment fastened on the shoulders and tied around the waist; worn as an undergarment, or by laborers, soldiers, and hunters for ease of movement.
- Chlamys.** Mantle or cape held by a clasp over the right shoulder, serving as outermost garment, which could vary greatly in length and luxury.
- Chrismon.** *See Christogram.*
- Christogram.** The Greek initials of Jesus Christ's name arranged in a variety of monograms.
- Ciborium.** Permanent canopy over an altar.
- Circulus anni.** "The course of the year"; a year's time.
- Clarissimus** (pl. *clarissimi*). "Most honored"; title of distinction, usually for public office holders, created during the late Roman Empire.
- Clavus** (pl. *clavi*). Band of varying width woven into or applied to clothing, usually the **Dalmatic**, often denoting status by color and size.
- Clipeus.** Round shield; the shape used as a mount or frame for portrait busts since Hellenistic times, connoting honor and/or heroization. *See Imago clipeata.*
- Cochlias.** Derived from *cochlea* ("snail"), denoting a spiral.
- Colobium.** Long undergarment or tunic, sleeveless or with short sleeves.
- Comes.** "Companion"; during the late Roman Empire, an official in the state administration.
- Concordia amicorum.** Harmony among friends.
- Concordia augustorum.** Harmony among emperors.
- Consecratio.** Official ceremony of deification during the Roman Empire.
- Contomonobolon.** Acrobatic feat of avoiding an on-rushing animal by jumping over it with the aid of a stick.
- Contorniate.** Coinlike medallion, issued during the fourth and fifth centuries, bearing a variety of pagan images, including emperors, mythological heroes, and circus scenes.
- Cornuti.** "The horned ones"; division of Roman army composed of German infantry, distinguished by its double-horned emblem.
- Corona civica.** Crown of oak or ilex leaves, honoring its recipient for a civic service or beneficence.
- Crux fourchée.** Cross with arms forked at the ends.
- Crux gemmata.** Cross set with gems or stones.
- Crux hasta.** Cross with long descending arm, like a spear or staff; a cross-staff.
- Crux pattée.** Equal-armed cross with flaring ends.
- Cuirass.** Protective armor, originally of leather, and later of metal, for the torso.
- Curule chair.** *See Sella curulis.*
- Cyma.** Form of decorative, curved molding.
- Dalmatic.** Long-sleeved tuniclike garment, reaching below the knees. Part of secular dress during the Roman Empire, it gradually became restricted to ecclesiastical use.
- Decennalia.** Public festivities celebrating the tenth anniversary of an event; from the second century A.D., most commonly commemorating the accession of the emperor.
- Decumanus.** Main axial east-west street in a **Castrum**.
Compare Cardo.
- Demarch.** Highest official of a deme, township division of ancient Attica.
- Dextrarum junctio.** "Joining of the right (hands)"; during the marriage ceremony.
- Diadem.** Narrow band encircling the head, an attribute of office or honor.
- Diadoch.** "Successor"; one of the generals among whom Alexander's conquests were divided.
- Diatessaron.** Condensation of the four Gospels into one continuous narrative, made by Tatian in the second half of the second century.

- Diphros.** *See* **Sella curulis.**
- Discos.** Flat, round dish, such as a paten.
- Disiecta membra.** "Scattered pieces"; hence fortuitous, haphazard remains.
- Domus.** Large house of a rich family.
- Domus ecclesiae.** Private house transformed into a center for the religious needs of a community.
- Egg-phiale.** Dish with egg-shaped depressions around the border.
- Emblema** (pl. *emblemata*). Usually a figural panel, executed separately, then placed within a mosaic floor.
- Encolpion.** Pectoral medallion.
- Eparch.** Highest official of an eparchy, administrative division of Greece.
- Eros** (pl. *Erotes*). Winged youth who, by Roman times, was identified with his mother, the goddess Aphrodite; the type was exploited in all contexts of Roman art.
- Estrangelo.** One of the three forms of script of the Syriac language.
- Ethrog.** The citron fruit, carried ritually during the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles.
- Eucharist.** Celebration of "thanksgiving" by Christians (the Mass or Liturgy), and more specifically, the consecrated bread and wine.
- Eulogia** (pl. *eulogiae*). A blessing, also used to denote the blessed bread (*eulogia panis*) carried away from the church or distributed to the catechumens.
- Evangelium.** "Message"; the book of the four Gospels.
- Exedra.** Architectural extension of a larger room; e.g., a niche or semicircular apse.
- Exergue.** Space on coin or medallion, usually on reverse, often below a line, in which appears an inscription, scene, or emblem.
- Faldistorium.** Folding chair or stool.
- Fasces.** A bunch of rods tied together and enclosing an ax; the insignium of high magisterial office.
- Fastigium.** Pedimental structure or covering connoting honor for the person or thing below it.
- Fermentum.** Portion of the consecrated eucharistic bread reserved for the next Mass and placed in the chalice; distributed on Sunday by the pope to parish churches to symbolize the unity of the Christian congregations (fifth to eighth century).
- Fibula.** Clasp or brooch with safety-pin mechanism to hold clothing (esp. *Chlamys*) in place.
- Flabellum.** *See* **Rhipidion.**
- Flans.** Unstruck blank for a coin.
- Flommos.** Mullein plant.
- Forum.** Marketplace of a Roman city, usually its civic center.
- Frigidarium.** Cold water bathing room in the **Thermae**.
- Globus cruciger.** Globe topped by a cross; imperial insignium of Christian rulers.
- Gorgoneion.** Snakehaired head of Medusa, one of the Gorgons, used as a decorative and **Apotropaic** emblem.
- Habdalah.** Ceremony marking the close of the Jewish Sabbath or holiday.
- Harpocrates.** Egyptian god of silence, usually represented with a finger raised to his mouth.
- Helepolis.** Movable tower with battering ram, used in a siege.
- Herm.** Quadrangular post supporting head of a god or a portrait.
- Hetoimasia.** "Preparation"; representation of a throne with a Gospel book on it, symbolizing the Second Coming.
- Himation.** Long, loose outer garment worn by both men and women in ancient Greece.
- Hydria.** Water vessel with narrow neck and wide body.
- Hypogaeum.** Underground chamber; burial vault.
- Ichthyocentaur.** Imaginary creature with the foreparts of a centaur (half man and half horse) and the body and tail of a sea serpent.
- Iconostasis.** Screen between the nave and the sanctuary in an Orthodox church for displaying icons.
- Imago clipeata** (pl. *imagines clipeatae*). Portrait representation of an individual, varying from head to full bust, on a shield. *See* **Clipeus.**
- Impositio manus.** "Imposition of the hand"; gesture of benediction or investment with specific authority and responsibility.
- Insula** (pl. *insulae*). City block with multiple dwellings.
- Intarsia.** Inlay of marble or wood.
- Intrados.** Underside of an arch.

- Kalathos.** Basket or container wider in diameter at the top than bottom.
- Kantharos.** Drinking cup with two large handles.
- Kathisma.** The imperial tribune or viewing box in the Hippodrome in Constantinople.
- Kerykeion.** *See* Caduceus.
- Ketos.** Sea monster.
- Kithara.** Lyre.
- Knop.** Knob on the stem of a chalice or similar vessel.
- Kothurnos** (pl. kothurnoi). High boot worn by Greek tragic actor.
- Krater.** Large mixing bowl, used especially for wine and water.
- Kuppa.** The bowl of a chalice.
- Labarum.** Roman military standard, adopted by Constantine, bearing the monogrammed cross within a crown.
- Lactans.** Epithet of the Virgin suckling the Christ child and Isis suckling Horus.
- Lagobolon.** Short stick or shepherd's crook. *See* Pedum.
- Lanx** (pl. lances). Large rectangular or circular tray.
- Lararium** (pl. lararia). Small private niche shrine or chapel containing the household gods (Lares).
- Largitio.** Distribution of money to the populace from a state fund on ceremonial occasions.
- Locus sanctus** (pl. loca sancta). "Holy place"; site of important event of sacred history, of either the Old or New Testament or of the life of a saint.
- Locus tomb.** Rectangular, shelflike niche for burial in the catacombs.
- Logos.** "Word"; Greek word for God's being.
- Lorica.** *See* Cuirass.
- Ludi circensis.** Circus games.
- Lulav.** Branches of three trees—the palm, myrtle, and willow—tied together for use during the autumn Jewish Feast of Tabernacles.
- Lupercal.** Grotto in the Palatine Hill in Rome, sacred to Pan.
- Mageiros.** Cook; butcher.
- Mahtah.** Incense shovel used in Jewish ritual.
- Maniakion.** Metal collar, torque, or necklace.
- Maphorion.** Long, sleeveless tunic with a hood.
- Mappa.** Folded cloth, thrown down to signal the start of races in the circus games; by extension, an attribute of the consul's office.
- Mausoleum-heroon** (pl. mausolea-heroa). Building for the dead as well as a shrine.
- Mechanikos** (pl. mechanikoi). Pertaining to war machinery.
- Menorah.** Seven-branched candlestick used in Jewish ritual; most widespread symbol of the Jewish religion.
- Merlon.** Solid projection of a defense wall between crenels.
- Meta.** Bottle-shaped marker at the turning point of the circus Spina.
- Midrash.** Expanded, nonliteral interpretations and commentaries on the Old Testament text by Jewish scholars.
- Milion.** Milestone in Constantinople from which distances were measured; stood near Hagia Sophia.
- Mishnah.** Collected interpretations of Jewish religious doctrine, originally handed down orally.
- Missorium.** *See* Lanx.
- Mizrah.** "Rising of the sun"; the East, the direction faced during prayers by Jews west of Jerusalem.
- Modius.** A dry measure; also the basket-shaped measuring container.
- Munerarius.** Giver of gladiatorial games.
- Municipium.** Town with Roman citizenship governed under its own laws.
- Narthex.** Entry vestibule to a church, either inside or outside the building.
- Nebris.** A fawn skin.
- Niello.** Black alloy compound of sulphur with silver, copper, lead, and other metals used as an inlay in metal objects.
- Nilotic.** Referring to the Nile River.
- Nobilissimus.** "Most noble"; title of the Caesars and members of the imperial family during the late Roman empire.
- Nomina sacra.** Abbreviations of holy names.
- Nymphaeum.** Fountain.
- Obryzum.** In coinage, "made of pure gold."
- Oculus.** Circular opening in a dome or in a wall.

Omophorion. Long scarf worn by bishops during the celebration of Mass. *See* **Pallium**.

Omphalos. "Navel"; refers to the center of the earth.

Opaion. *See* **Oculus**.

Oppidum (pl. oppida). Military camp.

Opus alexandrinum. *See* **Opus sectile**.

Opus mixtum. Construction made of mortared rubble-work, faced with **Opus reticulatum**, brick, or marble panels.

Opus reticulatum. Facing of a wall of square stone or brick, set in a diagonal pattern.

Opus sectile. Inlay of colored marble pieces.

Oratio. Speech; oration.

Ossuary. Receptacle for bones and ashes of the body after cremation.

Paenula. Cloak covering the entire body.

Paidiskeion. Brothel.

Palaestra. Gymnastic exercise grounds.

Palla. Wide cape or mantle worn by Roman women.

Pallium. Wide cape or mantle worn by Roman men; later reduced to a wide scarf worn exclusively by bishops.

Paludamentum. *See* **Chlamys**.

Pantocrator. "All powerful"; epithet of Christ.

Pantomima. Female pantomime; dancer and actress.

Parapetasma. Hanging used to close off one space from another.

Parousia. "Presence; arrival"; Christ's return to earth at the Last Judgment.

Paten. Plate used for the distribution of consecrated bread at Mass.

Patera. Shallow bowl for pouring libations.

Patrocinium. Patronage and protection.

Pedum. Shepherd's crook.

Pelta. Small shield carried by Amazons, generally in the shape of a half moon.

Pendentives. Concave triangular segments forming the transitional supports for a dome over a square bay.

Pendulia. Jeweled ornaments hanging from the sides of a crown.

Peplos (pl. peploi). Loose-fitting tunic worn by women, usually secured on both shoulders, falling in folds around the body, with overturned panels on front and back.

Percussa Romae. In coinage, "struck at Rome."

Phalerae. Disc ornament, generally on horse harness.

Phelonion. Ecclesiastical cloak worn by Eastern clergy.

Phrygian cap. Soft, peaked cap, traditionally associated with Phrygia, and used symbolically to connote Eastern origin.

Pileus ex pellibus. Round Roman military cap made from animal skins.

Pithos. Large storage jar for wine.

Plectron. Pick used to play the lyre.

Polycandelon. Support for several smaller lamps; a chandelier.

Polyptica. Account books or registers made of many folding leaves of parchment or wood, originally for writing but later also for religious paintings.

Pompa. Solemn public procession, especially held before games, in which images of the gods were carried.

Postament. Base for a statue or monument.

Primicerius gentiliium. Top-ranking military official in charge of foreign troops.

Primicerius scholae. Top-ranking official in charge of the military corps and directly responsible to emperor.

Pronaos. Area in front of the sanctuary in a temple.

Pronuba. Epithet of Juno as protectress of marriage.

Propylaeum. Gateway, usually marked by a monumental architectural structure.

Propylon. *See* **Propylaeum**.

Proskynesis. Homage or prayer done in various positions, from slight bending to touching the ground.

Protome. Applied decoration in the form of the foreparts of an animal or human.

Psychopomp. "Soul guide"; epithet of Hermes and of Charon, boatman on the River Styx; both conducted souls to the underworld.

Pulvinar. Cushioned seat of honor for the gods, or person who received divine honors.

- Pyxis** (pl. pyxides). Small box or container.
- Quadriga**. Chariot drawn by four animals.
- Quadriporticus**. Arch or gate over two intersecting roads; thus, having four archways.
- Quincunx**. Pattern or arrangement of five elements, four demarking the corners of a rectangle and one in the center.
- Retiarius**. Gladiator who used a net in combat. *See* **Secutor**.
- Rhipidion** (pl. rhipidia). Fan used during the liturgy, originally to keep insects away from the bread and wine; later, in metal, an implement attached to the rear of the altar.
- Rinceau**. Continuous decorative scroll of vines, leaves, plants.
- Rogus**. Funeral pyre, on which deceased was placed and burned.
- Rotulus**. Scroll for reading.
- Sahidic**. Dialect of Coptic, localized in Upper Egypt.
- Salus**. Health, safety, prosperity.
- Scheitelzopf**. "Crown tress"; a hairstyle for women with long braids brought up to the top of the head from the nape of the neck; current from the mid-third into the fifth century.
- Schola cantorum**. "School of singers"; singers participating in the Mass.
- Scrinium** (pl. scrinia). Case or chest for scrolls, letters, books.
- Scriptorium**. Place where books were written and copied.
- Secutor**. Gladiator in light armor who fought against the **Retiarius**.
- Sedes gestatoria**. Chair made to be carried through crowds above shoulder level for the display of its occupant.
- Segmentum** (pl. segmenta). Woven patch of cloth applied as decoration to clothing.
- Sella curulis**. Official chair of the consuls.
- Senmerv**. Fantastic animal with foreparts of a dog and body and tail of a bird, popular in Sassanian art.
- Septuagint**. "Seventy"; pre-Christian Greek translation of the Old Testament, written, according to legend, by seventy scholars in seventy days.
- Seraph** (pl. seraphim). Six-winged creatures (Isa. 6:2-7) making up an order of angels.
- Shofar**. Ram's horn sounded in Jewish ritual.
- Sigillata chiara**. "Clear image"; term denoting a type of relief terracotta ware.
- Siliqua**. Standard unit of Roman silver coinage (2.60 gm.).
- Sinopia**. Preparatory underdrawing for a fresco.
- Sistrum**. Rattlelike instrument used in the celebrations of the cult of Isis.
- Situla**. Bucket.
- Skyphos**. Drinking cup.
- Socle**. Plinth, support for columns.
- Solea**. Pathway between sanctuary and **Ambo** in an Eastern church.
- Solidus**. Standard unit of gold coinage (4.54 gm.). *See also* **Aureus**.
- Spandrel**. Triangular space between an arch and its tangent rectangular framing.
- Sparsio**. "Scattering"; distribution of presents in the theater or circus.
- Speira**. Mask with high curly hair, used in comedy.
- Sphendone**. "Sling"; rounded end of a hippodrome, opposite the **Carceres**.
- Spina**. Low dividing wall running down the center of a hippodrome, establishing the racecourse.
- Spolia**. "Spoils, booty"; architectural materials reused.
- Staurothek**. Reliquary for a part of the true cross.
- Stama**. Finish line in the hippodrome.
- Stibadium** (pl. stibadia). Semicircular bolster couch or seat.
- Strena** (pl. strenae). New Year's gift.
- Strigil ornament**. Sickle-shaped decoration based on the strigil, the tool used by athletes for scraping oil and sand from the body.
- Stylite**. One who lives on top of a column.
- Subligaculum**. Loincloth.
- Sudatorium**. Sweat room in the **Thermae**.
- Suppedaneum**. Footstool.
- Symphyton**. Wallwort, comfrey, or boneset plant.

- Synaxarium.** Book containing a short reading about a saint or feast, arranged according to the calendar.
- Synthronon.** Bench for the clergy within the chancel area of a church, usually along the apse wall.
- Syrinx.** Pan pipes.
- Tepidarium.** Lukewarm water bathing room in the **Thermae**.
- Taberna.** Shop; store.
- Tablion.** Insignium of office in the form of a richly stitched **Segmentum** fastened on the **Chlamys**.
- Tabula ansata.** See **Ansate tablet**.
- Tamgas.** Linear signs connoting tribal or personal property, rank, and/or magical power.
- Targum.** Any of several Aramaic translations or paraphrases of the Old Testament.
- Tauroctonus.** "Bull slayer"; epithet of Mithras, distinguishing his most important deed, performed for man's salvation.
- Tessera.** Cut and smoothed cube of marble, glass, or other medium, used in making mosaics.
- Tesserarius.** Mosaic craftsman.
- Tetramorph.** Composite, winged image of a man, ox, lion, and bull, based on the vision of Ezekiel (Ezek. 1:4–20).
- Tetrarchy.** The administration of the empire by four rulers as instituted by Diocletian in 292.
- Theotokos.** "God bearer"; epithet of Mary, emphasizing Christ's divine essence.
- Thermae.** Bathing complex in Roman cities.
- Thiasos.** The revelry of the Dionysiac entourage composed of satyrs, maenads, and others.
- Tholos.** A dome or a round, domed building.
- Thuribulum** (pl. **thuribula**). Incense burner, censer.
- Thymiaterion.** See **Thuribulum**.
- Thysus.** Wooden staff capped with ivy or vine leaves, or pinecone finial; a common attribute of Dionysos and his entourage.
- Toga contabulata.** Toga worn so that a narrow fold or series of folds crosses the chest from right to left.
- Toga, senatorial.** White toga worn over tunic with wide **Clavus**.
- Toga trabea.** Toga of consular office, worn so that a broad fold passes from beneath the right arm over the left shoulder.
- Togatus.** A representation of a man in a toga.
- Tondo** (pl. **tondi**). Circular picture surface or sculptured medallion.
- Topos.** Formulaic literary motif used for its historical allusion or its stylistic connotations.
- Toupha.** Military helmet with a row of feathers along the crest of the crown.
- Trabea.** A robe of state; often synonymous with the toga picta, an elaborately embroidered garment worn on public occasions by the highest ranking officials.
- Traditio legis.** "Handing over of the law"; the scene of Christ giving his Word, usually to St. Peter; St. Peter, who became the first bishop of Rome, thus provides a direct link between Jesus and the Roman Church.
- Transenna.** Solid or pierced marble, stone, or metal slab serving as balustrade or window grill.
- Travertine.** Type of limestone used for building in Italy.
- Tribelon.** Triple arch, usually a thin architectural member marking a division between two spaces; e.g., narthex and nave of a church.
- Tribune.** Raised platform from which high official presides over governmental, legal, or festal proceedings.
- Triclinium.** Dining room; derived from the three couches on which Roman diners reclined.
- Triumphator.** Conqueror.
- Trochiskos.** Metal disc, counter, or small wheel; often marked with an Alpha, the Greek number one, for games.
- Tropaion.** Victory monument set up in the field, made of a tree trunk decked with the armor of the defeated.
- Trulla.** Shallow bowl with handle used as a ladle or dipper.
- Tubi fittili.** Hollow terracotta tubes used for their strength and light weight in constructing ceiling vaults.
- Tufa.** A soft stone used in building, especially in Italy.
- Tunica exomis.** Short tunic tucked up at the waist for ease of movement, leaving one breast bare.
- Tutela.** Protection; guardianship.

Tyche. Fortune; personification of Fortune, and, by extension, the personification of good fortune as protectress of a city.

Uncial. Style of majuscule lettering.

Vasa non sacra. Nonsacred vessels ancillary to the celebration of the Eucharist.

Vasa sacra. Sacred vessels, used for the celebration of the Eucharist.

Venatio (pl. venationes). The hunt; used frequently for staged hunts in the amphitheater.

Venator (pl. venatores). Hunter.

Verde antico. A greenish marble from Thessaly.

Vexillum (pl. vexilla). Standard, or flag, of a cavalry unit; military standard or banner.

Vicarius urbis. Governmental official, generally responsible for the provisioning and legal protection of corporations in Rome.

Viaticum. Holy Communion administered to anyone in immediate danger of death.

Vicennalia. Celebration of the twentieth anniversary of an emperor's reign.

Victoriola. Small-scale statuette of personified Victory.

Virga thaumaturga. "Wonder-working wand."

Viridarium. Garden, especially a pleasure garden.

Virtus. A broad Roman concept connoting strength, courage, virtue; in general, physical and moral excellence.

Zebu. Humpbacked Asian ox (*Bos indicus*).

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Abbreviations for Classical References

Apollod. <i>Bibl.</i>	Apollodoros <i>Bibliotheca</i>
Clem. Al. <i>Protr.</i>	Clemens Alexandrinus <i>Protrepticus</i>
Euseb. <i>Hist. eccl.</i>	Eusebius <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>
Hom. <i>Il.</i> <i>Od.</i>	Homer <i>Iliad</i> <i>Odyssey</i>
Isid. <i>Etym.</i>	Isidore of Seville <i>Etymologiae</i>
Lactant. <i>Div. inst.</i>	Lactantius <i>Divinae institutiones</i>
Ov. <i>Met.</i>	Ovid <i>Metamorphoses</i>
Pliny <i>HN</i>	Pliny (the Elder) <i>Naturalis historia</i>
Procop. <i>Aed.</i>	Procopius <i>De aedificiis</i>
Prudent. <i>C. Symm.</i>	Prudentius <i>Contra orationem Symmachi</i>
S.H.A. <i>Alex. Sev.</i>	Scriptores Historiae Augustae <i>Alexander Severus</i>
Sid. Apoll. <i>Carm.</i> <i>Epist.</i>	Sidonius Apollinaris <i>Carmina</i> <i>Epistulae</i>
Sozom. <i>Hist. eccl.</i>	Sozomenos <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>
Tert. <i>De bapt.</i>	Tertullian <i>De baptismo</i>

INDEX

Italicized numbers in parentheses refer to catalogue entries and are followed by the page numbers of those entries. Other references are to page numbers.

A

- Abel, (505) 562, 598
 Abraham, 369, (379, 380) 422–423, (386) 428, (409) 458, (505) 562, (522) 583
 Abu Mena, Egypt: bread stamps from, 628; Church of Saint Menas, xxviii–xxix, (591) 662; tomb of Saint Menas, 575
Achilleis, 202, 219–220
 Achilles, xxii, 202, (195–197) 218–220, (207–213) 230–237
 Acropolis, Athens, Greece, 263
 Actor and mask, (239) 256
 Actress, pantomime, (245) 262
 Acts of the Apostles, (444a) 494, (454) 505
 Acts of Peter, 418
 Adam and Eve, 396–397, 402, (371) 413, (374) 418, (378) 422, (389) 431, 452, (411) 460, (454) 505
Adelphoe of Terence, 203
 Admetos, 243
 Adonis, 128, (119) 141
 Adoration of the Magi, (287) 312, 400–401, (375) 418, (389, 390) 431–434, (393) 436, (411) 460, (417) 466, (457) 509, 515, (476) 531, 565, (571) 633
 Aelia Flacilla, 5, (20) 26
Aeneid of Vergil, 201–202, (203, 204) 227
 Aesculapius. *See* Asklepios
 Aggadah, 368
 Agia Paraskevi, Greece, portrait found in, (270) 292
 Aglibol, (177) 198
 Ahnas, Egypt, sculpture from, (151) 172, (157) 178
 Aion, 129, (164) 185
Aithiopsis of Arktinos, 202, (200) 223
 Aix-en-Provence, France, 73
 Ajax, (202) 225
 Akhmim, Egypt (Panopolis): bread stamps from, 628; textiles from, (121) 142, (129) 151, (234) 253, (392) 436, (480) 536, (494) 550
 Alcestis, (219) 242
 Alexander plate with hunting scene, (79) 89
 Alexander Severus, 513
 Alexander the Great, (81) 83, 89, 91, (92) 101
 Alexandria, Egypt, xx, xxvi; Genesis illustrations, 455, (408) 457; objects from, (33) 40, (35) 40, (148) 170, (226) 248, (231) 251, (254) 278, (264, 265) 287; synagogue, 390; tomb frescoes, (250) 373
Alexipharmaka of Nicander, 207, (226) 248
 Almendralejo, Spain, Missorium of Theodosius found in, (64) 76
 Altar implements, Christian, 592–598, (531–579) 599–639
 Altinum (Altino, Italy), statuette found in, (12) 19
 Amazons, (149) 170, (200) 223
 Ambrose, Saint, 655–656
 Ambrosian *Iliad*, (193) 216
 Ammianus Marcellinus, xxvii, xxix
 Amphorae: Conçesti amphora, (149) 170; necklace with pendant amphorae, (285) 311
 Ampullae, Christian, 564–567, (515) 576, (524) 585, (526, 527) 587–588. *See also* Flasks
 Amulets, (281) 307, (283) 309, (398) 440
 Anastasios, (574) 634–636
 Anastasis, (574) 634–636, 643, 650
 Anastasius (consul), 6, (88) 97
 Anastasius I, 598
 Ancient of Days, Christ as, (475) 531
 Andrew, Saint, (574) 635
 Andrews diptych, 452, (450) 500
 Andromeda, (190) 214
 Animal illustrations. *See* Zoological illustrations
 Ankh-cross, 494
 Anne, Saint, (459, 460) 510
 Anniversary dishes, (8) 15, 303
 Annunciation to Mary, (296) 320, 452, (447, 448) 497–498, (461) 512, (519) 580, (563, 564) 626–627, (574) 634
 Annunciation to the shepherds, (449) 499, (563) 626
 Antalya treasure, 594
 Anthemius of Tralles, 664
 Antinoë, Egypt, objects from: herbal fragment, (178) 205; ivory comb, (567) 629; jewelry, (284) 310, (295) 318, (306) 327; portrait-icon, (496) 552; textiles, (112) 134, (129) 151, (158) 179, (172) 192, (182, 183) 208
 Antioch, Syria, xx, xxvi; objects from, (542) 606, (554, 555) 619–620; silverwork, 298
 Antioch chalice, 592, (542) 606
 Antiochus Epiphanes, 366
 Antonine period, medallions of the, 36–37
 Antonine style of portraiture, 4–5, (15) 22, (268) 290
 Apamea, Syria, mosaic of seven sages from, 513–514
 Apamea, Turkey: coin from, 366–367, (350) 383
 Aphrodisias, Asia Minor, portrait style of, 286, (271) 292
 Aphrodite, xxii, 128, (115, 116) 137–138, (118, 119) 140–141, (288) 313, (318) 338
Apocryphon Jacobi, 454
 Apollinaris, Saint, 557, (505) 562
 Apollo, xxii, 127–128, (110) 133, (112, 113) 134–136, (117, 118) 139–140, 204
 Apollo, Monastery of, Bawit, Egypt, icon found in, (497) 552
 Apollodorus of Damascus: treatise of, 200, (189) 213; *Bibliotheca* of, 230
Apollonius, King of Tyre, History of, (223) 246
 Apollonius of Kitium, 200
 Apollonius of Rhodes, 239
 Apostles: chalice with, (532) 599; ivory plaque with, (487) 542. *See also* names of specific apostles
 Apse, 641; decorations, xxiii, 556–557, (501–505) 558–563
 Apsyrtos, 238–239
 Aquileia, Italy, objects found in, (382) 424, (394) 437
Aratea, 200, (190) 214
 Aratus of Soloi, 130, (190) 214
 Arcadius, (64) 75, (324) 343
 Arcadius, Column of. *See* Column of Arcadius
 Arcerianus, Codex, (188) 212
 Archangels, (481–484) 536–539
 Architecture, xxvii–xxxi; classical heritage, 263–268; Christian, 109–123, 640–669; Jewish, 390–394; secular, 350–364

Arch of Constantine, xxvi, 4, 61–63, (58) 67, 399, 402
 Arch of Galerius, 61, 119
 Arena. *See* Circus and arena
 Ares, (118) 140, (162) 183
 Arezzo, Italy, fibula found in, (275) 302
 Ariadne (empress), 6, (24, 25) 30–31
 Ariadne (mythological character), 128, (125–127) 146–148
 Arles, France, sarcophagi from, 399–401
 Arras hoard of Roman gold, (31, 32) 38–39
 Artemis, 127–128, (110–112) 132–134, (118) 140
 Ascension of Christ, 454–455, (451) 502, (495) 551, 557
 Ascension of Elijah. *See* Elijah
 Ashburnham Pentateuch, 450, 452, (422) 470
 Ashkelon synagogue screen, 371, (345) 378
 Asklepios, xxii, 128, (133) 155, (274) 302
 Asterius, 515
 Astronomical illustrations, 200, (190, 191) 214–215
 Atalanta, 129, (141, 142) 163–164
 Atargatis, (160) 181, (177) 198
 Athena, 127–128, (110) 132, (115–118) 137–140, (202) 225, (282) 308
 Athribis (Wannina), Egypt, bust found in, (5) 13
 Attis, (164) 185
 Augst treasure. *See* Kaiseraugst treasure
 Augustine, Saint, 352, 514
 Aula Palatina, Trier, xxxi, 109, (102) 113

B

Baal, 374
Bacchae of Euripides, (216) 240
 Bacchos, Saint, (492, 493) 548
 Balaam, (393) 436
 Ballāna, Lower Nubia, plate found in, (168) 190
 Baluster lampstand, (556) 620
 Baptismal scene, epitaph with, (394) 437
 Baptism of Christ, (287) 312, (386) 428, (395) 437, (406, 407) 446, (526, 527) 587–588, (563, 564) 626–627
 Baptisteries, xxx, 640, 642; Dura Europos, 396–397, 401, (360) 404, 513, (580) 648; Ravenna's Baptistry of the Orthodox, 642, 644, (588) 659
 Barbarian invasions, xxvi, 44
 Barberini diptych, (28) 33
 Barletta colossus, 6, (23) 29
 Bartholomew, Saint, (574) 635
 Bartimaeus, healing of, by Christ, (373) 414
 Basilica A, Philippi, Greece, 355, 646

Basilica Apostolorum (San Nazaro), Milan, Italy, (585) 656
 Basilica B, Philippi, Greece, 356, 646
 Basilicas, xxiv, xxviii–xxx, 556, 640–646.
See also names of specific basilicas
 Basilius (consul), (46) 47
 Bassus, Junius, sarcophagus of, (386) 427
 Baths, xxvii, 350–352, (336) 358
 Battle of the Milvian Bridge. *See* Milvian Bridge, Battle of the
 Bawit, Egypt: apse fresco with Ascension of Christ, 557; icon found in, (497) 552
 Beakers, (90) 99, (185) 209
 Beaurains-lez-Arras, France, objects found in, (31, 32) 38–39
 Beautiful style: Bassus sarcophagus, (386) 429
 Bel, Temple of, Dura Europos, Syria, (177) 197
 Belgrade cameo, (71) 83
 Belisarius, 319
 Bellerophon, 129, (112) 134, (143) 165
 Belt, marriage, (262) 283
 Beratinus, Codex, 493
 Beth Alpha synagogue, Israel, 366, 368–371, 390–391
 Bethesda sarcophagi, 419
 Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity in, 585.
See also Holy sites representations
 Beth Shean, Israel: figurine found in, (167) 189; synagogue, 371, (343) 375, 391
 Betrayal by Judas, (389) 431
 Biblical illustrations: Christian, xx–xxi, xxiii–xxiv, 396–403, 449–456; Jewish, xxi–xxii, 366–371. *See also* characters and incidents from the Bible
 Birth of Christ. *See* Nativity of Christ
 Biton, treatise of, (189) 213
 Blemyes, tribe of the, 190
 Boethius (consul), ivory diptych of, 6
 Bollard with fisherman, (255) 278
 Bone plaques, incised, (311) 332
 Book covers, (241) 258, 595–596, (554, 555) 618–619
 Book of Durrow, 494
 Books, xxiv, 199–202, 449–450. *See also* Codices; Manuscripts
 Book supports, 595
 Boroczyce, Poland, medallion found in, (42) 44
 Bosio, A., 426
 Botanical illustrations. *See* Herbals
 Bottle, perfume, (312) 333
 Bowls: with bucolic scene, (233) 252; with Christian themes, (377–379) 420–422, (382) 424, (384) 426, (388) 430, (396) 438, (401, 402) 442–443, (404) 444, (415) 464,

(434, 435) 483–484, (465) 520, (493) 548, (503) 559, (506–508) 569–570, (511) 572, (551) 615; with circus and arena scenes, (89) 98, (95, 96) 104, (98) 107; with dedication to Licinius I, (8) 15; with fish, (186) 210; with hunting scenes, (73–75) 84–86; with literary scenes, (212) 237, (220) 243; with marriage scene, (261) 282; with mythological figures and scenes, (113) 136, (140) 163, (175) 195

Bracelets. *See* Jewelry

Bread stamps, (528) 588, (530) 590, 593, (565, 566) 627–628

Brianza, Italy, reliquary found in, (571) 633
 Bridal caskets, (310, 311) 330–332

Brilliant style of carving, (438) 488

Briseis, 202, (194–197) 217–220

Bronze, xxiv–xxv, 300–301; bread stamps, (530) 590, (565) 627; censers, (563, 564) 626–627; chandelier, (557) 621; crosses, 596; diptych, (94) 103; faucet and conduit, (579) 639; lamps, (556) 620, (560, 561) 624; polycandela, (558, 559) 622–623; statuette of Saint Peter, (509) 571, 594

Buckets. *See* Situlas

Buckles, (302–304) 325–326

Bucolic themes, xxii, 203, (227–237) 249–255, 396, (361) 405, (370) 412

C

Caelus, personification of, (386) 428

Caesarea (Kayseri), Cappadocia, medallion found in, (44) 46

Caesarea, Palestine, Doria bucket found in, (196) 220

Calendars, 271; Calendar of 354, 18, (67) 78

Cameos, xxiv, (4) 11, (71) 83, 300, (279) 306
 Candelabra, 594

Candlestands, (318, 319) 338–339

Candlesticks, 594, (541) 605

Canon tables of Gospel book, (441) 490

Carolingian manuscripts, (187) 212, (190) 214

Carpenter at work, relief of, (254) 278

Carthage, rock crystal objects found in, (186) 210, (315) 336

Casket mount, (387) 429

Caskets, (117) 139, (309–311) 329–332, 595, 597, (568) 630

Castellani fibula, 318

Castello Brivio, Brianza, Italy; reliquary found in, (571) 633

Castor and Pollux, 239

Catacomb paintings, xxv, 204, 369–371, 400–401; healing of the woman with the

- issue of blood, (397) 439; Heracles and Alcestis, (219) 242; Jacob's blessing, (419) 467; Moses Striking the Rock, (381) 424; Samson scene, (423) 472; Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace, (383) 425
- Cathedra of Maximianus. *See* Maximianus cathedra
- Cavallini, Pietro: copies of frescoes of San Paolo fuori le mura, (439) 488
- Censors, 594, (562–564) 625–626
- Ceremonies and processions, imperial, 60–63, (57–68) 66–79
- Cesena plate, (251a) 275
- Chalices, 592–593, (531, 532) 500, (542–545) 606–609
- Chalke Gate, icon of the, 528
- Chandelier, (557) 621. *See also* Polycandela
- Chariot mount, (331) 347
- Chariot races and charioteers. *See* Circus and arena
- Chersonese, Crimea, reliquary found in, (572) 633
- Chimera, (112) 134, (143) 165
- Chi Rho. *See* Christogram
- Chisel and mallet, relief with, (259) 281
- Chiusi, Italy, buckle found in, (303) 325
- Chresis mosaic, 299
- Christ, xxiii; iconic representations, 513–517, (462–476) 518–531, (497) 552; and mythological heroes, 128; portrait on diptych of consul Justin, (51) 51; pyxis with scenes from the life of, (405) 445. *See also* incidents from the life of Christ, such as Baptism of Christ; Healing of the blind; Raising of Lazarus
- Christ before Caiaphas, (438) 488
- Christ before Pilate, 451–452, (386) 428, (443) 492
- Christ carrying the cross, 452, (452) 502
- Christ Emmanuel, (525) 586
- Christ enthroned, ring with, (470) 525
- Christ giving the keys to Peter, (400) 441
- Christ giving the law. *See* Traditio legis
- Christ/Helios, (467) 522
- Christian monogram. *See* Christogram
- Christ Logos, (375) 449
- Christogram (Chi Rho), 63, 80, 415, (534) 601, (543) 608, (546) 611, (550) 614, (560, 561) 624
- Christ-Orpheus, 370, 513
- Christ Pantocrator, (473) 527, (552) 615
- Christus Pronubis, (281) 307–308
- Christ trampling the beasts, lamp with, (471) 526
- Chronographia of 354. *See* Calendar of 354
- Churches and cathedrals, xxiv, xxix–xxx, 264–265, 640–647, (580–596) 648–669; apse decorations, 556–557, (501–505) 558–563; iconic art, 515–516; pagan temples converted to, 263–264. *See also* names of specific churches
- Church furniture, (576–579) 637–639
- Circus and arena, 64–65, (82–99) 92–107; Circus of Maxentius, xxx, (100) 111
- City dwellings, xxviii, 352; townhouses of Ephesus, (337) 359
- Classical orders of architecture, xxix, xxi, 264–265
- Clementinus (consul), 6, (48) 48
- Cloisonné enamels, (574) 634
- Cock-headed god, (281) 307–308
- Codices, xxiv, 199–200, 449–450; Calendar of 354, (67) 78; Christian, (442) 491, (444) 493, (444a) 494; papyrus with miniature of charioteers, (93) 102; scientific and literary treatises, (178–181) 205–207, (188–190) 212–214, (193) 216, (223, 224) 246–247, (226) 248. *See also* Manuscripts
- Coins, 3–4, 298, 366–367; Berlin pectoral, (296) 319; girdle of, (61) 71; Morgan pectoral, (295) 318; with Noah's Ark, (350) 383
- Cologne glass: with Adam and Eve, (378) 422; with Apollo and Marsyas, (113) 136; with Lynkeus and Hypermetra, (220) 243; with marine creatures, (185) 209; with Old Testament scenes, (377) 420; with Raising of Lazarus, (403, 404) 444; Wint Hill bowl, (74) 86
- Colossal portraits, 5, (11) 18, (23) 29
- Column of Arcadius, 63, (68) 79
- Comb with Christian scenes, (567) 629
- Communion of the apostles, (547) 612
- Conçesti amphora, (149) 170
- Concrete construction, xxviii
- Conduit and faucet, (579) 639
- Consolazione, Piazza della, Rome, treasure found in, (281–283) 307–309
- Constans, (15) 22, (38, 39) 42, (63) 74, (377) 420
- Constantine I, xix, 3–5, (9–13) 15–20, (34, 35) 40, (37) 41, 62–63, (57) 66, 109, 113, 264, 514, 566, 640
- Constantine II, (36) 40, (377) 420
- Constantine IV, (505) 562
- Constantine, Arch of. *See* Arch of Constantine
- Constantinian style of portraiture: medallion of Constans, (39) 42
- Constantinople, xix–xx, 298–301; Book of Kings, 455; Column of Arcadius, (68) 79; consular diptychs, 6; fora, 350; Hagia Sophia, 646–647, (592) 664; hippodrome, (101) 112; Holy Apostles, Church of, 662; land walls, (335) 357; Saint John Studios, Basilica of, 645; Saint Polyeuktos, Church of, 646–647; Saints Sergios and Bacchos, Church of, (249) 268; Theodosian obelisk, (99) 107
- Constantinopolis, personification of, (153) 173, (325) 343
- Constantius I (Chlorus), (7) 14, (31, 32) 38–39
- Constantius II, xxvii, 5, (16, 17) 22–24, (40) 43, 61–62, (377) 420
- Consular diptychs, 5–6, (45–51) 46–51, (88) 97
- Contionacum (Konz, Germany): villa, (106) 119
- Contorniates: Alexander the Great and the Circus Maximus, (92) 101
- Contra orationem Symmachi* of Prudentius, 507
- Coptic iconic representations, (464) 520, (483) 538, (496–499) 551–553, (513) 574
- Coptic incense burner, (323) 342
- Coptic ivory comb, (567) 629
- Coptic manuscripts: Acts of the Apostles (Glazier codex), (444a) 494; Job and his family, drawing of, (29) 35
- Coptic panels with encaustic painting, (596) 669
- Coptic sculpture: Apollo and Daphne, plaque with, 127; carved lintel, (451) 502; carved pillar, (575) 636; Christ, pyxis with scenes from the life of, (405) 445; Jason and the Golden Fleece, relief with, (214) 238; Nilotic images, pyxis with, (170) 191; river and earth gods, relief of, (157) 178
- Coptic terracotta flask, (516) 576
- Coptic textiles: with biblical scenes, (390–392) 433–435, (412) 460; with literary scenes, (198) 221, (218) 242; with mythological figures and scenes, (112) 134, (116) 138, (119–121) 141–142, (123) 144, (136) 159; tunic, (332) 348
- Corbridge lanx, (110) 132
- Corporation house, Ostia, Italy, 353, (340) 363
- Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum, (188) 212
- Corybantes, (164) 185
- Cosmas, Saint, (491) 547, (557) 622, (574) 635
- Cotton Genesis, 449, 451, 454–455, (408, 409) 457–458
- Creation of Man, 400, 402, 451
- Creation of plants, (409) 458
- Crimea, objects found in the, (16) 22, (572) 633
- Crispus, (377) 420
- Crosses: altar, 596; ankh-cross, 494; from crown of Receswinth, 300; of Golgotha, (545) 610, (566) 628; Latin, (540) 605; paten with angels and, (482) 537; pec-

toral, (301) 324; ring with, (308) 328.
See also True cross, relics of the
 Crossing of the Red Sea, 367–368
 Crowns, liturgical, 594
 Crucifixion of Christ, (452) 503, 565, (524) 585, (563, 564) 626–627, (574) 634
 Cubiculum paintings. *See* Catacomb paintings
 Cupid and Psyche, House of, Ostia, Italy, xxix, (338) 361
 Cups: with mythological figures and scenes, (152) 172, (156) 178; with Raising of Lazarus, (403) 444; with Torah ark and temple implements, (347, 348) 380–381
 Cybele, xx, (164) 185
Cynegetica by Pseudo-Oppian, 200, 247, 270, 275
 Cyprus, objects from: bowl with bust of saint, (493) 549; censer (562) 626; cup with Tyches, (156) 178; David plates, 450, (425–433) 475; girdle of coins and medallions, (61) 71; jewelry, (285) 311, (292) 316; medallion with Virgin and Child enthroned, (287) 312; mosaic with birth of Achilles, (213) 237; relief with Sacrifice of Isaac, (380) 423; silver paten, (548) 613; statuette of Aelia Flacilla, (20) 27
 Cyriaca sarcophagus, 451, (411) 460

D

Daily life, representations of, xxii, 270–272, (250–263) 273–285
 Damian, Saint, (491) 547, (557) 622, (574) 634
 Daniel, 368, (371) 413, (377) 420, (386, 387) 428–429, (421) 469, (436) 485
 Daniel Stylites, Saint, 590
 Danubian horsemen, (176) 196
 Daphne, 127, (112) 134
 Daphne-Harbie, Turkey, parapet revetment from, (594) 667
 David, 450–452; and Goliath, 366, (352) 384; as Orpheus, 370, (341) 372; plates from Cyprus, (425–433) 475
De materia medica of Dioscurides, (179–181) 205–207
 Demetrios, Saint, 516, (500) 554, (574) 634
 Denial of Peter, (452) 502
 Diadem, (277) 305
 Diana. *See* Artemis
Diatessaron of Tatian, 401, 405, 449
 Dido and Aeneas, (204) 227
 Diocletian, 4, (3) 10, (31) 38, 127; palace of, Split, 109–110, (104) 115
 Dionysiac imagery, xxii, xxv, 128, 131, (120–125) 141–146, (129–132) 151–154, (134) 158, (136) 159, (172) 192, (216) 240,

(322) 341, 402
 Dioscuri, 127, (146) 168
 Dioscurides herbal, 199, (179–181) 205–207
 Diptychs: with Christian representations, xxiv, 402–403, 453, (450) 500, (453, 454) 504–505, (458–461) 510–512, (474) 528, (481) 536; with circus and arena scenes, (85) 94, (88) 97, (94) 103; with consecration of deceased emperor, (60) 70; with imperial portraits, 5–6, (25) 31, (28) 33, (45–51) 46–51, (53, 54) 55–56; with mythological figures and scenes, (133, 134) 155–158, (153) 173, (165, 166) 186–187
 Discord, (115) 137
 Dolphin motif, (538) 604, (559) 623
 Dominus Julius, mosaic of, Tunis, 270–271
 Domitilla, catacomb of, Rome: Christ-Orpheus, 370
 Doria bucket, (196) 219
 Double church, Trier, Germany, (583) 653
 Doubting Thomas, (452) 503
 Dove of the Holy Spirit, (394, 395) 437
 Dura Europos, Syria, xxi–xxii, xxv; baptism, 396–397, 401, (360) 404, 513; ceiling tile from House of the Roman Scribes, (52) 54, 286; house church, 640, (580) 648; synagogue, 62, 366–371, (341) 372, 390, (358) 392, 400–401; Terentius panel from Temple of Bel, (177) 197; wooden shields from, 202, (200, 201) 223–224

E

Earrings. *See* Jewelry
 Earthenware. *See* Red earthenware; Terracotta
 Ecclesia, 486
 Ecclesiast, Bishop, (505) 562
Eclogues of Vergil, 203, (225) 247
 Edfu, Egypt, lanx found in, (144) 166
 Edict of Milan, xix, 66, 514
 Egeria, 564, 634
 El Dekhela, Egypt, relief found in, (512) 574
 El Djem, Tunisia: mosaic, (87) 96
 Electrum and gold monogram ring, (293) 317
 Elijah, (341) 374, 402, (438) 486, (505) 562
 Elizabeth, Saint, (563) 626
 Emblema with banquet of gladiators, (87) 96
 Emona (Laibach), Yugoslavia, medallion found in, (41) 43
 Enameled reliquary, (574) 634
 Enamel-glazed bowl, (75) 86
 Encolpions: of empress Maria, (279) 306; with crowning of emperor, 62, (62) 72; with Virgin and Child enthroned, (287) 312
 Entry into Jerusalem, Christ's, (376) 419,

(386) 428, 452, (451) 502, (470) 525, (519) 580
 Ephesus, Turkey: bust of Eutropios found in, (55) 58; houses, 352, (337) 359; Scholastikia Baths, 352, (336) 358; silverwork, 134
 Ephraim and Manasseh, 370, 454, (410) 458, (419) 467
 Epiphanius of Salamis, 514
 Epitaph with baptismal scene, (394) 437
 Equestrian motif, 60, 63; Constantine I, statuette of, (12) 19; Danubian horsemen, plaque with, (176) 196; ivory comb with, (567) 629; miniature quadriga, horse from, (97) 105
 Erato, (241) 258
 Eratosthenes of Cyrene, 214
 Eris. *See* Discord
 Erotes, (151) 172, (386) 428–429
 Er-Rubiyat, Egypt, portrait found in, (266) 288
 Erymanthian boar, (138) 161
 Eschatological themes, 556–557
 Esquiline treasure, (155) 177, (309) 330, (310) 332
 Eudoxos of Knidos, treatise of, 214
 Eulogia bread, 591, 593, 628–629
 Euphemia (empress), (26) 32
 Euphemia, Saint, 515
 Euripides, 202; *Bacchae*, (216) 240; *Hippolytus*, (217) 241; *Iphigenia in Tauris*, (218) 242; poet in the guise of, 256
 Europa, 129, (146, 147) 168
 Eusebius, 514–515, 650
 Eustathios, Saint, (574) 634
 Eustathius, 650
 Eustratios, Saint, (574) 635
 Eutropios, 6, (55) 58
 Evagrius, xxvii, xxix, xxx, 662
 Evangelists, 204, 272, (486, 487) 540–542.
See also names of specific evangelists
 Eve. *See* Adam and Eve
 Evil eye, plaque against, (357) 388
 Ewers: Christian, (400) 441, 594, (535) 601; with mythological scenes, (131, 132) 153–154
 Exegesis, biblical, 452
 Exodus from Egypt, 367–368, (341) 374

F

Fall of Man, (371) 413, (374) 418, (386) 428, (389) 431, (411) 460
 Fans. *See* Rhipidia
 Faucet and conduit, (579) 639
 Fausta, (14) 21
 Fayyum, Egypt, portraits from, (266) 288, 298

Feast of Tabernacles, 371
 Feeding of the Four Thousand, Feeding of the Five Thousand. *See* Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes
 Feliciano, Saint, 565
 Felicitas medallions, 37
 Felix (consul), (45) 46
 Fibulae, (275, 275a) 302–303, (294) 317
 Fieschi-Morgan staurothek, (574) 634
 First Cyprus Treasure, (493) 549, (562) 626
 Fishing scenes, 271, (251) 274, (255) 278
 Flabella. *See* Rhipidia
 Flacon, perfume, (312) 333
 Flagon with biblical scenes, (389) 431
 Flasks, (354–356) 386, 564, (516) 576. *See also* Ampullae
 Florus, Saint, (472) 527
 Foot-shaped lamp, (317) 337
 Fora, 263, 350. *See also* Roman Forum
 Fountains, 352–353; House of Cupid and Psyche, Ostia, (338) 362
 Four Seasons, cubiculum of the, catacomb of Saints Marcellinus and Petrus, (381) 424
 Frescoes, xxiii–xxiv; Ascension of Christ, 557; Dura Europos baptistery, 397, (360) 404, 513; Dura Europos synagogue, 367–370, (341) 372, 400; healing of woman with issue of blood, (397) 439; Heracles and Alcestis, (219) 242; Jacob's blessing, (419) 467; Judgment of Solomon, 366–367; Moses Striking the Rock, (381) 424; Samson scene, (423) 472; San Paolo fuori le mura, (439, 440) 488–489; scenes of daily life, 271–272, (250) 273, (253) 276; Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace, (383) 425; Torah ark and temple implements, 371; Trier cathedral, 297
 Frieze sarcophagi, (374–376) 416–419, (462) 518
 Fundi, Italy: Saint Paulinus' church, 556
 Funerary art, xxiii. *See also* Catacomb paintings; Sarcophagi; Tomb decorations
 Funerary churches, 640, 642

G

Gabriel, archangel, (482) 537, (505) 562
 Galerius, (5, 6) 12–13, (31–33) 38–39
 Galerius, Arch of. *See* Arch of Galerius
 Galerius, Rotunda of, Thessalonike, Greece, xxviii–xxix, 110, (107) 119, (491) 547, 644
 Galilean synagogues, 390–391
 Galla Placidia, Mausoleum of, Ravenna, Italy, xxx, 567
 Gallienus, 2–3, 5, (2) 9

Gallienus-type portraiture: paired funerary busts, (362, 363) 408
 Ganymede, 129, (148) 169
 Gates, city: Constantinople, (335) 358; Porta San Sebastiano, (334) 356–357
 Gaul, objects from: plaques with poets and muses, (242) 258; plaques with Saints Peter and Paul, (504) 560; statuette of the Tyche of Constantinople, (154) 175; weight in the form of a statuette of Constantine I, (13) 20
 Gaza synagogue, 370, 390–391
 Gems: Christian, xxiv, 300, 400, (393) 436, (395) 437, (398) 440, (525) 586; gnostic, (283) 309; with imperial portraits, 5, (17) 24, (56) 58; with mythological figures, (138) 161, (171) 192; with rider in battle, (71) 83; with Victory, (278) 305
 Genesis, Book of, 455, (408–410) 457–458
 Gennadios, (264) 287
Geographia of Ptolemy, 130
 George, Saint, (478) 533, (574) 635
Georgics of Vergil, 203, (224, 225) 247
 Gerasa synagogue, Jordan, 368
 Germanos, Patriarch, 592–593
 Gibbon, Edward, xxvii
 Girdle of coins and medallions, (61) 71
 Gladiatorial contests, 64–65, (82) 92, (87) 96
 Glass, xxv. *See also* Cologne glass; Gold glass; and entries below
 Glass chalices, 592–593, (545) 609
 Glass pilgrim flasks, (354–356) 386
 Glass polycandelon, (558) 622
 Glass portraits, (264, 265) 287, (267) 289
 Glazier codex, (444a) 494
 Gnostic sect, 63; bracelet with gnostic gem, (283) 309; fresco from tomb of Trebius Justus, (253) 278
 Golden Church, Toulouse, France, (595) 668
 Golden Fleece. *See* Jason and the Golden Fleece
 Golden Gate, Constantinople, (335) 358
 Gold glass, xxv; with Achilles on Skyros, (212) 237; with bucolic scene, (233) 252; with Christian representations, (377) 420, (382) 424, (388) 430, (396) 438, (472) 527, (503) 559, (507, 508) 569–570, (510, 511) 572; with circus and arena scenes, (95, 96) 104; with hunting scene, (79) 89; with Jewish representations, (347, 348) 380–381; with marriage scene, (261) 282; with portraits, (264, 265) 287
 Goldwork, xxiv, 297–301
 Golgotha, cross of, (545) 610, (566) 628
 Goliath: David plate, (431) 475, 481–482
 Good Shepherd, 396–397, (364) 406, 513, (462–466) 518–521

Gospels, xxiv, 449–555; canon tables, (441) 490; Codex Petropolitanus, (444) 493; Codex Sinopensis, (442) 491; Rabbula Gospels, (445) 495; Rossano Gospels, (443) 492
 Goths, 44; portrait seal of king, (56) 58
 Grado ivories, 508, 578, 582
 Grain merchant, relief with, (258) 281
 Gratian, 5, (18) 25
 Great Berlin Pyxis, 597
 Great Church. *See* Hagia Sophia
 Greeks and Amazons, battle of, (149) 170, (200) 223
 Gregory Thaumaturgos, Saint, (574) 635
 Gregory the Great, Saint, 515
 Griffin head, lamps with, (560, 561) 624
 Guild Hall, Ostia, Italy, 353, (340) 363
 Gynaikeia of Soranos of Ephesus, (187) 210

H

Habakkuk, (436) 485, (438) 486
 Hadrian, 63, 109–110
 Hadrianic period: medallions, 36
 Hadrumetum. *See* Sousse, Tunisia
 Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, xxvii–xxviii, xxx, 264–265, 516, 594, 596, 598, 646–647, (592) 664
 Hagios Demetrios, Thessalonike, Greece, xxx, 515–516, (500) 554, 644
Halieutika, 207, 271
 Hamah treasure, 593–594, 596, (531–541) 599–606
 Hamat Tiberias synagogue, Israel, 370–371, (342) 374, 390–391
 Hammam-Lif synagogue (Naro), Tunisia, (344) 376
 Hand holding a cross, chandelier with, (557) 621
 Hand of God, 62, (341) 372
 Hanging lamps, 594
 Hangings. *See* Textiles
 Hanukkah festival: bowl with Maccabees scene, (435) 484
 Harts, transenna with, (577, 578) 638
 Hasmonaean revolt of the Jews, 366
 Healing of the blind, 402, (399, 400) 440–441, (405) 445, (450) 500, (519) 580, (567) 629
 Healing of the Gerasene, (407) 446
 Healing of the leper, (450) 500
 Healing of the paralytic, 396, (360) 404, (388) 431, (401, 402) 442–443, (405–407) 445–446, (450) 500, (486) 540
 Healing of the woman with the issue of blood, (397, 398) 439–440, (406, 407) 446
 Heavenly Temple, (341) 374

- Helena (mother of Constantine), 264
 Helepolis, (189) 213
 Heliodorus (acturarius), (52) 54, 286
 Helios, (59) 69, (134) 158, (176) 196, 370, (342) 374, (467) 522
 Hematite amulets, (281) 307, (398) 440
 Hera, (115, 116) 137–138
 Heracles, xxii, 128, (118) 140, (130) 151, (136–140) 159–163, 199, 202, (205) 228, (219) 242
 Heraclius, xxi, 477; drawing of Job as, (29) 35
 Herakleopolis Magna, Egypt. *See* Ahnas
 Herbals, (178–181) 205–207
 Hercules. *See* Heracles
 Hermes, (115) 137, (117) 139
 Hesperus, (164) 185
 Hetoimasia, 62
 Heuresis, (179) 206
 Hierapolis, Phrygia, bread stamp from, (530) 590
 Hippocrates, 212
 Hippocratic healing methods, 199–200
 Hippodromes, 109, 352; Constantinople, 65, (99) 107, (101) 112
 Hippolytus, 202
Hippolytus of Euripides, (217) 241
Historia ecclesiastica of Eusebius, 515
History of Apollonius, King of Tyre, (223) 246
 Holy Apostles, Church of the, Constantinople, 662
 Holy Land, 565–566, 640; mosaic map of the, Madaba, Jordan, (523) 584; souvenirs from, 564
 Holy Sepulcher, Church of the, Jerusalem, xxviii–xxx, 564, 643, (582) 650; bread stamp with, (528) 588
 Holy sites, xxix, 640, 642–643; representations, 564–568, (506–530) 569–591
 Holy water situla, 594
 Homeric poems. *See* *Iliad*; *Odyssey*
 Honorius, 5–6, (21) 27, (43) 44, 80, (324) 343
 Horses. *See* Equestrian motif
 House church, Dura Europos, Syria, 640, (580) 648
 Houses, xxviii, 352–354; House of Cupid and Psyche, Ostia, xxix, (338) 361; House of the Masks, Sousse, (239) 256; House of the Roman Scribes, Dura Europos, ceiling tile from, (52) 54; House of the Vestals, Rome, head of Gallienus from, (2) 10; Theodosian Palace and House of Parthenius, Stobi, (339) 362; townhouses of Ephesus, (337) 359
 Hunting scenes, 63–65, (72–81) 83–91, (149) 170, (161) 182, 200, 271, (251) 274
 Hydra, (137) 160
 Hygieia, 128, (133) 155
 Hypermetra, (220) 243
- I**
- Iarhibol, (177) 198
 Iconic representations in Christian art, xxiii–xxiv, 513–517, (462–498) 518–553
Iliad of Homer, 202, (193–198) 216–222
 Illuminations. *See* Books; Codices; Manuscripts
 Imperial mode in Christian iconography, 452
 Incense, 594
 Incense burners, 301, (323) 342, (353) 385. *See also* Censers
 Incense jar, (322) 341
 Infancy of Christ, (406, 407) 446, (447) 497
 Inlay, metal. *See* Metal inlay
Iphigenia in Tauris, textile medallion with, (218) 242
 Irenaeus, 397, 458
 Isaac. *See* Sacrifice of Isaac
 Isidore of Seville, Saint, 130
 Isidoros of Miletus, 664
 Isis, xx, (167) 189, (169) 190, 513
 Islamic art, 369
 Istanbul. *See* Constantinople
 Ivory book covers, 595
 Ivory caskets, 595, 597
 Ivory comb, (567) 629
 Ivory diptychs, 5–6; with Christian representations, xxiv, 453, (450) 500, (453, 454) 504–505, (474) 528, (481) 536; with circus and arena scenes, (85) 94, (88) 97; with consecration of a deceased emperor, (60) 70; with imperial portraits, (25) 31, (28) 33, (45–51) 46–51, (53, 54) 55–56; with mythological figures and scenes, (133, 134) 155–158, (153) 173, (165, 166) 186–187
 Ivory medicine box, (122) 142
 Ivory panels with the four evangelists, (486) 540
 Ivory plaques: with Christian representations, (406, 407) 446, 455, (448) 498, (452) 502, (455–461) 507–512, (475, 476) 530–531, (485) 539, (487) 542, (490) 546, (504) 560, (517) 578, (521) 582; with mythological figures and scenes, 127, (143) 165, (146–148) 168–169, (206) 229; with pantomime actress, (245) 262; with poets and muses, (241–243) 258–260; with tribunal and officials at venatio, (84) 93
 Ivory pyxides: with Achilles on Skyros, (211) 236; with Christian representations, (385) 427, (405) 445, (414) 463, (418) 466, (421) 469, (436) 485, (447) 497, (449) 499, (514) 575, (518, 519) 578–579, (520) 581, 597, (549) 613; with lion hunt, (78) 88; with mythological figures and scenes, (115) 137, (161) 182, (170) 191
 Ivory reliefs: with Ariadne, (127) 148; with carpenter at work, (254) 278; with Saint Mark enthroned, (489) 544
- J**
- Jacob blessing Ephraim and Manasseh, 370, 454, (419) 467
 Jacob's dream, 369
 James, Saint, (562) 625, (574) 634
 Jason and the Golden Fleece, (214) 238
 Jerusalem, xx, xxvi; Church of the Holy Sepulcher, 564, 643, (582) 650; Temple of, 370–371
 Jewelry, 297–301, (274–308) 302–328; encolpion with crowning of an emperor, (62) 73; marriage ring, (263) 285; ring with archangel, (484) 539; ring with Christ enthroned, (470) 525; ring with New Testament scenes, (446) 496; ring with portrait seal of Gothic king, (56) 58; ring with signs of zodiac, (191) 215
 Jewelry box, ceiling fresco, Trier cathedral, 297
 Jewish architecture, 390–391, (358, 359) 392–394
 Jewish art, xxi–xxii, 366–371, (341–357) 372–389, 449
 Job, (29) 35, (386) 428
 John the Baptist, Saint, (390) 434, (395) 437, (479) 534, (526, 527) 587–588, (552) 615, (563, 564) 626–627
 John the Evangelist, Saint, (552) 615, (562) 625, (575) 635
 Jonah, 396–398, 402, (361) 405, (365–369) 406–411, (371) 413, (377) 420, (384, 385) 426–427, (390) 434, (465) 520
 Jonathan: David plate, (433) 475, 483
 Jonathan Targum, 374
 Joseph of Arimathea, 592
 Joseph (Old Testament character), 450–451, (410) 458, (412–418) 460–466
 Joseph, Saint, (521) 582, (527) 588, (563, 564) 626–627
 “Joseph's Testament” from *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 465
 Journey of Mary and Joseph to Bethlehem, (447) 497, (461) 512
 Jove. *See* Zeus
 Judas, death of, (452) 503
 Judgment of Paris, (115, 116) 137–138
 Judgment of Solomon, (434) 483

Judgment of the Arms, (202) 225
 Juliana Anicia, 646; herbal of, (179) 205
 Julian the Apostate, xix–xx, 21, 133, 147, 233
 Julii, tomb of the, 513, (467) 523
 Jupiter. *See* Zeus
 Justin I, 7
 Justin (consul), (51) 51
 Justinian I, xix–xx, 6–7, (28) 33, (44) 45, (50) 51, (65) 77, 112, 639, 646–647, 664
 Justin Martyr, 458
 Justus, Saint, (472) 527

K

Kaiseraugst treasure, (126) 147, (208) 233, (251) 275
 Kama region, U.S.S.R., objects found in, (202) 225, 451, 479
 Karavas, Cyprus, plates found in, (425–433) 475. *See also* First Cyprus Treasure; Second Cyprus Treasure
 Khirbet Sham'a synagogue, Israel, 390
 Kings, Book of, 455, (424) 473
 Konz, Germany: villa, (106) 119
 Korah, men of, 406, 468
 Kuczumare, Bucovina, U.S.S.R., situla found in, (118) 140
 Kulina, Yugoslavia, head of Euphemia found in, (26) 32

L

Ladle with inscription, (537) 603
 Lambousa, Cyprus, objects found in. *See* First Cyprus Treasure; Second Cyprus Treasure
 Lamps, 130, 301, (317) 337, (320, 321) 340, (351, 352) 384, (471) 526, 594, (556) 620, (560, 561) 624
 Lampstands, 301, (318–320) 338–340, 594, (556) 620
 Lances: Holy Lance, 593; with mythological figures and scenes, (110) 132, (126) 147, (144) 166; with tribunal in arena, (83) 92
 Land walls of Constantinople, (335) 357
 Langobards, 318
 Lapithos, Cyprus. *See* Second Cyprus Treasure
 Last Judgment, 556, (501) 558
 Last Supper, (443) 492
 Lateran sarcophagus, 161, 399, (374) 416
 Latin cross, (540) 605
 Lawrence, Saint, 566–567, (511) 572, (574) 634
 Lazarus. *See* Raising of Lazarus
 Lead flasks and ampullae, 564–565, (524)

585, (526, 527) 587–588
 Lead medallion with martyrdom of Saint Lawrence, 566
 Lead plaque with Danubian horsemen, (176) 196
 Lectern of Saint Radegundis, 595–596
 Leda and the swan, (215) 239
 Leo the Wise, treatise of, (189) 213
 Lesches, 202, (202) 225, 227
 Leto, (110) 133
 Liberius (pope), 467
Liber pontificalis, 467
 Licinia Eudoxia, 29, (327, 328) 345
 Licinius I, (8) 15
 Lion of Judah, 371, (341) 372
 Lipsanotek of Brescia, 598
 Literary texts, illustrations of, xxii, 199–204, (193–230) 216–249
Little Iliad of Lesches, 202, (202) 225, 227
 Liturgical objects, Christian, xxiii, 300, 592–598, (531–579) 599–639
 Loca sancta art. *See* Holy sites
 Logos. *See* Christ Logos
 Longinus, 503, 593, (563) 626
 Lot and the Sodomites, (408) 457
 Lot sarcophagus, 429
 Luke, Saint, (574) 634
 Luna, 130, (164) 185, (563, 564) 626–627
 Lupicin diptych, 531
 Lynkeus and Hypermetra, (220) 243

M

Maccabees, (435) 484
 Madaba, Jordan: mosaic map of the Holy Land, (523) 584
 Maenads, (122) 142, (124) 144, (128) 149, (130, 131) 151–153
 Magi. *See* Adoration of the Magi
 Magna Mater, cult of, xx, 101, 187
 Magnentius, (41) 43, 63
 Magnus (consul), (49) 50
 Malaia Pereshchepina, paten found in, (546) 611
 Mamre, Palestine, 566; mold with the three angels at, (522) 583
 Mandorla, plaque with Christ in a, (475) 530
 Manuscripts: Calendar of 354, (67) 78; Christian, xxiv–xxv, (29) 35, 449, 456, (408) 457, (410) 458, (422) 470, (424) 473, (437) 485; scientific and literary, 199–200, 202–203, (179–181) 205–207, (187–190) 210–214, (192) 215, (203, 204) 227, (224–226) 247–248. *See also* Codices
 Map of the Holy Land, (523) 584
 Marcian, 6, (23) 29
 Maria (empress), 339; pendant of, (279) 306

Mark, Saint, 204, (443) 492, (456) 508, (489, 490) 544–546, (498) 553, (574) 634
 Marriage belt, (262) 283
 Marriage ceremonies, 272, (261–263) 282–285, (281) 307
 Marriage ring, (263) 285
 Marsyas, 127, (113) 136
 Martha, Saint, (571) 633
 Mary Magdalene. *See* Women at the Tomb
 Mary, Saint, (287) 312, 513–517, (474) 528, (476–478) 531–533, 565, (544) 608, (552) 615, (557) 622, (562) 625, (572) 633. *See also* incidents from the life of Mary
 Masons at work, fresco of, (253) 276
 Massacre of the innocents, (406, 407) 446
 Matthew, Saint, (574) 635
 Maurice Tiberius, 298
 Mausolea, xxix, 109–110, (108, 109) 121–122, (467) 522, 567
 Maxentius, (4) 11, 263
 Maxentius, Circus of, xxx, (100) 111
 Maxentius, Villa of. *See* Piazza Armerina, villa at
 Maxentius and Constantine, Basilica of, xxviii–xxix, 18, (103) 114
 Maximian (Maximianus Herculeus) 4, (4) 11, (31) 38, 113, 117, (135) 158
 Maximianus (archbishop), (65) 77
 Maximianus cathedra, 450–452, 454, 530
 Medallions, 6, 62–63; gold-glass portrait medallions, (264, 265) 287, (388) 431; with imperial ceremonies and processions, (57) 66, (61–63) 71–74; with imperial portraits, (30–44) 37–45, (135) 158; jewelry, (276) 304, (281–283) 307–309, (287) 312, (290–292) 315–316, (294–300) 317–323; with martyrdom of Saint Lawrence, 566; with menorah, (349) 382; with mythological figures, (120) 141, (135) 158; silver censor with portrait medallions, (562) 625; silver reliquary with portrait medallions, (572) 633; silver vase with portrait medallions, (552) 615; textile medallions, (81) 91, (218) 242, (227–230) 249, (332) 348, (412) 461
 Medical treatises, 199–200, (179–181) 205–207, (187) 210, (226) 248
 Medicine box, (122) 142
 Melchisedek, (505) 562, 598
 Meleager, 129, (141, 142) 163–164
 Menander, 202, (221) 244
 Menas, Abbot, (497) 552
 Menas, Saint, 662, 567, (512) 573, (514–517) 575–578
 Menorah, 370–371, (346) 379, (349) 382, (351) 384
 Mercurios, Saint, (574) 635

Mersine, Cilicia, encolpion found in, (62) 73
 Metal inlay, (76, 77) 86–87, (94) 103, (137) 160
 Metiochos and Parthenope, romance of, 203
 Michael (archangel), (481, 482) 536–537, (505) 562
 Middle Ages: illustration, 449, 455–456; parchment codex, (223) 246; tropary cover, (241) 258
 Midrash, 368–369, (420) 468, 472
 Midwifery, Soranos' treatise on, (187) 210
 Migrations of Nations art, xxvi
 Milan, Italy: Basilica Apostolorum (585) 655; head of Theodora found in, (27) 33; San Lorenzo, Church of, (584) 653
 Milan, Edict of. *See* Edict of Milan
 Mildenhall treasure, 337; plate, (130) 151
 Military mode of imperial portraiture, 2–3, 5
 Milvian Bridge, Battle of the, xix, 20, 63, 66–67, 399
 Minerva. *See* Athena
 Miniature paintings, xxiv, 199–200, 202–204. *See also* Codices; Manuscripts
 Mint marks, 37
 Miracle of Cana, (296) 321, (373) 418, (387, 388) 429–431, (396) 438, (407) 446, (450) 500
 Mishnah, 368, 371
 Missorium of Theodosius, 62, (64) 74, 452
 Mithras, (173–175) 193–195; cult of, xx, 130–131
 Molds, 566, (522) 583, (528) 588
 Monasteries, 645; Qal'at Sim'an, Syria, (590) 661
 Monasticism, 567, 645
 Monica, Saint, 352
 Monogram ring, (293) 317
 Montmaurin, villa at, 353–354
 Mosaics: Christian, xxiv, xxxi, (420) 468, 513–514, 516–517, (467) 522, (491) 547, 556–557, (505) 562, 565, 567, (523) 584, 598, 644; circus and arena, (87) 96, (91) 100; daily life, 270–272, (252) 276, (260) 282; hunt, 64; imperial ceremonies and processions, (65, 66) 77; jewelry and sumptuous goods, 297, 299; Jewish, 366, 368, 370–371, (342–344) 374–376, 391, (359) 394; mythological figures, 128–129, 131; scientific and literary scenes, 199–204, (184) 209, (213) 237, (221) 244, (239) 256
 Moses, 297, 367, 369, (341) 374, (390) 434, (420) 468; receiving the law, (386) 428, (391) 434, 454, (421) 469; Striking the Rock (Water Miracle), (361) 405, (377) 420, (381, 382) 424, (387) 429, (389) 431; Transfiguration of Christ, (505) 562

Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes, (371, 372) 414–415, (374) 418, (386) 428, (390) 434, (450) 500, (549) 613
 Mummy portrait, 286, (266) 288
 Murano diptych, 402–403, 445
 Muses, xxii, 204, (238) 255, (240–244) 257–261, (309) 329
 Mystery cults, xx, 130–131, (161–177) 182–197
 Mythology, xxii, 126–131, (110–177) 132–198, 200, 202
 Mytilene, Lesbos: mosaics, (221) 244

N

Na'aran synagogue, Israel, 368, 370
 Nabataean art: relief, (160) 181
 Naissus (Niš, Yugoslavia), objects found in, (8) 15, (10) 18
 Naro synagogue, Tunisia, (344) 376
 Nativity, Church of the, Bethlehem, 265, 565
 Nativity of Christ, (287) 312, (392) 435, 452, 454, (447) 497, (449) 499, (457) 509, (476) 531, (521) 582, (526, 527) 587–588, (563, 564) 626–627, (574) 634
Naturalis historia of Pliny, 130, 434
 Naturalistic-classical style, xxvi
 Natural science illustrations. *See* Herbals; Zoological illustrations
 Nazarius, Saint, (585) 655
 Nea Paphos, Cyprus: mosaic of the birth of Achilles, (213) 237
 Necklaces. *See* Jewelry
 Nehemiah, 484
 Nemean lion, (139, 140) 162–163, (205) 228
 Neon, Bishop, 659
 Neophyti Targum, 369
 Nereids, (150–152) 171–172, (164) 185
 New Testament, xxiii–xxiv, 396–402, 449–455. *See also* specific figures and incidents from the New Testament
 Nicander manuscript, 199, (226) 248
 Nicerus, cubiculum of, catacomb of Saints Marcellinus and Petrus, (397) 439
 Nicholas, Saint, (574) 635
 Nicodemus, 592
 Nicomachi, diptych leaf of the, (165) 186
 Niello inlay, (76) 86, (126) 147, (137) 160, (251, 251a) 275, (278) 305, (295) 318, (305) 326, (308) 328, (316) 336, (446) 496, (493) 548, (537) 603, (547, 548) 611–612, (574) 634
 Nika riot, 112, 664
 Nike. *See* Victory
 Nilotic images, (150) 171, (157) 178, (170) 191, (172) 192, 271, (252) 276
 Niš, Yugoslavia. *See* Naissus

Noah, 366–368, (350) 383, (371) 414, (377) 420
 Notre Dame de la Daurade, Toulouse, France, columns from, (595) 668
 Numismatic art. *See* Coins; Medallions

O

Obelisks, 65, (99) 107
 Oceanus, (130) 151, (164) 185
 Octagonal baptisteries, xxx
 Octateuch, 455
 Odysseus, (197) 220, (199) 222, (202) 225
Odyssey of Homer, (199) 223
 Oil lamps, Jewish, (351, 352) 384
 Old Saint Peter's, Rome, Italy. *See* Vatican Basilica
 Old Testament, xxii–xxiv, 366–371, 396–402, 449–455. *See also* specific figures and incidents from the Old Testament
 Oppian, 207, 271
 Opus sectile, (340) 363–364, (468) 523, (588) 659
 Orders of architecture, xxix, xxxi, 264–265, (246–249) 266–268
 Orléansville, Algeria: basilica, 642; polycandelon found in, (559) 623
Ornithiaka of Dionysios, 205
 Orpheus, xx, 131, (161, 162) 182–183; in Christian art, 513, (464–466) 520–521; in Jewish art, 369–370, (341) 372
 Ortygia, (110) 133
 Ostia, Italy: Guild Hall, 353, (340) 363; houses, 352; House of Cupid and Psyche, (338) 361; synagogue, 390; objects from (174) 195, (255, 256) 278–279, (468) 523
 Ostrogothic jewelry, 304
 Ottonian figure style, (223) 247
 Oxyrhynchos, Egypt, drawings found in, (86) 96, (205) 229

P

Palaces, 109; Diocletian's, (104) 115
 Palmyrene gods, (177) 197
 Pamphylia, Turkey, head found in, (273) 296
 Pan, (123) 144, (129, 130) 151, (226) 248
 Pannonia, Hungary, objects from: bust of Valentinian II, (19) 26; casket mounts, (387) 429
 Panopolis. *See* Akhmîm, Egypt
 Panteleimon, Saint, (574) 635
 Pantheistic votive hand, (163) 184
 Pantheon, Rome, xxviii–xxix, 264
 Panticapeum, Crimea, necropolis of, plate found in, (16) 22
 Pantomime actress, (245) 262

- Papyrus, xxiv, (86) 95, (93) 102, 199, 202, (178) 205, (194) 217, (205) 228, (222) 245, 449
- Parabiago plate, (164) 185
- Parapet revetment, (594) 667
- Parchment, (29) 35, (67) 78, 199, (179–181) 205–207, (187, 188) 210–212, (192) 215, (203, 204) 227, (223–226) 246–248, (422) 470, (441) 490
- Paris (mythological character), (116) 138
- Parthenius, House of, Stobi, Yugoslavia, (339) 362
- Parthenon, Athens, Greece, 263
- Parthenope. *See* Metiochos and Parthenope, romance of
- Passion of Christ: plaques with, (452) 502; sarcophagus with, (386) 429. *See also* Crucifixion of Christ
- Pastoral scenes. *See* Bucolic scenes
- Patens, (482) 537, 592–593, (533) 600, (546–548) 610–612
- Paternus, plate of, 593, (546) 610
- Patrician, ivory diptych of a, (54) 56
- Paul, Saint, (386) 428, (454, 455) 505–508, (472) 527, (474) 530, (502–504) 558–560, 566, (506–508) 569–570, (510) 572, (525) 586, 596, (552) 615, (554) 618, (557) 622, (562) 625, (566) 628, (568) 630, (572) 633, (574) 635
- Paulinus of Nola, Saint, 514, 556
- Paulus Silentiarius, 516, 594, 596, 598
- Pectoral cross, (301) 324
- Pectorals, (295, 296) 318–319
- Pegasus, (144) 166
- Peiresc, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de, 457–458
- Pendants, (276) 304, (279) 306, (284, 285) 310–311, (288, 289) 313–314, (291) 316, (306) 327
- Pentateuch, Ashburnham. *See* Ashburnham Pentateuch
- Pentheus and Dionysos, (216) 240
- Perfume bottle, (312) 333
- Perm region, U.S.S.R., paten found in, (482) 538
- Personifications, xxii, 129, (154–160) 175–181
- Peshitto manuscript, (437) 485
- Peter, Saint, 399, (360) 404, (374) 416, (386) 428, (400) 441, 451, (452) 502, (455) 597, 514, (472) 527, (474) 530, (485) 539, (488) 543, (490) 546, (502–504) 558–560, 566–567, (506–510) 569–572, (525) 586, 596, (552) 615, (554) 618, (562) 625, (566) 628, (568) 630, (572) 633, (574) 635
- Petropolitanus, Codex, (444) 493
- Phaedra and Hippolytus, 202, (217) 241
- Phaenomena* of Aratus of Soloi, 130, (190) 214
- Phial for oil, (536) 602
- Philip, Saint, (530) 590
- Philippi, Greece, 350, (333) 355
- Philo Judaeus (of Alexandria), 458, 462
- Phosphorus, morning star, (164) 185
- Physician, sarcophagus with, (256) 279
- Physiologus*, 200, (192) 215
- Piazza Armerina, villa at, (91) 100, 109–110, (105) 117, 272, 353–354
- Piazza della Consolazione treasure, (281–283) 307–309
- Pilate, (386) 428, (452) 502
- Pilgrimage art. *See* Holy sites
- Pitchers: with hunting scene, (76) 86; with muses, (244) 261; with Orpheus and Ares, (162) 183
- Plant illustrations. *See* Herbals
- Plaques: with Christian representations, 398–399, (370–373) 412–414, (406, 407) 446, 455, (416) 465, (448) 498, (452) 502, (455–461) 507–512, (475, 476) 530–531, (485) 539, (487) 542, (490) 546, (504) 560, (517) 578, (521) 582, (529) 589; with hunting scenes, (77) 87; incised bone, (311) 332; Jewish, against the evil eye, (357) 388; with mythological figures and scenes, 127, (117) 139, (137) 160, (143) 165, (146–148) 168–169, (176) 196; with pantomime actress, (245) 262; with science and literary illustrations, (195) 218, (206) 229, (215) 239, (241–243) 258–260; with tribunal and officials at venatio, (84) 93
- Plates, 61; with bucolic scenes, (231, 232) 251–252; with Christian representations, (472) 527, (510) 572, 593, (546) 610; with David, 451, (425–433) 475; domestic, 300; with hunting scenes, (72) 83, (79) 89; with literary illustrations, (197) 220, (202) 225, (207–210) 230–235; Missorium of Theodosius, (64) 74; with mythological figures and scenes, (111) 133, (128) 149, (130) 151, (139) 162, (141) 163, (145) 167, (164) 185, (168) 189; with portrait of Constantius II, (16) 22; with scenes of daily life, (251, 251a) 274–275
- Pliny, 130, 273, 434
- Poetry, illustrations of, 199–204, (193–230) 216–249
- Poets and muses, (238–245) 255–262
- Pola (Pula), Istria, pyxis and casket found in, 595, (568) 631
- Poliorectica*, (189) 213
- Polycandela, 594, (558, 559) 622–623
- Pompeii, Italy: fresco with Judgment of Solomon, 366–367
- Porta San Sebastiano (Porta Appia), Italy, (334) 356
- Portraiture: imperial, xxi, 2–7, (1–56) 8–58, (135) 158; private, 286, (264–273) 287–293, (362, 363) 406
- Portus, Italy, sarcophagus found in, (256) 279
- Poseidon, (114, 115) 136–137
- Post-and-beam structural system, 264
- Potiphar's wife (Old Testament), 458
- Priam, (196) 219
- Primo, Saint, 565
- Priscilla, catacomb of, Rome, Italy, (383) 425, 513
- Probianus, ivory diptych of, (53) 55
- Probus, bronze medallion of, (30) 55
- Processions. *See* Ceremonies and processions
- Procopios, Saint, (574) 635
- Procopius, 314, 319, 639, 646
- Projecta casket, xxvi, (310) 330
- Prometheus, 460; sarcophagus with, 451
- Protevangelium of James, 452, 497, 509–510, 512
- Prudentius, 507
- Pseudo-Dionysios, 515
- Pseudo-Ephraem, 467
- Pseudo-Matthew, 452, 497
- Pseudo-Oppian, 200, 247, 270, 275
- Ptolemy of Alexandria, 130
- Pyxides: with Achilles on Skyros, (211) 236; with Christian representations, (385) 427, (405) 445, (414) 463, (418) 466, (421) 469, (436) 485, (447) 497, (449) 499, (514) 575, (518–520) 578–581, 596–597, (549, 550) 613–614, (568) 630; with lion hunt, (78) 88; with mythological figures and scenes, (115) 137, (161) 182, (170) 191. *See also* Reliquaries

Q

- Qal'at es Salihiye. *See* Dura Europos
- Qal'at Sim'an, Syria: church and monastery, 568, 642, 645, (590) 661
- Quedlinburg Itala, xxv, 450–451, (424) 473

R

- Rabbula Gospels, 450, 455, (445) 495
- Rabel, Daniel, 458
- Raising of Lazarus, (361) 405, (370) 412, (374) 418, (386) 428, (403–405) 444–445, (450) 500, (518, 519) 578–580, (567) 629, (571) 632
- Ravenna, Italy: Baptistry of the Orthodox, xxx, 642, 644, (588) 659; Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, 567; Mausoleum of Theo-

- doric, (109) 122; Sant' Apollinare in Classe, 557, (505) 562; Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, (248) 267, 402; San Vitale, (65, 66) 77, 598, (593) 666
- Rebecca (Old Testament character), 472
- Recared (Visigothic king), 314
- Receswinth, cross of, 300
- Red earthenware, 93; with Christian representations, (379) 422, (384) 426, (393) 436, (402) 443, (415) 464, (434, 435) 483–484, (465) 520, (471) 526; with mythological figures and scenes, (140) 163, (144) 166, (162) 183, (175) 195; with triumphant charioteer, (98) 107. *See also* Terracotta
- Redware. *See* Red earthenware; Terracotta
- Reggio Emilia, Italy, fibula found in, (275a) 303
- Reinhardt cloth, 434
- Reliquaries, 564, 597–598, (534) 601, (568–574) 630–634
- Renaissance manuscript: *Polioretica*, (189) 213
- Rennes, France, gem found in, (4) 12
- Reparatus (archbishop), (505) 562
- Repoussé: book covers, (554, 555) 618–619; chalice, (532) 599; plaque, (529) 589
- Restitutor provinciae, the emperor as, 439
- Resurrection of Christ, 565. *See also* Women at the Tomb
- Resurrection of the Dry Bones, 400, (375) 418
- Rhipidia, 593–594, (553) 617
- Riha, Syria, objects from, 593–594, (547) 611, (553) 617
- Rings. *See* Jewelry
- Rock crystal: bowl, (186) 210; dish, (315) 336; gem, (395) 437; lions' heads, (330) 346; statuette, (138) 161
- Roma, (153) 173
- Roman Forum, objects found in: head of Constantine I, (11) 19; head of Gallienus, (2) 10
- Roma sotterranea* of Bosio, 426
- Rome, Italy, xix–xx, xxvii; Arch of Constantine, (58) 67; Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine, (100) 111; Porta San Sebastiano, (334) 356; San Giovanni in Laterano, 514, 641; San Paolo fuori le mura, (439, 440) 488–489, 643; San Stefano Rotondo, 130, 565, (589) 660; Santa Costanza, (108) 121, 128, (246) 266, 556; Santa Maria Maggiore, 271, 297, (420) 468, 643–645; Santa Sabina, (247) 266, (438) 486, 643, (586) 656; tomb of Trebius Justus, (253) 276; Vatican Basilica (Old Saint Peter's), 642, (581) 649. *See also* Catacomb paintings; Roman Forum, objects found in
- Rossano Gospels, 204, 450–452, (443) 492, 612
- Rotundas, xxix, 110, 642–643; Church of the Holy Sepulcher, (582) 650. *See also* Galerius, Rotunda of; San Stefano Rotondo; Santa Costanza, Church of
- Roundels: with bucolic scenes, (227–230) 249; on marriage belt, (262) 283; with Saint Thecla, (513) 574
- Rubens vase, (313) 333
- Rusafa, Syria, chalice found in, (543) 608
- ## S
- Sabazios, votive hand of, (163) 184
- Sabina, shawl of, (112) 134
- Sacrifice of Abel, 598
- Sacrifice of Isaac, 368–369, (341) 372, 402, (379, 380) 422–423, (386) 428, 565, (518) 578, 597
- Saint Barbara, Church of, Cairo, Egypt: doors from, (495) 550
- Saint Catherine, Monastery of, Mount Sinai, xxvi, 557, 596, 646; icons, (473) 527, (488) 543, (492) 548
- Saint Demetrios, Church of, Thessalonike, Greece. *See* Hagios Demetrios
- Saint George, Church of, Thessalonike, Greece. *See* Galerius, Rotunda of
- Saint John Lateran, Basilica of, Rome, Italy. *See* San Giovanni in Laterano
- Saint John Studios, Basilica of, Constantinople, 645
- Saint Lambert, treasury of: diptych leaf of consul Anastasius, (88) 98
- Saint Mark's Basilica, Venice, Italy: bronze horses on facade, 105
- Saint Menas, Church of, Abu Mena, Egypt, (591) 662
- Saint Paul Outside the Walls, Basilica of, Rome, Italy. *See* San Paolo fuori le mura
- Saint Peter's Basilica, Rome, Italy, 556, 566; Bassus sarcophagus, (386) 429; tomb of the Julii, 513. *See also* Vatican Basilica (Old Saint Peter's)
- Saint Polyeuktos, Church of, Constantinople, 646–647
- Saints Marcellinus and Petrus, catacomb of, Rome, Italy, (381) 424, (397) 439
- Saints Sergios and Bacchos, Church of, Constantinople, (249) 268
- Saint Symeon Stylites, Church of, Qal'at Sim'an, Syria, 642, (590) 661
- Salome (midwife in Protevangelium of James), 435, 452, (447) 497, (457) 509, (521) 582, (527) 588
- Salonica. *See* Thessalonike, Greece
- Samaritan woman at the well, (405) 445, (486) 542
- Sambuca-Zabut, Sicily, bowl found in, (404) 445
- Samian Woman, The*, of Menander, (221) 244
- Samson, 402, (423) 472
- Samuel, (424, 425) 473–475
- Sancta Sanctorum reliquary, 564
- San Giovanni in Laterano (Saint John Lateran), Rome, Italy, 514, 641
- San Lorenzo, Milan, Italy, xxviii–xxix, (584) 653
- San Nazaro, Milan, Italy. *See* Basilica Apostolorum
- San Paolo fuori le mura (Saint Paul Outside the Walls), Rome, Italy, xxviii, 420, (439, 440) 488–489, 643
- San Sebastiano, Basilica of, Rome, Italy, 513
- San Stefano Rotondo, Rome, Italy, 130, 565, (589) 660
- Santa Costanza, Church of, Rome, Italy, xxviii–xxix, (108) 121, 128, 264, (246) 266, 556
- Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, Italy: sarcophagus with Jonah scenes, 397
- Santa Maria Maggiore, Church of, Rome, Italy, xxix, 264, 271, 297, (420) 468, 643–645
- Sant' Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna, Italy, 557, 562
- Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, Italy, 265, (248) 267, 402
- Santa Sabina, Church of, Rome, Italy, 265, (247) 266, (438) 486, 643, (586) 656
- San Vitale, Church of, Ravenna, Italy, (65, 66) 77, 598, (593) 666
- Saqqara, Egypt, objects found in, (59) 70, (311) 333
- Sarah, (522) 583
- Sarapis, xxii, (171) 192
- Sarcophagi: with bucolic scenes, 203–204, (236, 237) 254–255; child's, with Seasons, (159) 180; Christian, xxiii, 397–401, (361) 405, (374–376) 416–419, (386) 427, 451, (411) 460, (417) 466, 515, (462) 518, (501) 558; with hunt scenes, 64–65; Jewish, 370, (346) 379; with man of letters, (238) 255, (240) 257; with relief of physician, 272, (256) 279
- Sardinia, buckle found in, (302) 325
- Sardis synagogue, Turkey, 390, (359) 393
- Sassanian art: ewer, (132) 154; plate, (145) 167
- Satyrs, (122) 142, (124) 144, (130, 131) 151–153
- Saul, (424) 473, (426, 427) 475, (430) 477
- Scenic representations, 60–65, (57–99) 66–

107
 Scheitzelpopf, 21, 26, (265) 288, (269) 291, (363) 408
 Scholastikia, Baths of, Ephesus, Turkey, xxvii, 352, (336) 358
 Scientific illustrations, xxii, 199–200, (178–192) 205–215, (226) 248
 Seals: of a Gothic king, (56) 58; rings, 59; wheel with, (329) 346
 Seasons, 271; Coptic textile, (158) 179; Parabiago plate, (164) 185; sarcophagi, (159) 180, 370, (346) 179, (386) 429; synagogue mosaics, Hamat Tiberias, (342) 374
 Second Coming of Christ, (491) 547
 Second Commandment, 366
 Second Cyprus Treasure, (61) 72, (285) 311, (287) 312, (292) 317, (425) 433, (548) 613
 Secular architecture, 350–354, (333–340) 355–363
 Selene, (134) 158
 Seleucia, Syria, plaque found in, (416) 465
 Semlin, Hungary, medallion found in, (34) 40
 Senmurv, 325
 Seraphim, (553) 617
 Sergios, Saint, (492, 493) 548
 Sermon on the Mount, (373) 416
 Seroux d'Agincourt, J. B.; copy of frescoes of San Paolo fuori le mura, (440) 489
 Severa, epitaph of, 400
 Severus, Bishop, (505) 562
 Shield of Scipio, (197) 221
 Shields, wooden, 202, (200, 201) 223–224
 Siberia, U.S.S.R., paten found in, (482) 538
 Sidamara sarcophagus, (238) 255
 Sigillata chiara C (redware), (379) 423, (384) 426, (402) 443, (415) 464, (465) 520
 Silenus, (126) 147, (129, 130) 151, (243) 260
 Silverwork, xx, xxiv, 297–301
 Simon, Saint, (472) 527, (574) 635
 Simplicius (pope), 660
 Sinopensis, Codex, (442) 491
 Sirmium, Yugoslavia, pendant from, (276) 304
 Situlas, (118) 140, (196) 219, 594
 Sixtus III (pope), 467
 Sixtus, Saint, (472) 527
 Socrates, 513
 Sol, 130, (164) 185, 405, (563, 564) 626–627
 Sol Invictus, 19, 63, (89) 98, 514, 522
 Solomon, 366–367, 451, (434) 483
 Soranos of Ephesus: Gynaikēia, (187) 210
 Sousse, Tunisia, mosaics from, 209, (239) 256, (252) 276, (260) 282
 Sozomenos, 566, 584

Spalato (Split, Yugoslavia): Palace of Diocletian, (104) 115
 Spoons, (316) 336, 593, (539) 604
 Steelyard, (328) 345
 Steelyard weight, (327) 344
 Stele fragment with gladiators in combat, (82) 92
 Stephaton, (563) 626
 Stephen, Saint, (557) 622
 Stobi, Yugoslavia: Theodosian Palace and House of Parthenius, 352, (339) 362
 Strainer with dolphins, (538) 604
 Stuma treasure, 593–594, 612, 617
 Stylite saints, 567. *See also* Symeon Stylites, Saint
 Suffolk, England: Mildenhall treasure, 152
 Surveying, treatise on, (188) 212
 Symeon Stylites, Saint, 515, 567–568, (529) 589, 661–662
 Symmachi, diptych leaf of the, (166) 187
 Synagogues, 366–371, 390–391; Beth Shean, (343) 375; Dura Europos, 62, (341) 372, (358) 392; Hamat Tiberias, (342) 374; Naro (Hammam-Lif), (344) 376; Sardis, (359) 393
 Synagogue screen, (345) 378
 Syriac manuscripts: Bible, 449, (437) 485; Rabbula Gospels, (445) 495

T

Tactica by Leo the Wise, 213
 Tapestries. *See* Textiles
 Targum, 368–369, 374
 Tarsia, (223) 246
 Tarsus, Cilicia, sculpture found in, (369) 412
 Tartōūs, Syria, bracelet found in, (280) 307
 Tatian, 401, 405, 449
 Teacher and philosopher, Christ as, 513, (469) 524, (472) 527
 Tebéssa, Algeria: church complex, 645–646
 Telesphoros, (133) 155
 Tellus, (164) 185
 Temple implements, Jewish, 371, (347, 348) 380–381
 Terence, 202–203
 Terentius panel, Temple of Bel, Dura Europos, (177) 197
 Terracotta: ampullae and flasks, 564, (515, 516) 576; bowl with Saints Peter and Paul, (506) 569; bread stamp, (566) 628; figurine of Isis, or Virgin, lactans, (167) 189; lamps, (351, 352) 384; lanx with tribunal in arena, (83) 92. *See also* Red earthenware
 Tertullian, 65, 397
Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, *The*, 465
 Tetraconch buildings, xxix
 Tetramorph, rhipidion with, (553) 617
 Tetrarchy, period of the, 3, 63, 263, 302. *See also* names of specific Tetrarchs
 Textiles, xxv; with Christian representations, (390–392) 433–435, (412, 413) 460–462, (477) 532, (494) 549; church hangings, 643; with fishes, (182, 183) 208; with hunting scenes, (80, 81) 90–91; with illustrations of literary texts, (198) 221, (218) 242, (227–230) 249, (234, 235) 253; with mythological figures and scenes, (112) 134, (116) 138, (119–121) 141–142, (123–125) 144–146, (129) 151, (136) 159, (142) 164, (150) 171, (158) 179, (172) 192; tunic, (332) 348; with Victories, (70) 82, (480) 535
 Thecla, Saint, (305) 326, 567, (513) 574, (516) 576
 Theodelinda, Queen, book covers of, 595–596
 Theodora, 7, (27) 33, (66) 77
 Theodore, Saint, (478) 533, (494) 549, (574) 635
 Theodore of Studion, Saint, 515
 Theodoric the Great, 59; mausoleum, 110, (109) 122
 Theodosian obelisk, 5, (99) 107
 Theodosian Palace, Stobi, 352, (339) 362
 Theodosian period, 5; portraiture, (270, 271) 292; tomb relief with traditio legis, (502) 559
 Theodosian renaissance, xix
 Theodosian style of portraiture, 5, (269) 291, (399) 440, (469) 525
 Theodosius I: Missorium of, 62, (64) 74, 452
 Theodosius II, (22) 28
 Theophilus, chalice of, (531) 599
 Theriaka of Nicander, (179) 206, (181) 207, (226) 248
 Thessalonike, Greece: Arch of Galerius, 81; Church of the Virgin Acheiropoietos, (587) 658; Hagios Demetrios, 516, (500) 554, 644; head of Galerius found in, (6) 14; pilaster capital with Zeus, 127; Rotunda of Galerius, (107) 119, (491) 547, 644
 Thetis at the forge of Hephaestus, textile with, (198) 221
 Thiasos. *See* Dionysiac imagery
 Thomas, Saint, (452) 503, (574) 634
 Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace, 399, (374) 418, (383) 425, (386) 428, (388) 431, (415) 464, (571) 633
 Thysdrus (El Djem, Tunisia): mosaic, (87) 96
 Tiberius II, 299
 Timber roofs, xxviii, 646

Timothy, Saint, (472) 527
 Tobias, (388) 431
 Toilette of Venus, (310) 330
 Tolerance Edict of Milan. *See* Edict of Milan
 Tomb decorations, 272, (250) 273, (253) 276, (502) 558
 Tomei, Egypt, objects found in, (284) 310, (295) 318, (306) 327
 Torah ark, 371, (347, 348) 380–381
 Toulouse, France, columns from Notre Dame de la Daurade, (595) 668
 Townhouses. *See* City dwellings
 Traditio legis, 556, (502, 503) 558–559
 Trajanic style of portraiture, 4, (6) 14, (9) 16
 Trajan's Forum, Rome, xxviii
 Transenna with harts, (577, 578) 638
 Transfiguration of Christ, 517, 557, (505) 562
 Traprain Law, treasure of: silver flagon, (389) 432
 Trebius Justus, tomb of, 272, (253) 276
 Trebonianus Gallus, 2, (1) 8
 Trier, Germany: Aula Palatina, 109, (102) 113; baths, 350–351; cathedral, 297, 642, (583) 653; rock crystal lions' heads from, (330) 346
 Triton, bronze lamp with, 130
 Triumphal arches and columns, 62–63. *See also* Arch of Constantine; Arch of Galerius; Column of Arcadius
 Triumphator type of portrait, (39) 42
 Tropary cover, (241) 258
 Troy, sack of, (201) 224
 True cross, relics of, 632, (574) 634
 Trulla, (114) 136, 594
 Tubi fittili, xxx, 659, 666–667
 Tunic, (332) 348
 Tusk, carved, (254) 278
 Two Brothers, sarcophagus of the, 429
 Tyche, 129, (154–156) 175–178, (160) 181, (177) 198, (325) 343
 Tyche-Fortuna, (122) 143
 Tyler chalice, 599

U

Ursicinus, Bishop, (505) 562
 Ursus, Bishop, (505) 562, 659
 Uzitta mosaic, (184) 209

V

Valentinian I, (42) 43
 Valentinian II, (19) 25, (64) 75
 Valentinian period, 5
 Varna, Bulgaria, objects found in, (299) 322, (569) 632
 Vasa sacra. *See* Altar implements

Vases, 204, (244) 261, (313, 314) 333–334, (552) 615
 Vatican Basilica (Old Saint Peter's), Rome, Italy, xxviii, 264, 642, (581) 649
 Vatican Vergil. *See* Vergilius Vaticanus
 Vaulting, xxviii, xxx; Hagia Sophia, (592) 664; San Vitale, (593) 666
 Velatio, cubiculum of the, catacomb of Priscilla, (383) 425
 Velletri, Italy, plaque found in, 398–399, (371) 413
 Vellum, (190) 214, (193) 216, (408) 457, (410) 458, (424) 473, (437) 485, (442–445) 491–495
 Venus: Temple of Venus and Roma, 263; toilette of, (310) 330. *See also* Aphrodite
 Vergil. *See* Aeneid; Eclogues; Georgics
 Vergilius Romanus, (204) 227, (225) 247
 Vergilius Vaticanus, xxv, (203) 227, (224) 247, 473
 Via Latina catacomb, Rome, Italy, xxv, 369, 400, (419) 467, (423) 472
 Via Passiello, catacombs of the, Rome, Italy, bowl found in, (96) 105
 Via Salaria, Rome, Italy, sarcophagus from, (462) 518
 Victory (Nike), (42) 44, (46, 47) 48, (58) 68, (70) 82, (278) 305, (480) 535
 Vienna Genesis, 454, (410) 458
 Vigna Maccarani, Rome, Italy, plaques found in, (372, 373) 416
 Villas, 109, 353–354; Piazza Armerina, (105) 117; porticus villa at Konz, (106) 119
 Villa Torlonia, catacomb of, Rome, Italy, 371
 Virgin Acheiropoietos, Church of the, Thessalonike, Greece, 265, (587) 658
 Virgin lactans, 513–514; figurine of Isis as, (167) 189
 Virgin Mary. *See* Mary, Saint
 Visigoths, 314
 Visitation of Mary, (563) 626
 Visit to the Tomb. *See* Women at the Tomb
 Vita Adae et Evae, 452
 Votive hand of Sabazios, (163) 184

W

Wall paintings. *See* Frescoes
 Walls, city, 350; Constantinople, (335) 357; Porta San Sebastiano, (334) 356–357
 Warfare, scenes of, 63, (69–71) 81–83, (149) 170, (189) 213
 Water Miracle of Moses, (361) 405, (377) 420, (381, 382) 424, (387) 429, (389) 431, 451
 Water Miracle of Peter, 451, (374) 416, (455) 508

Weavings. *See* Textiles
 Weights, (13) 20, (169) 190, 300–301, (324–328) 343–345
 Werden, monastery of, Germany: codex from, (223) 247
 Wheel with seal, (329) 346
 White Cloister, Sohag, Egypt, drawing found in, (29) 36
 Wine cellar or shop, relief with, (257) 280
 Wint Hill bowl, (74) 85
 Woman with the issue of blood, (397, 398) 439–440, (406, 407) 446
 Women at the Tomb, (360) 404, (452, 453) 503–504, (520) 581, (524) 585, (564) 627
 Wood: bread stamp, (528) 588; carved church doors, (438) 486, (495) 550; carved lintel, (451) 502; carved pillar with compartment for relics, (575) 636; mummy portrait on, (266) 288; relief of liberation of a besieged city, (69) 81; roofs, xxviii, 646; shields, (200, 201) 223–224

Z

Zacchaeus, (453) 504
 Zanavartepe, Bulgaria, reliquaries found in, (569) 632
 Zaphiron, Cilicia, encolpion found in, (62) 73
 Zechariah, 502
 Zenobius, 650
 Zephaniah, 492
 Zeus, xxii, 127–129, (115) 137, (146) 168; Phidias' statue, xx
 Zion, daughter of, 502
 Zodiac: engraved ring, (191) 215; Galilean synagogue, 391; Hamat Tiberias synagogue, (342) 374
 Zoological illustrations, 199, (179) 205, (181–183) 207–208, (192) 215

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